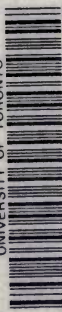
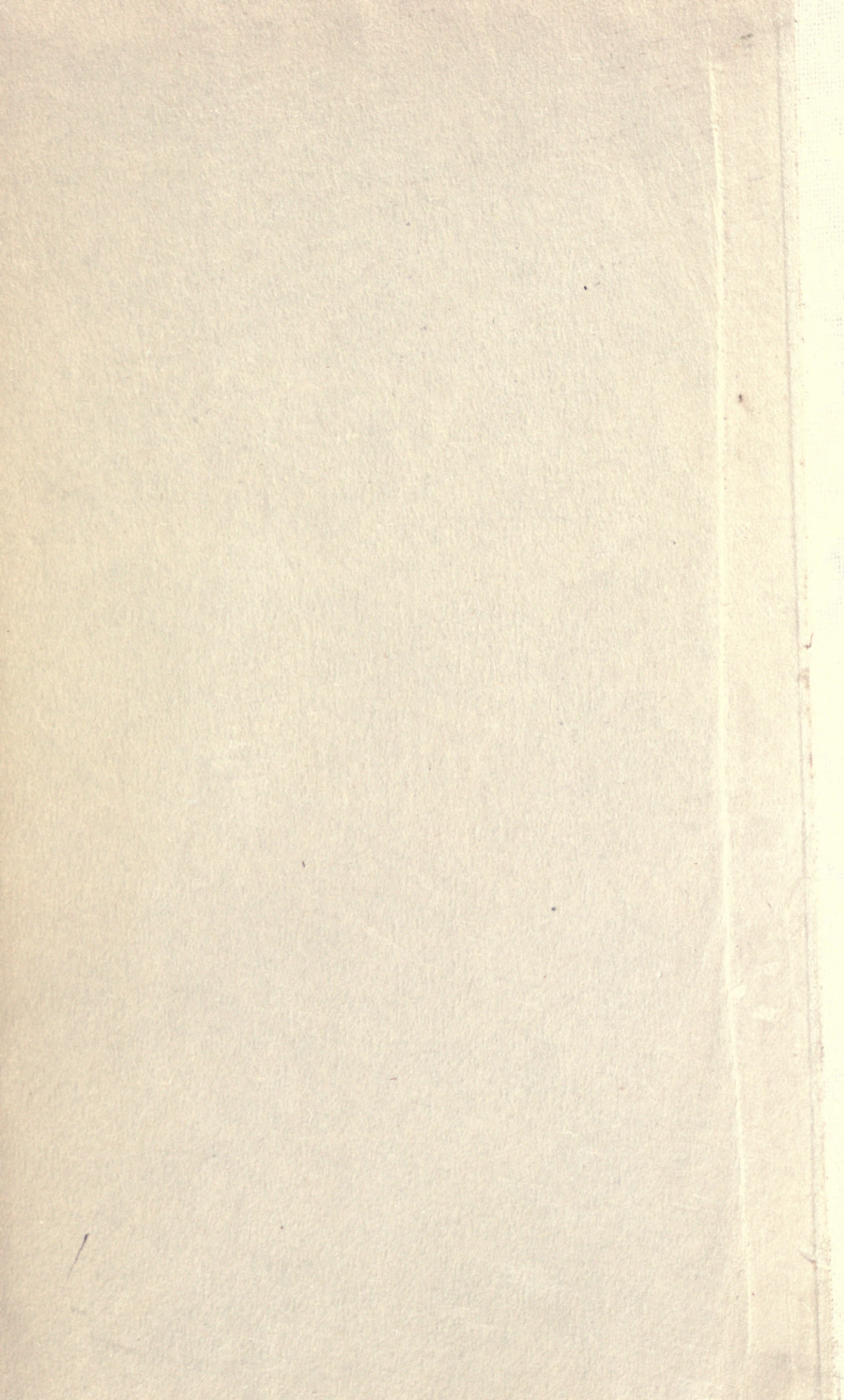


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Harriet Dufferin





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THE  
HISTORY OF THE ADMINISTRATION

OF

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

FREDERICK TEMPLE, EARL OF DUFFERIN,

K.P., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S.,

LATE

GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA.

BY

WILLIAM LEGGO,

OF OTTAWA, ONT., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, LATE MASTER IN CHANCERY AT HAMILTON,  
ONT., AUTHOR OF "LEGGO'S CHANCERY PRACTICE," AND COMPILER  
OF "LEGGO'S CHANCERY FORMS."



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MEMORANDUM.

THE author purposes to follow this work, at the expiration of the term of the MARQUIS OF LORNE, with a history of his administration in Canada.

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Entered according to Act of Parliament of Canada, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, by WILLIAM LEGGO, in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture, at Ottawa.

---



Dedication.



TO

HARRIOT, COUNTESS OF DUFFERIN,

*A Lady*

WHO HAS SO GREATLY CONTRIBUTED, BY HER HIGH ATTAINMENTS AND  
HER ADMIRABLE SOCIAL CHARACTER, TO THE SUCCESS  
ACHIEVED BY HER ILLUSTRIOUS HUSBAND,

THE EARL OF DUFFERIN,

IN

SECURING, TO AN EXTENT UNEQUALLED IN COLONIAL HISTORY,  
THE UNIVERSAL RESPECT, LOVE, AND ADMIRATION OF

THE PEOPLE OF CANADA,

*This Work is,*

BY PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

1875

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE

1875

THE LAND OFFICE HAS THE HONOUR TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE FOR THE YEAR 1875.

THE REPORT IS HEREBY REFERRED TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION.

THE SECRETARY OF THE LAND OFFICE

1875

BY APPOINTMENT

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR



## P R E F A C E.

---

THE slow but steady development of the principles of Responsible Government in Canada, under Lords Durham, Sydenham, Metcalfe, Elgin, Monck, and Lisgar, and the unswerving devotedness of LORD DUFFERIN to those principles, should make an historical account of his Administration acceptable to all interested in them.

The system known in Canada as "Responsible Government" is simply an imitation of the Constitutional form of Government, which has since the reign of George III. been slowly evolving itself in Great Britain. That Sovereign knew little of it;—his son, George IV., had no occasion to attempt any check to its growth:—William IV. vainly sought to impede its progress,—and even our present Gracious Sovereign, in the warmth of a young heart, attempted on one memorable occasion to resist its power. But a few years' experience taught her its true nature,—she gracefully acknowledged her error, and under her subsequent sway this great charter of liberty has attained a strength and stability hitherto unknown in any country—ancient or modern.

Its progress in British North America has been slow, but steady. It was promoted under Lord Durham:—Lord Sydenham worked it out as well as its imperfectly developed features were then understood:—Lord Metcalfe halted, and attempted its check, but the attempt only brought out a clearer view of its beauties, and added strength to its growing power:—and Lord Elgin used it with a broad mind and loyal determination to give the Canadian people the benefit of its fullest development; though in this he was, on one great occasion, opposed by a large and influential portion of the people themselves. But it was left to Sir Edmund Head, Lord Monck, Lord Lisgar, and especially to the EARL OF DUFFERIN, to place the centre stone in the arch,—for under their administrations the principles of Responsible Government have become thoroughly understood as well by the respective Ministers of their times as by the masses of the population they have been called on to govern.

It is chiefly with a view to point out this gradual development, and to show the means used by LORD DUFFERIN in the process, that this work has been projected. No Canadian statesman can hereafter

pretend to even a fair knowledge of his duties or responsibilities without an intimate acquaintance with the details of LORD DUFFERIN'S ADMINISTRATION ;—and no inhabitant of Canada can with even tolerable clearness understand the history of his country in the absence of a familiarity with its progress since the system of Responsible Government was established.

The work has not been reduced to a mere panegyric of the EARL OF DUFFERIN, though the exceptionally excellent qualities with which he is endowed have, of course, appeared. These the narrative have gradually evolved ; and the student of Canadian history will have seen, after the study of his rule of the Dominion, of what great importance a genial disposition and popular manners are to the smooth working of the government of a number of separate Provinces, differing in laws, language, and religion.

The importance of the life of the ruler is to be measured by the judgment with which he has construed the constitution of the country he has been called on to govern ; the ability with which he has applied that construction to the practical working of the machinery of government ; the tact with which he has dealt with the discordant elements to be found in all societies ; the influences of a kindly heart and a graceful bearing, with which he has smoothed the rough edges of partisan contests, and softened the social and political asperities, so inevitable in all countries, and under all systems of government ; by the degree of confidence in their rulers, and content with their institutions, with which he leaves the people inspired ; and by the amount of respect, the warmth of love, and the height of admiration with which he has imbued the masses of the population placed under his charge.

Judged by these tests the life of the EARL OF DUFFERIN, in Canada, presents a subject for study as valuable to the statesman as it is attractive to the student.

The beneficial effects of his example are strikingly exhibited in the government of Manitoba by Mr. Morris. This gentleman, doubtless inspired by the study of Lord Dufferin's conciliating tact, and carrying out a similar policy adopted by Mr. Archibald, brought that fine Province from anarchy to order ; and though these rulers exposed themselves to the hostility of a class whose only error was that they permitted their feelings, for a time, to conquer their natural kindness of heart, yet they succeeded in producing peace and hap-



pinness where a severe policy would probably have produced only strife and wretchedness.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Earl of Dufferin is in no degree to be held responsible for any statements made, or opinions expressed in this work, excepting in so far as his own speeches are concerned, the principal of which have been subjected to his own correction. With these exceptions he is completely ignorant of the contents, and will remain so until he sees them in the printed volume as it is now presented to the public.

A similar remark is made as to Mr. Archibald and Mr. Morris.

The author cannot allow the work to appear without an acknowledgment of the deep obligation under which he lies to a number of gentlemen in Ottawa. First among them is Mr. Alpheus Todd, the Librarian of Parliament, whom the author cannot sufficiently thank for his most valuable assistance in a variety of ways. The author also desires sincerely to thank the other officers of the Library for their kindness and untiring willingness to obtain any information he needed in the compilation of his work.

He thanks, also, General Sir Edward Selby Smyth ; Colonel Powell, the Adjutant-General ; Col. Stoughton Dennis, the Surveyor General ; Mr. Alfred Patrick, Clerk of the House of Commons ; Mr. Vankoughnet, of the Indian Department ; Mr. Brymner, of the Department of Agriculture ; Mr. Buckingham, Secretary to the First Minister ; and Mr. Botterell, for valuable information and assistance.

The author has much pleasure in saying that the type used in the production of this volume was manufactured by the Dominion Type Founding Co., Montreal ; the paper by Alexander Buntin, Esq., at Valleyfield, Que. ; the portraits of the Earl and Countess of Dufferin were engraved by the British American Bank Note Company, and their Excellencies' Coats of Arms, by Mr. James D. Scott, of Montreal.

OTTAWA, 19th October, 1878.





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THE

# EARL OF DUFFERIN'S ADMINISTRATION IN CANADA.

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THE RIGHT HONORABLE FREDERICK TEMPLE BLACKWOOD, EARL OF DUFFERIN,\* K.P., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., late Governor General of Canada, the only son of Price, fourth Baron Dufferin, was born at Florence in 1826. His mother, Helen Selina, daughter of Thomas Sheridan, was distinguished for her beauty, wit and intellectual accom-

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\* It is a very common practice in this country, and indeed in Ireland, whence America has taken it, to allude to noblemen possessing the title of Earl as "Earl Beaconsfield," "Earl Elgin," instead of "Earl of Beaconsfield," "Earl of Elgin;" but in nine cases out of ten this is a solecism. It would be right to say "Earl Spencer" or "Earl Russell," because these two noblemen belong to a junior branch of a noble family and were so created; but when the title is not identical with the family name, but is territorial, the "of" should never be dropped. The designation of Lord "*so and so*," of whatever rank the person may be below a Duke, is always proper, and in narrative frequently proves the most convenient appellation; though, occasionally, the introduction of the other designation is useful as a variation.

plishments, and as a writer of songs, chief among which are "The Irish Emigrant," "Katie's Letter," "Terence's Farewell to Kathleen," "The Charming Woman," which she wrote when she was only sixteen, and some others. She was sister of the brilliant and beautiful Duchess of Somerset, renowned, when Lady Seymour, as the Queen of Beauty at the famous Eglinton Tournament, and of Lady Stirling Maxwell, better known as the Hon. Mrs. Norton, celebrated as a poetess and novelist, all three being the grand-daughters of the wit, orator and dramatist, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and she possessed in no ordinary degree the engaging qualities of her race. Her literary capacity, her style of writing, and especially of letter-writing, were of the highest order. To those who knew her well she appeared as even a brighter star than her more distinguished sister, Mrs. Norton. Of the Sheridan brilliance, the son of this attractive woman has inherited a visible portion.

Lord Dufferin was educated at Eton, and Christ Church, Oxford, and succeeded to the title in July, 1841, while still in his minority. For some years subsequent to 1849 he was one of the Lords in Waiting to Her Majesty, under Lord John Russell's first administration, and again in 1854-58. He visited the South of Ireland in 1846-7, and on his return to England published an account of his experiences under the title of a "Narrative of a Journey from Oxford to Skibbereen, during the year of the Irish Famine." In 1850 he was created an English Baron, and sits in the House of Lords as an hereditary peer by the title of Lord Clandeboye.

He early began to study the questions of land tenure, of the relation of landlord and tenant, and of Irish emigration; and, by his speeches in the House of Lords, his letters to *The Times*, his pamphlets, and his addresses at public meetings, he soon acquired a high reputation as an authority on these complex and harassing questions. His position as owner of large estates in the County Down brought him face to face with the great defects of the system under which the relations of landlord and tenant were regulated, and for many years he devoted his time and energies to the elucidation of them with a view to secure changes beneficial to both landlord and tenant. About twenty years before the passing of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act, Lord Dufferin had anticipated its leading principle in a speech in the House of Lords, suggesting that the Irish tenant-at-will should receive compensation for "disturbance" as well as for "improvements," but, though liberal in his ideas of what was due to the tenant, he combated



with unwonted ability, Mr. Mill's proposal that the landed estates of all the proprietors of Ireland should be brought to a forced sale. In 1854 he delivered an exhaustive speech in the House of Lords on the Landlord and Tenant bills, which was, admittedly, the fairest and most comprehensive statement hitherto made of the controversy then pending between the landlords and tenants of Ireland. This speech was followed by another on the same subject, and the views of Lord Dufferin had a marked effect on the subsequent legislation of Parliament. During the years which elapsed before the conditional settlement of these disputes, he published a valuable work entitled "Irish Emigration, and the Tenure of Land in Ireland," in which he treated very fully on emigration, landlords and tenants—gave a retrospect of the economical history of owners and occupiers in Ireland and Belgium, and concluded with an elaborate review of various proposals for the alteration of the tenure of land in Ireland.

His earlier speeches and writings by their ability soon drew the attention of the leaders of his party to their author, who, in February, 1855, was invited by Lord John Russell to accept the position of special *attaché* to his well-known mission to Vienna in that year.

In 1856 he made a yacht voyage to Iceland, a well-known narrative of which he published under the title of "Letters from High Latitudes."

In 1860, he was appointed by Lord Palmerston, then at the head of the Government, to proceed, as British Commissioner, to Syria, for the purpose of prosecuting enquiries into the massacre of the Christians. In the performance of this difficult and delicate duty he exhibited so much discretion and firmness that on his return he was nominated a K.C.B. The free institutions he then secured for the Lebanon have not only worked admirably, and enduringly, but have been repeatedly referred to as the pattern on which the constitution of the liberated Provinces of Bulgaria should be framed.

On 15th December, 1861, the Empire was stirred to its depths by the death of Prince Albert. The duty of moving the address in the House of Lords, in answer to Her Majesty's speech from the Throne, delivered by the Lord Commissioners, in which the melancholy event was referred to, was imposed on Lord Dufferin, and the admirable manner in which he discharged it may be gathered from his impressive speech on this occasion. It is in this speech that we first see the beauty of diction, the warmth of feeling, and the breadth of thought which will be found to characterise all the speeches of Lord Dufferin.

The following is that portion of the speech referring to the great calamity which had overtaken Her Majesty and the Empire :

“ MY LORDS,—In rising to perform the duty which has devolved upon me, I feel that scarcely ever has any Member of your Lordships’ House been called upon to address you under more solemn or more trying circumstances ; and most painfully am I aware how great is my need of your Lordships’ patience and indulgence. My Lords, for nearly a quarter of a century it has been the invariable privilege of those who have successively found themselves in the position I occupy to-night to direct your attention to topics of a pleasing, hopeful, or triumphant character,—to a gratifying retrospect, or a promising future—to projects of law calculated still further to promote the rapidly-increasing prosperity of the country—to treaties of amity and commerce with foreign nations—at the worst, to difficulties surmounted or disasters successfully retrieved—to foreign wars gloriously conducted and victoriously concluded. But, my Lords, to-night a very different task awaits me. For the first time since Her Majesty commenced a reign of unexampled prosperity, we have been overtaken by a calamity fraught with consequences which no man can yet calculate—unexpected—irremediable—opening up alike to Sovereign and to people an endless vista of sorrow and regret. Under such circumstances even the most practised speaker in your Lordships’ House might well shrink from the responsibility of intruding the inadequate expression of his individual feelings on a grief which must have endowed the heart of every one who hears me with an eloquence far greater than any he can command. If, however, my Lords, there is anything that can mitigate the painful anxiety of my situation, it is the conviction that, however inefficient,—however wanting to the occasion—may be the terms in which you are urged to join in the proposed sentences of condolence with Her Majesty, the appeal must in its very nature command such an unanimity of earnest, heartfelt acquiescence, as to leave the manner in which it may be placed before you a matter of indifference. My Lords, this is not the occasion, nor am I the proper person, to deliver an encomium on the Prince whom we have lost. When a whole nation has lifted up its voice in lamentation, the feeble note of praise which may fall from any individual tongue must necessarily be lost in the expression of the general sorrow ; but, my Lords, superfluous as any artificial panegyric has now become, right and fitting is it that that public grief which first found vent in the visible shudder which shook every congregation assembled in this metropolis when his well-known name was omitted from the accustomed prayer—which, gathering volume and intensity as reflection gave us the measure of our loss, swept towards the Throne in one vast wave of passionate sympathy, and is even still reiterated from every distant shore that owns allegiance to the British Crown,—right and fitting is it that such a manifestation of a nation’s sorrow as this should find its final embodiment and crowning consummation in a solemn expression of their feelings by both Houses of the British Legislature. Never before, my Lords, has the heart of England been so greatly stirred, and never yet has such signal homage been more spontaneously rendered to unpretending intrinsic worth. Monarchs, heroes, patriots have perished from among us, and have been attended to their grave by the respect and veneration of a grateful people. But here was one who was neither king, warrior, nor legislator,—occu-



pying a position in its very nature incompatible with all personal pre-eminence,—alike debarred the achievement of military renown and political distinction, secluded within the precincts of what might easily have become a negative existence,—neither able to confer those favors which purchase popularity nor possessing in any peculiar degree the trick of manner which seduces it,—who, nevertheless, succeeded in winning for himself an amount of consideration and confidence such as the most distinguished or the most successful of mankind have seldom attained. By what combination of qualities, a stranger and an alien—exercising no definite political functions—ever verging on the peril of a false position—his daily life exposed to ceaseless observation—shut out from the encouragement afforded by the sympathy of intimate friendship, the support of partisans, the good fellowship of society,—how such an one acquired so remarkable a hold on the affection of a jealous insular people, might well excite the astonishment of any one acquainted with the temper and the peculiarities of the British nation. Yet, my Lords, after all, how simple and obvious is the secret of the dominion he acquired! If, my Lords, the death of Prince Albert has turned England into a land of mourning; if each one of us is conscious of having lost that calm feeling of satisfaction and security which has gradually been interwoven with the existence of the nation from the day he first took his stand beside the Throne; if it seems as though the sun of our prosperity were darkened, and a pillar of our state had fallen; it is because in him we have lost that which has never failed to acquire the unlimited confidence and enthusiastic veneration of Englishmen—a man who, in every contingency of life, in the presence of bewildering temptations, in the midst of luxury and splendor, in good report and in evil report, in despite of the allurements of vanity, of selfishness, and ambition, trod day by day and hour by hour, patiently, humbly, faithfully, the uninviting path of duty. My Lords, great must that people ever become whose highest notion of human excellence is the fulfilment of duty; and happy may that man be considered who has been able to realize their ideal! Of the various achievements of Prince Albert's career I need not remind your Lordships. We can, most of us, remember the day when he first came among us, and every subsequent chapter of his blameless life has been open to our inspection. We all know with what prudence he proceeded to exercise the functions of his elevated but difficult station, and with what simplicity of purpose he accepted the position marked out for him by the Constitution. Noble Lords on either side of the House can describe the impartiality of the welcome he extended to all the Parliamentary advisers of the Crown. Those who have had the honor of enjoying personal intercourse with him can speak not only to the grasp of his remarkable intellect, and the inexhaustible store of his acquirements, but still more to the modesty, the gentleness, and chivalrous purity of a disposition which invested the Court over which he presided with an atmosphere of refinement and tranquil happiness such as, probably, has never yet been found in a Royal home; while his various speeches, replete with liberal wisdom—the enlightened influence he exercised over our arts and manufactures—and, above all, the triumphant establishment of the Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862, will bear witness to that practical sagacity which in spite of the apparent inaction to which he was condemned, could call into existence an unimagined field for the exercise of his untiring energy. And yet,

my Lords, it is not so much for what he did, as for what he was that the memory of Prince Albert will be honored and revered among us, though, probably, all that he has been to England no one will ever rightly know. As I have already had occasion to remark, the exigencies of his position required him to shun all pretension to personal distinction. Politically speaking, the Prince Consort was ignored by the Constitution—an ever-watchful, though affectionate, jealousy, on the part of the people, guarded the pre-eminence of the Crown. How loyally and faithfully the Queen's first subject respected this feeling we are all aware; yet who shall ever know the nobler loyalty, the still more loving fidelity with which the husband shared the burdens, alleviated the cares, and guided the counsels of the wife? Some there are among us, indeed, who have had opportunities of forming a just idea of the extent to which this country has profited by the sagacity of Her Majesty's most trusted counsellor; but it will not be until this generation has passed away, and those materials see the light from which alone true history can be written, that the people of England will be able justly to appreciate the real extent of their obligations to probably one of the wisest and most influential statesmen that ever controlled the destinies of the nation. But, my Lords, deserving of admiration as were the qualities I have enumerated, it is by ties of a tenderer nature that he will have most endeared himself to our affection. Good, wise, accomplished, useful as he was, little would all these engaging characteristics have availed him, unless, before and above all else, he had proved himself worthy of that precious trust which two-and-twenty years ago the people of England confided to his honor, when they gave into his keeping the domestic happiness of their youthful Queen. How faithfully he has fulfilled that trust, how tenderly he has loved, guarded, cherished, honored the bride of his youth, the companion of his manhood, is known in all its fulness but to one alone; yet, so bright has shone the flame of that wedded love, so hallowing has been its influence, that even its reflected light has gladdened and purified many a humble household, and at this moment there is not a woman in Great Britain who will not mournfully acknowledge that as in life he made our Queen the proudest and the happiest, so in death he has left her the most afflicted lady in her kingdom. Well may we then hesitate, my Lords, before we draw near even with words of condolence to that widowed Throne, wrapped as it is in the awful majesty of grief; yet if there is one thing on earth which might bring—I will not say consolation, but some soothing of her grief, to our afflicted Sovereign, it would be the consciousness of that universal love and sympathy for her with which the heart of England is at this moment full to bursting. Great as has been the affection always felt for her by her subjects, the feeling has now attained an intensity difficult to imagine. Death and sorrow have broken down the conventional barriers that have hitherto awed into silence the expression of her people's love;—it is not a Monarch in a palace that they now see, but a stricken Woman in a desolate home; and public meetings, and addresses of condolence, and marble memorials utterly fail to interpret the unspeakable yearning with which the entire nation would fain gather her to its bosom, and, if it were possible, for ever shelter her from all the ills and sorrows of this storm-shaken world. Surely, next to the compassion of God must be such love from such a people! To give expression to these sentiments, as far as the forms of State will admit, will, I am certain, be the heartfelt desire of your



Lordships' House ; and not, even when in some day of battle and defeat your Lordships' ancestors made a rampart of their lives round the person of their king, will the Peers of England have gathered round the Throne in a spirit of more genuine devotion ; and heartily, I am sure, my Lords, will you join me in praying that the same inscrutable Providence which has visited our Queen and country with so great a calamity will give to her and us patience to bow before the dread decree ; and that the Father of the fatherless and the Comforter of the afflicted will, in His own good time, afford to our beloved Sovereign such a measure of consolation as is to be found in the love of her lost husband's children, in the veneration of his memory, the fulfilment of his wishes, and the imitation of his bright example. Such a wish can be embodied in no nobler words than those furnished by the great poet of our age :—

‘ May all love,  
 ‘ His love unseen, but felt, o’ershadow thee,  
 ‘ The love of all thy sons encompass thee,  
 ‘ The love of all thy daughters cherish thee,  
 ‘ The love of all thy people comfort thee,  
 ‘ Till God's love set thee at his side again.’

And now, my Lords, glad should I be might my task of sorrowful reminiscence be here concluded ; but on such an occasion it is impossible not to remember that since we were last assembled the service of two other trusted and faithful councillors has been lost to the Crown and to the State—the one a Member of your Lordships' House, cut off in the prime of his manhood and in the midst of one of the most brilliant careers that ever flattered the ambition of an English Statesman—the other a Member of the other House of Parliament, after a long life of such uninterrupted labor and unselfish devotion to the business of the country as has seldom characterized the most indefatigable public servant. My Lords, it is not my intention to enumerate the claims upon our gratitude possessed by those two departed Statesmen ; but, in taking count of the losses sustained by Parliament during the last recess, it is impossible not to pause an instant beside the vacant places of Lord Herbert and Sir James Graham. Each has gone to his account, and each has died, falling where he fought, as best befitted the noble birth and knightly lineage of each. My Lords, whenever in her hour of need England shall marshal her armies for the vindication of her honor, or the protection of her territories, the name of him who labored so assiduously for the improvement or the sanitary condition of the soldier at a time when peace was devastating our barracks in more fatal proportion than war our camps, will never lack its appointed meed of praise. And when the day shall come for the impartial pen of history to blazon those few names to whom alone it is given to be recognized by posterity as the leading spirits of a by-gone age, the trusted friend, the laborious coadjutor, the sagacious colleague of Lord Aberdeen, and of Sir Robert Peel, shall as surely find his just measure of renown. But, my Lords, it was neither in the hope of winning guerdon or renown that the Prince whom we mourn and the Statesmen whom we have lost preferred the path of painful, self-denying duty to the life of luxury and ease that lay within their reach. They obeyed a nobler instinct ; they were led by the light of a higher revelation ; they cast their bread upon the waters in the

faith of an unknown return. '*Omnia fui, nihil expedit,*' sighed one of the greatest of Roman emperors as he lay upon his death-bed at York ; yet when, a moment afterwards, the captain of his guard came to him for the watchword of the night, with his dying breath he gave it, '*Laboremus.*' So is it, my Lords, with us ; we labor, and others enter into the fruit of our labors ; we dig the foundation, and others build, and others again raise the superstructure ; and one by one the faithful workmen, their spell of toil accomplished, descend it may be into oblivion and an unhonored grave—but higher, brighter, fairer, rises the fabric of our social policy ; broader and more beautiful spread out on every side the sacred realms of civilization ; further and further back retire the dark tides of ignorance, misery, crime—nay, even of disease and death itself, until to the eye of the enthusiastic speculator on the destinies of the human race it might almost seem as if in the course of ages it might be granted to the intellectual energy and moral development of mankind to reconquer a lost Paradise and reconstruct the shattered harmony of creation ! In what degree it may be granted to this country to work out such a destiny none can tell ; but, though heavy be the shadow cast across the land by the loss of the good and great, most eloquently do their lives remind us that our watchword in the darkness still should be '*Laboremus* !'"

In 1862, Lord Dufferin married Harriot, eldest daughter of the late Archibald R. Hamilton, of Killyleagh Castle, County Down. In 1863, he was nominated a Knight of St. Patrick and in 1864 was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the County Down.

He kept steadily rising in the estimation of his party, and in public favor, when in 1864 he was offered the position of Under Secretary of State for India, which he held until the early part of 1866, when he was offered the Government of Bombay, which he was forced to decline on account of the delicate state of his mother's health. He was then transferred to the War Department, as Under Secretary, where he remained until June of that year. When Mr. Gladstone came into power in December, 1868, Lord Dufferin was nominated Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Paymaster General, and was sworn in as a Privy Councillor. Subsequently, in November, 1871, he was made an Earl of the United Kingdom. He held the appointment of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster until April, 1872, when he received his commission, as Governor General of Canada, from the Government of which Mr. Gladstone was Premier.

This appointment placed Lord Dufferin in a position where his active mind would find scope for its excellent qualities. He had now been in political life for about twenty-five years, but though his career had given evidence of the possession of the abilities requisite to the formation of a statesman, it had not, thus far, given him the opportunity to prove it. He took office as one of the Lords in Waiting in 1849,



but this position gave him but little political significance. The offices for Under Secretary for India, and for War, were of a subordinate character, nor did the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, afford any special opportunities for the acquisition of distinction. The incidents connected with his mission to Syria, though of the greatest importance, did not attract any very general attention at the time ; in fact all that Lord Dufferin accomplished there was only fully known and appreciated by his political chiefs. The opponents of Mr. Gladstone admitted that Lord Dufferin possessed great talent for government, and his political friends were glad to see an opportunity given to him to show to the world that his qualities were really as great as they believed them to be.

He had for many years been known and appreciated in Ireland where he was regarded as the *beau ideal* of an Irish nobleman. He was a Liberal, but not an extreme one. He had many sympathies with Irish landlords, but these did not interfere with his kindly feeling for Irish tenants. His chivalrous spirit led him to sympathize even with the complaints of the Orangemen when they were exposed to the one-sided operation of the Party Processions Act, although, as Lieutenant of his county, he had committed Mr. Johnstone for a breach of the Act. It was, by many, sincerely regretted that as an Irish nobleman, thoroughly acquainted with Irish affairs, he had not been offered the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, and when the Governor Generalship of India became vacant by the death of Lord Mayo, it became a question whether he or Lord Northbrook should go to India. Eventually Lord Northbrook was sent to Calcutta, and Lord Dufferin to Canada.\*

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\* There was a singular unanimity of feeling among the leading journals of the day on Lord Dufferin's appointment. One fairly summarized the general opinion in England and Ireland, when it wrote : " Lord Dufferin has at length obtained a working office, in the conduct of which he can display his signal abilities, and the Dominion, we are entitled to presume, will regard the choice made by our Government with warm approval. Courteous, cultivated, prudent, yet enterprising, gifted with an imagination which is as useful to a general or a statesman, as to a poet or a musician, the new Governor General is precisely the person to fill an office which demands tact in the management of men, acuteness in the perception of things, and a comprehensive moderation, able to make ample allowance for party passions and national peculiarities. If the same talents which fitted Lord Dufferin for mediating successfully between the stolid Mussulman and the fanatical Druse, the shifting Maronite and the red-breeched Frenchman, carving boastful

His appointment was important, when we recollect that in 1872 the relations of Great Britain with the United States, and the vexed and difficult topics affecting the position of Canada towards the Mother Country, demanded a policy cautious yet bold, delicate yet firm. It will be remembered that Lord Dufferin, though not a member of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, was a member of his Government, and that the policy of that Government was then looked upon by a large portion of the people of Britain and of Canada as indicating, at least, a half-heartedness in the preservation of their connection. It was urged against Mr. Gladstone that he had, in tolerably plain terms, informed Canada that England would consent to retain her only so long as she cost nothing, and would be ready to cast her off at any moment, and would certainly do so if ever her sacrifice became necessary to secure peace. Lord Dufferin's position as Governor of Canada appointed by a Government holding such views instantly became embarrassing. He was, in fact, about to undertake the government of a country, as the representative of an Imperial policy, which was suspected of forcing upon that country the serious consideration of the question of separation, and impelling men whose dearest wish was to strengthen the ties between the Colony and England to ask whether it would not be better to do at once themselves what the Imperial power seemed determined upon forcing them to do when it suited its own purpose. The embarrassment of Lord Dufferin's position was materially increased by the feeling then largely prevalent in Canada that her interests had been sacrificed by the Washington Treaty, for the purpose of settling questions with the United States, which it was convenient for the Imperial Government to see removed from further discussion.

It was determined to honor the Earl and Countess of Dufferin with a banquet at Belfast on the eve of their departure for Canada, and it speaks well for their popularity that the grand demonstration

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inscriptions on the rocks above the Dog river, will enable him to deal equitably with the French Acadians, the orange, green, and sturdy old buff and blue Canadians, and the generous, but quick-tempered Yankees across the border, it is matter of surprise to many that a politician whose abilities were well known should have been kept so long out of active employment." \* \* \* \* "Common sense, solidity of judgment, dignity, courtliness, are required in the West as much as in the East, for on both continents questions are certain to arise which nothing but insight, conciliatory manners, and firmness will be able to solve. Lord Dufferin's Irish blood and breeding will stand him in good stead among a people variously composed of Celt and Teuton, yet strongly attached to the old country."



which was the result of this determination was attended by gentlemen and ladies of all parties and creeds.\* On 11th June, 1872, their Excellencies were accordingly entertained at Belfast. The Mayor of Belfast, Mr. John Savage, presided, and there was a large and brilliant assemblage, the hall being crowded with the leading citizens of Belfast and landed gentry of the neighboring counties. The Deputy-Lieutenants and Consuls appeared in uniform. The hall was beautifully decorated. Grace was said by the Rev. William Johnston, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and thanks were returned by the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor and Dromore.

The preliminary toasts having been given, the Chairman proposed the toast of the evening: "The health of His Excellency, the Governor General of Canada."

His Excellency, on rising to respond, was received with continued cheering. He said—

"MR. MAYOR, MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am sure it will be easily understood that, to any one in my situation to-night, it must be difficult to find words either simple enough or strong enough to express his thanks. Those whom I see around me are representatives of all that is most distinguished in the social, mercantile, political and professional world of Ulster and the North. They are, therefore, the very men whose good opinion it has always been my chief ambition to acquire. Amongst them are included not only my personal friends and political associates, but numbers to whom it has been my misfortune to find myself opposed on many momentous public questions, and on whose indulgence and sympathy, therefore, I could have no claim, beyond what their native generosity of feeling must supply. (Cheers.) Yet all have been pleased to join together to-night in a demonstration of personal kindness and goodwill towards Lady Dufferin and myself, so cordial and so unanimous, so diverse in the quarters whence it proceeds, and so magnificent in its outward characteristics, as may well render the object of it speechless from surprise and gratitude. (Loud cheers). Yet, ladies and gentlemen, however unequal I may be to making you understand all

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\* A leading Belfast journal, politically opposed to the Earl of Dufferin, thus speaks of the proposed banquet:—

"We need not tell the people of Belfast and of Ulster that we are opposed politically to the party with which Lord Dufferin is connected, but this is not a question of creed or party, for all creeds and all parties will be glad to hear of the advancement of Lord Dufferin to the important position of Governor General of the Dominion of Canada. Apart from political consideration, men of all creeds and parties can observe in his Lordship many admirable social qualities, an anxious desire to promote the welfare of all classes, however we may differ on the means employed, an unwavering interest in the prosperity of Belfast and its institutions;

that I feel at this moment, there is one assurance I must hasten to give you, and that is, that I fully comprehend that it is not to anything that I have done, or been, or am, that I owe this supreme honor ; but that I am indebted for it to that instinctive feeling of sympathy which all Irish hearts show towards those who, in the discharge of anxious public duties, are called upon to leave their home and native land. (Applause). You, Mr. Mayor, have indeed been good enough to lay some stress on my humble efforts to promote the advantage of this town and neighborhood—(hear, hear)—but, although I am conscious that the desire to serve my country has never ceased to be the great passion of my life—(hear)—a sense of how little I have been able to do towards so great an end has not failed to supply me with a store of humiliating reflections. In one respect alone is my conscience at ease, and that is in the knowledge that from my earliest entry into public life, neither from fear nor favor, neither from a love of applause nor from a dread of running counter to any dominant tide of popular sentiment, have I ever been turned aside from advocating what I believed to be fair, and just, and right. (Great cheering). As a consequence I have found myself opposed in turn to many of the phases of political thought and feeling which may have prevailed in this country. Probably there are many gentlemen in this room—I trust no lady—(hear, hear)—to whom at one time or another my words and conduct may have been displeasing—(hear, hear, and cheering)—but I hope I may regard their presence here to-night as an assurance that in the warmest moments of controversy, no matter how strong my personal convictions, I have never failed to pay to my temporary opponents that respect and deference which was due to their high character, their conscientious motives, and their intellectual eminence. (Applause). On the other hand I trust I may take this opportunity of assuring those of my entertainers with whom I have been politically allied that I retain a no less grateful appreciation of the confidence with which they have honored me, of the encouragement with which they have greeted my humble efforts on their behalf, and of the genial and affectionate cordiality which has invested our political intercourse with the attributes of personal friendship. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, Constitutional Government must necessarily be carried on by party. (Hear, hear.) Allegiance to one's party is the first obligation on every honorable man. (Hear, hear.) Party warfare is as necessary to our political existence as those conflicting forces which hold the world in equilibrium, and refresh and purify the face of nature. But if there is one respect in which public life in this country has the advantage over public life amongst other nations, it is that our statesmen, in respecting themselves, have learned to respect each other—(hear, hear)—it is that each section of the community, in advocating its own opinions or interests, is content to do so with sobriety and moderation, and that a mutual spirit of forbearance leads to the

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and a readiness to comply with the wishes of our various social sections, and with their various tastes." \* \* \* "The Dominion of Canada is one of the most important dependencies of the British Crown, and it is daily growing in importance."

\* \* \* "The community at large in Canada will derive the benefit of Lord Dufferin's great wisdom, and ability as a scholar and a Governor."



settlement of the most burning questions under conditions in which both sides can eventually acquiesce ; it is that political controversy seldom degenerates into personal rancor ; it is that when once Her Majesty has been pleased to invest one of her subjects with representative authority, whether as a judge, an ambassador, or a viceroy—(cheers)—no matter what may have been the vehemence of his political antecedents, his countrymen of all classes and parties are content to regard him henceforth as their common servant, champion, and representative—(hear, hear)—as emancipated from all taint of political partizanhip—(hear, hear)—and as actuated by a simple desire to serve the nation at large. (Cheers.) It is this generosity of sentiment on the part of the British people which seems to have acted like an inspiration on the minds of those great men whose services abroad have added so many glorious pages to our history. It has purified their natures, elevated their aspirations, invigorated their intellects, until, as in the case of Lord Canning,—(cheers)—Lord Elgin—(cheers)—and our late lamented countryman, Lord Mayo—(loud cheers)—their reputations have expanded beyond the anticipations of their warmest friends, and in dying they have left behind them almost heroic memories. (Loud cheers.) And how could this be otherwise ? As the ship he sails in, slowly moves away from the familiar shore, as the well-known features of the landscape, the bright villas, the pointed spires, the pleasant woods, the torrent beds that scar the mountain side, gradually melt down into a single tint, till only the broad outline of his native coast attracts his gaze, something of an analogous process operates within his mind, and, as he considers his mission and his destiny, the landmarks of home politics grow faint, the rugged controversies which divide opinion become indistinct, the antagonisms of party strife recede into the distance, while their place is occupied by the aspect of an united nation, which has confided its interests and its honor to his keeping, and by the image of the beloved Mistress he represents and serves. (Loud cheers.) It is thoughts like these—it is the consciousness that he carries with him the confidence of his countrymen, the good wishes of his friends, the favor of his Queen—that compels a man to forget himself, his selfish interests and feelings, and makes him wholly his country's ; which gives him courage to incur responsibility, to sustain odium, to confront danger, to sacrifice health, and, if need be, life itself, at the simple call of duty. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, as far as such inspiring auspices as these can ensure success, few will have left their native shores under more encouraging circumstances than myself. (Hear, hear.) I only wish I could feel that the friendly anticipations you have expressed were more certain to be realised. But, after all, perhaps a deep and almost oppressive sense of the responsibility of one's position, a humble hope to be enabled, in spite of one's deficiencies, to do one's duty, a due appreciation of the honor of one's post, is a better preparation for a future career than a more confident and self-satisfied frame of mind. (Cheers.) At all events, there is one function of my great office which will prove a labor of love, and to the discharge of which I know I shall not be unequal—that which will consist in presenting myself to our fellow-subjects across the Atlantic as the embodiment and representative of that kind feeling—(hear, hear)—of that deep sympathy—(hear, hear)—of that ceaseless and indestructible pride and affection with which all classes and all parties in this country regard the inhabitants of our

great Dominion. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, you are of course aware that the Government of Canada is strictly constitutional—(hear, hear)—that it reflects, in all respects, the institutions of this country, and that this resemblance is maintained, not merely by the outward form of its machinery, but, what is of far greater importance, by that spirit of dignified moderation and sagacious statesmanship which inspires the conduct of those distinguished men who have successfully administered her affairs and directed the councils of her legislature. (Cheers.) Why, the mere creation of the Dominion, the union of the Provinces, the concentration of power in the hands of a Supreme Parliament, whose jurisdiction now extends from ocean to ocean, is itself a proof of the patriotism, of the ability, and of the organising power of the Canadian people. (Hear, hear.) It is not to be supposed but that many local interests, prejudices and traditions must have imagined themselves compromised by the absorption of the Local Legislatures into the bosom of the mightier body; but not only have the wisest councils on the subject been permitted to prevail, and all minor jealousies been obliterated, but even those who most vehemently opposed the arrangement, when once the controversy was concluded, have acquiesced in the settlement, and with a loyal and generous patriotism have done their very best to render nugatory their own misgivings, and to make the system they at one time found it necessary to oppose work to the best possible advantage. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, who can now doubt the constructive power, the statesmanlike instincts, the vitality, or the future of a community whose Parliament and whose statesmen can already boast of such notable achievements in the art of government? (Hear, hear.) But, ladies and gentlemen, to be the interpreter of the goodwill of the people of Great Britain towards the inhabitants of Canada is not the only congenial duty imposed upon me by my office. There is another of an analogous kind which it will give me hardly less pleasure to discharge. Side by side with the Dominion of Canada, along a frontier of more than 2,000 miles, extends the territory of a kindred race—(hear, hear, and applause)—who are working out their great destiny under institutions which, though differing in some of their outward aspects from our own, have been elaborated under the inspiration of that same love of freedom—(hear, hear)—that reverence for law, that sober, practical statesmanship—(hear, hear)—that capacity of self-discipline—(hear, hear)—which characterises the English-speaking race. As the Chief of the Executive of Canada, as the representative of the British Crown, as the servant and spokesman of the British people, it will be my agreeable duty to exhibit on all occasions whatever of hospitality, courtesy, and friendliness to the citizens of the United States may most accurately exhibit that genuine sympathy felt by this country for America, which, in spite of any momentary and superficial disputes which may trouble the outward surface of their amity, descends too deep down into the hearts of both peoples ever to be really shaken or disturbed. (Loud cheers.) It has been my good fortune to know a great number of distinguished Americans. Some of my dearest friends are natives of the States, and not the least of the pleasant anticipations which await me is the prospect of acquiring a better knowledge and becoming more intimately acquainted with the social and political organization of that great and prosperous nation. (Loud applause.) But of course the most constant and absorbing duty of every one connected with the Government of Can-



ada, and one not less agreeable than those to which I have alluded, will be that of developing the latent wealth and the enormous material resources of the vast territory comprised within my new jurisdiction. Few people in this country have any notion how blessed by nature is the Canadian soil. (Hear, hear.) The beauty, majesty, and material importance of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence is indeed the theme of every traveller, while the stupendous chain of lakes to which it is the outlet is well known to afford a system of inland navigation such as is to be found in no other part of the habitable globe. The inexhaustible harvest of its seas annually gathered by its hardy maritime population, the innumerable treasures of its forests, are known to all ; but what is not so generally understood is that beyond the present inhabited regions of the country—beyond the towns, the lakes, the woods—there stretches out an enormous breadth of rich alluvial soil comprising an area of thousands of square miles, so level, so fertile, so ripe for cultivation, so profusely watered, and intersected by enormous navigable rivers, with so exceptionally mild a climate, as to be destined at no distant time to be occupied by millions of our prosperous fellow subjects, and to become a central granary for the adjoining continents. (Cheers.) Such a scene as this may well fire the most sluggish imagination, nor can there be conceived a greater privilege than being permitted to watch the development of an industry and civilization fraught with such universal advantage to the human race. In fact, ladies and gentlemen, it may be doubted whether the inhabitants of the Dominion themselves are as yet fully awake to the magnificent destiny in store for them—(hear, hear, hear)—or have altogether realized the promise of their young and virile nationality. Like a virgin goddess in a primæval world, Canada still walks in unconscious beauty among her golden woods and by the margin of her trackless streams, catching but broken glances of her radiant majesty, as mirrored on their surface, and scarcely recks as yet of the glories awaiting her in the Olympus of nations.” (Loud and long cheering.)

It will be observed that in this speech Lord Dufferin speaks of the resources of Canada in terms which no one who had not made them a study could have used. His declaration, that beyond the present inhabited regions of the country there stretches an enormous breadth of rich alluvial soil, so fertile, so profusely watered, and possessing so mild a climate as to be destined to become the home of millions and the granary for continents, is as accurate as the splendid and amplified description he gave of these regions when in Manitoba, after having personally inspected great portions of the country, he delivered the great speech hereafter to be quoted.\*

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\* In M. D. Conway's London letter we find the following : “ I once got on the top of an omnibus, running from Kingston towards Piccadilly,—eschewing the inside in order that I might enjoy a balmy April morning, and also a whiff of that weed which, as the Indians told Columbus, ‘ destroys care.’ By my side there sat a middle-sized man with a very intelligent countenance, who had assumed the same elevated but democratic position from evidently the same motive as mine.

That Lord Dufferin was regarded with respect and love by all classes was further proved by the warm expressions used in addresses which were poured in upon him from the various charitable, scientific and other associations. A general review of his career up to the time of his appointment to Canada, and of the almost universal feeling with which his elevation was received, may thus be summed up. In his own country, and especially in his own province of Ulster, where his qualities as a landowner and a neighbor were best known, he was highly popular. In the mingled force and grace of his character it was admitted that he united the shrewd practical energy and activity of the North of Ireland, with the kindly humour and generous sentiment of the South. In the discussion and settlement of many intricate and embarrassing questions, and notably those

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We had a good deal of conversation. He was particularly interested in America, and indicated such an intimacy with its politics that he might have been mistaken for an American, especially as there was very little of the Englishman in his appearance. He had a face more Celtic than Saxon—a fine, intellectual forehead—a light, soft eye,—in all, a face of delicate beauty, but at the same time vigorous in expression. We discussed Tennyson's poetry, and that of Robert Browning. Certain little observations made me aware that he was the personal friend of both poets. But he was chiefly interested in American politics, taking very heartily the side of the men of progress there, and asking many questions about Wendell Phillips, and other reformers. He said it had been his privilege to meet Senator Sumner when he was in Europe seeking to recover his health, and was much pleased with him, but that he had felt deeply grieved by his speech on the Alabama question. It did not at all do justice even to the devotion which many of the highest classes, even the nobility—the Argyles, Granvilles, Howards, Carlises, Houghtons and others—had shewn to the cause of the North; much less to the sacrifices which the great mass of working people had borne uncomplainingly rather than countenance any of the propositions made for interfering with the determination of the North to crush the rebellion. He rejoiced in the liberation of America from slavery, and believed it would be reflected in England and in Europe in a mighty advance of liberalism. He hoped still that the Alabama difficulties would be surmounted, and England and America enter upon a friendship such as they had never before known, and march together, on the highway of human progress. I was much delighted with my companion's ideas of literature, art, and politics:—his fine eye, and his charming voice, and his beaming expression, convinced me that I was in the presence of no ordinary man. By the time we reached Regent's Circus, cigars were ended—my new acquaintance alighted and disappeared among the millions of London, with a fair prospect of remaining with me for the time to come only as a pleasant omnibus-top memory. But it was not so to be. A few evenings afterwards I happened to be in the Strangers' Section of the House of Lords. A debate in which I found little interest was going on, and my eyes



relating to the Church and Land, he had taken a conspicuous and decided part as a Liberal, without being the mere echo of a ministry or a party. While expressing his opinions with freedom, and standing fast by his principles with ardour and sincerity, he counted warm personal friends among strong political opponents ;—and when he was about leaving his country to undertake, by the favor of his Sovereign, imperial duties and responsibilities, all parties concurred in doing him honor, and in wishing him a hearty and affectionate farewell. It was universally admitted that numbers of influential people who only knew Lord Dufferin by the general report of his public services and his private worth, had marked him out for higher honors and rewards than those of a comparatively obscure and subordinate member of an Administration. It was no

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were wandering about from face to face, lingering here and there upon one which seemed like an historical figure-head of ancient aristocratic England. But a voice struck me as one I had heard before. I could not be mistaken in that low, clear tone. Certainly when I looked in the direction of the man who had begun to speak, I could not be mistaken. It was my friend of the omnibus-top. Dry as the theme was—I have forgotten it—the speaker invested it with interest. He had looked deeper into it than others,—knew the point on which the question turned, and in a few simple words made the statement to which nothing could be added. This was my first meeting with Lord Dufferin, but not, I am happy to say, the last. It has been my privilege to meet him in society, to listen to him, to know something of his life, and my first impression has been more than confirmed. I am quite sure that there is no one among the Peers of England who surpasses him in all that goes to make the gentleman, the true-hearted man, and the refined scholar. The appointment of Lord Dufferin to be the Governor General of Canada is at this moment very significant. It means obviously that it is deemed important that there should be in Canada, just now, one who has been all his life one of the most faithful friends of the United States ; and also one who, as an Irish nobleman, has pursued a course towards his tenants in that country which has left him without an enemy there. So far as America is concerned—even Irish America—his record is without a blot, nor are these the only qualifications which Lord Dufferin has for the post to which he is sent. Twelve years ago he was entrusted with the delicate mission of settling difficulties between the natives and Christians in Syria, where he displayed much capacity, and for his services was made K. C. B. He also successfully compromised difficulties between the French and the Druses, and shewed such great tact and ability in dealing with the Turks and other Orientals that many of the most influential men at once named him as the right man to succeed Lord Mayo in India. There was, indeed, a slight disappointment in some quarters that Lord Northbrook should have been preferred for the post in question. But Canada gains a great deal by it. England could send her no better man."

secret that, in an office generally supposed to be a sinecure, he was often called upon to exhibit the aptitude and the readiness of a statesman. Whether as a Royal Commissioner, or as a departmental adviser, or as a clear and candid expositor of legislative measures in his place in Parliament, he had, by his patient and meritorious services, fairly earned his promotion to one of the highest appointments in the gift of the Crown. When the sudden and tragic fate of Lord Mayo had added another name to the martyrology of Indian rulers, the Earl of Dufferin was certainly one of the favorite candidates in Britain for the vacant Pro-consulate. But he was reserved for a dignity only one degree less splendid and momentous than the Vice-royalty of India, and one possibly more fitted to his character and capacity. The Government of Canada was strictly constitutional, and the Governor General had to rule as a constitutional sovereign. For such a post it would have been difficult to select a statesman better fitted by temperament, habit, and experience than one in whom the training and the discipline of the English intellect was so happily mingled with the sympathetic charm and the imaginative insight of the Irish genius. It was declared by men best able to judge that the new Governor General of Canada would bear with him across the ocean the best of passports to a sound popularity, a brilliant success, and an instinctive sympathy with the people over whose destinies he was to preside. It was pointed out that his parting speech at Belfast would be welcomed on this side the Atlantic as the pledge and presage of a beneficent and enlightened guardianship. It was confidently predicted that the people of Canada would appreciate the unaffected simplicity and sincerity of Lord Dufferin's declaration, that to serve his country had always been the great passion of his life, and that, whatever his infirmities or his imperfections, he would be sustained by the consciousness of having never turned aside from advocating what he believed to be fair, just, and right. It was said that the applause of his countrymen and neighbors ratified this assurance, and bore witness to the temper of the man, who had never been betrayed by political controversy into personal rancour, and who was going out to his distant Government with the unanimous good will of all classes and parties whom he was leaving behind, and who, to use his own words were "content to regard him henceforth as their common servant, champion, and representative,—as emancipated from all taint of political partisanship, and as actuated by a simple desire to serve



the nation at large." It was well remarked that to embody, represent, and interpret the affectionate feeling of all classes and of all parties in Britain towards their Canadian fellow-subjects would be an easy task to one who could express so vividly and so feelingly as Lord Dufferin did at Belfast this sentiment of a common inheritance of patriotism, transcending and effacing all local interests and jealousies. The glowing language in which he described the aspects and resources of the Dominion, and pointed to its magnificent destinies, was no burst of idle rhetoric, but the thoughtful outpouring of one for whom the responsibility of watching over the peaceful conquests of civilization was a labor of love, and an inspiring privilege. Nor was it forgotten that the cordial fervor with which the chief of the Executive of Canada and the representative of the British Crown anticipated the prospects of fulfilling the duties of neighborly hospitality and good-will towards the great kindred nation was less characteristic of the tact and temper which promised to make Lord Dufferin's administration in Canada a happy epoch in the Western world.

That Lord Dufferin was a patriot in the highest sense of the word was proven by his great services in the cause of the regeneration of Ireland when Mr. Gladstone took office in 1872, and introduced those large measures of church and land reforms with which his name has become so closely identified. Lord Dufferin recognized the necessity of these changes long before the masses of the Irish people were enabled to regard with complacent equanimity the sight of a Protestant nobleman advocating the disestablishment and disendowment of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the passing of comprehensive measures of land reform. Born, as Lord Dufferin was, of a noble family, and living the greater part of his life in the most Protestant county in Ireland, it required no small amount of courage to stand forth the sole champion of religious equality and tenant right amongst the nobility of his province. He never stooped to court popular favor. He pandered to no prejudices for the sake of acquiring an ephemeral popularity.

At Derry, Lord Dufferin was presented with an address by the Mayor and Corporation on behalf of the citizens, expressing their appreciation of his high character and great abilities, and congratulating him on his appointment to the elevated position of Governor General of the Dominion of Canada. A luncheon given to their Excellencies was attended by all the notabilities of the city and the adjoining country, and on 13th June they left the council chamber where

the luncheon was given and were conveyed to the Allan steamship, Prussian, bound to Quebec, where they arrived on the morning of Tuesday, 25th June, 1872.



## CHAPTER II.

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Sketch of the early government of the British North American Provinces—Rise and Progress of “Constitutional” or “Responsible” Government—Maritime Provinces in 1839—Lord Durham, Governor General, May, 1838, to November, 1838—His Report—Lord Sydenham, October, 1838, to September, 1841—Union of Upper and Lower Canada determined on—Lord Sydenham’s Rule—Sir Charles Bagot’s Administration, January, 1842, to March, 1843—Lord Metcalfe’s Rule, March, 1843, to November, 1845—The Government of Lord Elgin, 1847 to 1855—Rebellion Losses Bill—Beautiful Farewell Address of Lord Elgin—Sir Edmund Head, Governor General, January, 1855, to 1861—Movement for Confederation of the British North America Provinces—Lord Monck, 1861 to 1868—The two Canadas, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Confederated 1st July, 1867—British Columbia moving for Confederation—Sir John Young, afterwards Lord Lisgar, Governor General, 1868 to 1872—Cession of North-West Territories to the Dominion—British Columbia and Vancouver Island enter Confederation, 20th July, 1871—The Earl of Dufferin appointed Governor General—Arrives at Quebec, 25th June, 1872—Farewell Speech of Lord Lisgar.

THE history of the Imperial rule in British North America is the history of a paternal Government, gradually changing from a semi-military to a personal character, and from a personal to the counterpart of the constitution under which the parent country is now governed.\* Like its great exemplar, the Constitution of these Colonies has been changed from time to time, to meet the needs of an ever varying population; the growth of liberty with us has kept pace with the growth of liberty in the parent state, and each accession to popular power in Britain has been gradually, but surely, followed by a fresh

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\* In Canada this form of government is known as “Responsible Government.” This, strictly speaking, is inaccurate. The proper term is “Constitutional Government,” but the former phrase has perhaps become too well established now to be discarded.

accession to popular power in her great colonies of North America. The ready willingness of the parent state to permit this accession is the simple secret of the almost passionate loyalty of the Canadian of 1878 to the British Crown. The rebellion of 1837-8 is but a seeming contradiction of this general statement, since it was brought about not by the unwillingness of the Imperial power to grant the reasonable demands of a minority, but by the ill-advised measures of the Colonial Executive itself.

The early Governors of the Provinces were usually, and almost necessarily, military men. The people were not, it was supposed, prepared even for the mild restraints which Britain imposed on a conquered territory. In those early days Constitutional Government in England, as now understood, was almost unknown. The power of the Sovereign was very great. Each Sovereign was anxious to retain it at its full height, and felt himself bound in honor to transmit it to his heir undiminished in extent and un-reduced in strength. He looked upon the Colonies as part of his patrimony; they were to him an outlying possession, to be made happy, if possible, by gentle treatment, but to be made subservient to the great interests of the parent state, in any event, and to be held by a strong grasp, an iron one, if necessary, as an appanage of the Imperial Crown forever. Thus it was that restrictions were placed on Colonial industry. The trade measures of the Provinces were invariably shaped to meet the interests of the traders of Britain, and Pitt expressed in a sentence the whole policy of Britain to her Transatlantic Empire when he said "I will not permit even a horse shoe nail to be manufactured in America." This Imperial policy, has always been changed, when the colonists have made a firm demand for its modification. The early representatives of the Crown were chosen, therefore, more as guardians of the Sovereign's properties than as guardians of the rights of the colonist,—more as assertors of the Royal prerogative than of colonial freedom,—more for the purpose of increasing the profits of Home trade than for the purpose of winning the affections of a young people, struggling to create an independence for themselves and their families, and a form of government relieved from the heavy hand of a supervising power seated in a country differing from their own in the most vital essentials. As a rule these representatives of Imperial power knew but little of Constitutional Government, and their instructions did not require them to begin its study. They were sent out as governors, and they, not unnaturally, considered that the more the people were permitted to govern themselves, the less were



they governors. When, therefore, they found their subjects disposed to demand an increase of popular power, they instantly regarded the demand as an attack on that indefinable territory commonly known as the "prerogative of the Crown," and with a loyalty to their Sovereign, of which even we cannot well speak harshly, interposed the powers with which they were amply provided to resist the encroachments of the people.

But as the Provinces grew in population, they grew in wealth; as they grew in wealth, they grew in intelligence; as they grew in intelligence, they grew in power. They had passed from childhood,—they were now in young manhood; the old system of government was daily becoming more unsuited to the genius and wants of the people, and was therefore daily becoming more unpopular. The upheaval in England which resulted in the passing of the Reform Bill was felt wherever a British heart beat. The power of Colonial Governors in British North America was fast decreasing,—the people discovered that a peaceful but determined agitation in England was an engine which would sooner or later crush both monarch and aristocracy, and they were not slow to follow the example of the liberals of the old country.

It will probably surprise many of our young politicians to learn that even so late as 1829, during the Administration of Sir John Colborne, no less than twenty-one bills passed by the Assembly were thrown out in the Upper House, and in 1830 forty met the same fate; that among these was an Act repealing one by which the sum of £2,500 per year had been granted in perpetuity in aid of the civil list; that the Province in this, and many other points, presented the unconstitutional spectacle of a Government requiring no moneys from the Assembly; that the Legislative Council, a creation of the Executive, was not only not in harmony with the people as represented in the Lower House, but offered a violent and contemptuous opposition to their wishes; that no restraint could be imposed on the Executive by an annual vote of supply, or by the withholding of such a vote. In effect, the Governor, supported by an Upper House of his own choosing, was completely independent of the people.

It was in this year that we first hear of "Responsible Government" for Upper Canada. The Hon. Mr. Stanley, (subsequently the Earl of Derby), presented a petition in the British House of Commons, signed by three thousand inhabitants of Toronto, praying, among other things, "that they might have a *local* and *responsible* administration." In

Lower Canada, the Liberals desired an elective Upper House, since they hoped by that means to secure what they termed Constitutional Government, while in Upper Canada, the same party desired to get the Executive into their hands as a means of securing the same object. In Lower Canada, the domination of a race and a religion was sought ; in Upper, the domination of the principle of Responsible Government.

The struggle for an extension of popular power in Lower Canada, through an elective Upper House, and in Upper Canada through a ministry responsible to the Lower House, continued with increasing acrimony until it terminated in the rebellion of 1837, headed by L. J. Papineau in the Lower Province, and by W. L. Mackenzie in the Upper. With regard to the first it may safely be said that every reasonable concession had been made by the Imperial power, but the French leaders had evidently determined to be satisfied with nothing less than independence—while in Upper Canada it may as safely be said that no great body of the people desired independence, and that the outbreak might have been prevented by common prudence and good management.\*

In Upper Canada, Sir Francis Bond Head conducted his Administration on the supposition that the "maintenance of the connection with Great Britain depended upon his triumph over the majority of the Assembly." † But the idea of governing on constitutional principles, as they are now understood, never occurred to him. In Lower Canada the struggle was not, as in the sister Province, one between a Government and the people ; it was a contest between two nations, the British and the French, "warring in the bosom of a single state." ‡ It was a struggle, not of principles, but of races.

The rising in both Provinces was speedily crushed. In February, 1838, the constitution of Lower Canada was suspended by the Imperial Parliament, and the Earl of Durham was appointed Governor General, and also High Commissioner "for the adjustment of certain important affairs affecting the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada."

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\* "I am inclined to view the insurrectionary movements which did take place as indicative of no deep-rooted dissatisfaction, and to believe that almost the entire body of the reformers of this Province (Upper Canada) sought only by constitutional means to obtain those objects for which they had so long peaceably struggled before the unhappy troubles occasioned by the violence of a few unprincipled adventurers and heated enthusiasts." Lord Durham's Report, 118.

† Lord Durham's Report, 112.

‡ Ibid, 8.



The system which had broken down in the Canadas was that under which, with some unimportant differences, the Maritime Provinces were governed. These had not been violently disturbed, but the defects of the general system were common to all. In each, the people were represented by an Assembly elected by themselves, but also in each the Executive was irresponsible, and there was, consequently, the same constant collision between the different branches of the Government,—the same abuse of the powers of the representative bodies, inverted by the anomaly of their position, and the want of good municipal institutions,—and the same constant interference of the Imperial power in matters of a purely local character. That there was but little discontent in these eastern portions of British North America was to be attributed to the fact that important departures from the ordinary course of the colonial system had been made, and a nearer approach to Responsible, or Constitutional, Government had been secured.

Such was the political condition of the Canadas and the Maritime Provinces in 1839. The attempt to rule a free people, armed with the power of representative institutions, through an irresponsible Executive met the only fate it deserved. The Imperial policy kept the Colonies in a state of constant irritation, and yet the authorities in Britain were sincerely desirous to govern with justice and mildness. The true system of a thoroughly Constitutional Government had not yet been adopted even in England, and we should not judge harshly the Ministers of Britain, because they did not give to the Dependencies a system better than the one they themselves possessed. Their Colonial policy was an utter failure. In Britain the agitation attending the passage of the Reform Bill enlarged the ideas and expanded the minds of all classes, and the enlightened views of the Liberals of that country were immediately reflected in the new system which the events of 1837–8 in the Canadas rendered absolutely necessary.

In February, 1838, an Act was passed by the Imperial Legislature suspending the Constitution of Lower Canada,—and making temporary provision for its government by a Special Council, whose ordinances were to be law. The Earl of Durham was appointed Governor General, and also Her Majesty's High Commissioner "for the adjustment of certain important affairs affecting the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada."

He arrived at Quebec, 27th May, 1838, and returned to England 3rd November following, having secured the materials for his celebrated

report. This admirable state paper had a most important effect on the political condition of the British North American possessions, since it led to the union of Upper and Lower Canada,\*—the establishment of Responsible Government, and the general melioration of the Colonial policy of the Empire. But Lord Durham had not the honor of carrying out the great scheme of his report. On his sudden departure from the country he left Sir John Colborne to govern Lower Canada—while Sir Francis Bond Head was pursuing his disastrous course in the Upper Province. On the removal of Sir Francis in March, 1838, Sir George Arthur was appointed his successor; and when Sir John Colborne retired from Lower Canada in October, 1839, he was succeeded by Mr. Poulett Thomson.† The Union of the two Provinces had now been determined on by the Imperial authorities, and they had also resolved on the concession of Constitutional or Responsible Government. The despatch of Lord John Russell of 14th October, 1839, is a full and clear exposition of the principles of Responsible Government as now understood.‡ Mr. Thomson was deputed to secure the assent of the two Canadas to the Union and,

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\* The Bill of the Imperial Parliament, consummating this Union, framed on resolutions passed by the Special Council of Lower Canada, 13th November, 1839, and by the two Houses of Upper Canada in the following month received the Royal Assent 23rd July, 1840, but, by a suspending clause, it did not take effect until 10th February, 1841, when it was declared in force by proclamation.

† Raised to the Peerage in 1840, by the title of "Baron Sydenham of Kent and of Toronto."

‡ As the principles of Responsible Government seem yet to be but indistinctly understood in the Province of Quebec, a careful consideration of this despatch is recommended and especial notice is drawn to the following sentences: "The Sovereign using the prerogative of the Crown to the utmost extent, and the House of Commons exerting its power of the purse, to carry all its resolutions into immediate effect, would produce confusion in the country in less than a twelve-month. So, in a colony: the Governor thwarting every legitimate proposition of the Assembly; and the Assembly continually recurring to its power of refusing supplies, can but disturb all political relations, embarrass trade, and retard the prosperity of the people. Each must exercise a wise moderation. The Governor must only oppose the wishes of the Assembly where the honor of the Crown or the interests of the Empire are deeply concerned." An address was presented to Lord Sydenham by the Assembly, in order to elicit a distinct expression of his views on the question of Responsible Government. On 14th January, 1840, he sent down a message in reply, in which he declared "that he had been commanded by Her Majesty to administer the Government in accordance with the well-understood wishes of the people; and to pay to their feelings, as expressed through their representatives, the deference that was justly due to them."



when secured, he was charged with the duty, as Governor General, of carrying out the liberal and enlightened views of the Imperial Administration, as set forth in Lord John Russell's despatch. He fully concurred in these views. He saw clearly that it was absolutely necessary to make the members of the Government directly responsible to the House of Assembly, as in England. He succeeded in both objects, and Lord Sydenham was the first Governor of any portion of the British Possessions in North America who attempted to rule his province avowedly under the principles of Responsible Government. He enjoyed the triumphant results of his great labors for but a brief period. Incessant work for the preceding two years had undermined a constitution naturally delicate. The fall of his horse, while out riding, on 4th September, 1841, fractured his leg, causing a severe wound above the knee. His weak frame succumbed, and Canada, on the 19th of that month, lost the ablest Governor and the most valuable ruler who had hitherto guided her in her young life.\*

But the principle of Constitutional Government was only initiated under Lord Sydenham,—it was by no means fully developed under his Administration,—in fact, it is doubtful if it ever would have been, for, though an exceptionally able man, he possessed a dominating spirit,—was tenacious of power, and had a firm reliance on his own personal fitness to govern. But the principle had made a vast stride: it had been specifically granted by the Imperial Government,—its full practice had been solemnly urged upon the Governors sent to Canada in the instructions and despatches of the Home Office,—and the system of governing through the active personal interference of the Executive had been formally abandoned.

Sir Charles Bagot, the successor of Lord Sydenham, arrived at Kingston, then the seat of Government, on the 10th January, 1842, and, though his antecedents led many to suppose he would check the progress of Constitutional Government, as he was known to be a High Churchman and a Tory of the old school, he was even more liberal than Lord Sydenham, who had been unwilling to admit to his councils any one who had been unfavorably connected with the late rebellion. But Sir Charles Bagot, adopting the true reading of the principles of Constitutional Government, stood firmly on the broad ground that the

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\* At his own desire Lord Sydenham was buried where he died, in Kingston, then the seat of Government, and it reflects no credit on the Dominion of Canada that no fitting monument to this really great Governor General has not yet been erected to his memory.

constitutional majority had the right to rule, and he therefore determined to use whatever party he found capable of supporting a ministry. The result was that a new Administration was formed, composed of French Canadians from Lower Canada, under the leadership of Mr. Lafontaine, and that section of the Reform party in Upper Canada then led by Mr. Baldwin.

The failing health of Sir Charles compelled him to resign at the close of the year, and he was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who arrived at Kingston on the 25th March, 1843. This very able and very excellent man misconceived his duties, and misunderstood his position as ruler of a country possessed of the principle of Constitutional Government. He attempted to resuscitate the old system, and maintained that he had the right to select the executive officers of the Crown. His short term was a scene of constant irritation among the people;—his policy was a disastrous failure; and, when illness compelled him to resign his charge, in the month of November, 1845, he left the country, probably, with small regret. He had essayed to check the expansion of the great principle of Constitutional Government, and had met with determined resistance and inglorious defeat.

On Lord Metcalfe's resignation, Lieutenant General Earl Cathcart, then commanding the Forces in Canada, was appointed Administrator of the Government until the arrival of the new Governor General, the Earl of Elgin, who reached, on the 30th January, 1847, Montreal, then the seat of government. With the advent of Lord Elgin came the full development of the system of Constitutional Government. He was the first Governor who fully grasped the breadth and depth of its principles, and who loyally worked them out. Lord Elgin was no ordinary man. Of very high educational attainments, he had in turn dealt with the various interests of the Empire, and had enjoyed unusually good opportunities of studying many different forms of Colonial Government. His connection with the family of Lord Durham gave him a special interest in that nobleman's views of Canada, as embodied in his report, and he entered on his duty as Governor General strongly impressed with their excellence, and with a firm determination to work them out.\*

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\* His biographer, Mr. Walrond, in his *Life of Lord Elgin*, page 34, says: "The principles on which he undertook to conduct the affairs of the colony were, that he should identify himself with no party, but make himself a mediator and moderator between the influential of all parties; that he should have no



The Reform Bill in England was doing its work. The extension of the power of the people was a contraction of the power of the Crown, and one of its most direct effects was the total change of colonial policy, which created in Lord Elgin the first true representative of Constitutional Government the British Colonies of North America had yet seen. His loyalty to his principles was put to a crucial test on 26th April, 1849, when he assented to the celebrated Rebellion Losses Bill. This bill had from the first been met with a fierceness of hostility unusual even in the wildest excitement of Canadian politics. It had been condemned at hundreds of public meetings held throughout the length and breadth of the United Provinces—numerous deputations of the leading men of the Conservative party had been sent to the seat of Government to press on His Excellency the injustice and danger of the measure—the press was filled with denunciation of the proposed “outrage”—“No pay to rebels” became the watchword of thousands—serious riots occurred in various parts of the Province, and a storm so fierce was raised that many thoughtful men convinced themselves that Lord Elgin would take refuge in the device of reserving the bill for the assent of Her Majesty. But his construction of the principles of Responsible Government did not permit him to seek safety by such a flight. His Ministry, sustained by a majority in both houses, determined to face the tempest; they demanded the assent of His Excellency, and at the risk of his life he gave it on the morning of the 26th April. On the next morning the smoking ruins of the Parliament House furnished gloomy evidence of the intense hate which the measure had inspired, and within the next twenty-four hours the mob had attacked the Old Government House, where the Ministry were assembled in Council; had completely wrecked the dwelling of the Premier, Mr. Lafontaine, and burned his stables; had smashed the windows of the temporary residences of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Cameron, two of the leading Upper Canada Ministers, and had wrecked the dwellings of other prominent supporters of the obnoxious

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Ministers who did not enjoy the confidence of the Assembly, or, in the last resort, of the people; and that he should not refuse his consent to any measure proposed by his Ministry, unless it were of an extreme party character, such as the Assembly or the people would be sure to disapprove.”

Lord Elgin himself said: “I still adhere to my opinion that the real and effectual vindication of Lord Durham’s memory and proceedings will be the success of a Governor General of Canada who works out his views of government fairly.” Walrond, p. 41.

bill. Subsequently, on the 30th April, His Excellency was attacked in his carriage by the mob, and narrowly escaped death. These disgraceful proceedings led Lord Elgin to tender his resignation, but Her Majesty and her Ministers promptly expressed their entire approval of his conduct, and requested him to retain his position. Their course was subsequently approved by both Houses of the Imperial Parliament; and thus the principles of Constitutional or Responsible Government were triumphantly sustained in a case, where, if in any, a governor would have been justified in reserving the bill for the approval of the Imperial Executive or even in dismissing his Ministers. This first course was pressed on Lord Elgin, but he nobly held to the principles by which his rule was to be governed, and replied that had he taken such a step he would have thrown on Her Majesty's Ministers the responsibility which should properly rest on himself.

It was said that Lord Elgin carried his deference to the wishes of the people, as expressed through their representatives in the Assembly, to an undue extent,—an extent which made him virtually a mere figure head, without actual power in the Government of the country. To this remark he replied :

“ I believe, on the contrary, that there is more room for the exercise of influence on the part of the Governor under my system\* than under any that ever was before devised;—an influence, however, wholly moral, an influence of suasion, sympathy, and moderation, which softens the temper, while it elevates the views of local politics. As the Imperial Government and Parliament gradually withdraw from legislative interference, and from the exercise of patronage in Colonial affairs, the office of Governor tends to become, in the most emphatic sense of the term, the link which connects the Mother Country and the Colony, and his influence the means by which harmony of action between the local and Imperial authorities is to be preserved. It is not, however, in my humble judgment, by evincing an anxious desire to stretch to the utmost, constitutional principles in his favor, but, on the contrary, by the formal acceptance of the conditions of the Parliamentary system, that this influence can be most surely extended and confirmed. Placed by his position above the strife of parties,—holding office by a tenure less precarious than the ministers who surround him,—having no political interest to serve but that of the community whose affairs he is appointed to administer, his opinion cannot fail, when all cause for suspicion and jealousy is removed, to have great weight in the Colonial Councils, while he is set at liberty to constitute himself in an especial manner the patron of those larger and higher interests,—such interests, for example, as those of education, and of moral and material progress in all its branches, which, unlike the contests of party, unite, instead of dividing the members of the body politic.”

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\* The system of Responsible Government.



“The Canadian Tory Rebellion of 1849,” as Lord Elgin called it, having died out, the Province proceeded on its progress of improvement, without any further strain on its institutions during his administration. His term of office having expired in the latter part of 1854 he left Canada, but before his departure he had the almost indescribable satisfaction of knowing that his loyalty to the principles of Constitutional Government had at last received its due reward,—for the dislike and hostility of 1849 had changed into affection and support ; the hot fires of religious and sectional feeling had burned low ; the insults by which he had been overwhelmed had been deeply regretted and honestly atoned for,—and now, when he was about to leave the country forever, he was deluged with expressions of love and admiration, and he departed, laden with the respect and good wishes of a people, who, though sometimes hasty, are never long unjust, and who, though sometimes carried away by the heat of party, are ever ready, so soon as reason returns, frankly to acknowledge their error, and ask forgetfulness of the past.

He left Canada in a blaze of popularity, and in his farewell speech at Montreal he feelingly and gracefully alluded to the past in the following beautiful and touching words : \*

“ And again permit me to assure you that when I leave you, be it sooner or later, I shall carry away no recollections of my sojourn among you except such as are of a pleasing character. I shall remember, and remember with gratitude, the cordial reception I met with at Montreal when I came, a stranger among you, bearing with me for my sole recommendation the commission of our Sovereign. I shall remember those early months of my residence here, when I learned, in this beautiful neighborhood, to appreciate the charms of a bright Canadian winter day, and to take delight in the cheerful music of your sleigh bells. I shall remember one glorious afternoon,—an afternoon in April, when looking down from the hill at Monklands, on my return from transacting business in your city, I beheld that the vast plain stretching out before me, which I had always seen clothed in the white garb of winter, had assumed on a sudden, and, as if by enchantment, the livery of spring ; while your noble St. Lawrence, bursting through his icy fetters, had begun to sparkle in the sunshine, and to murmur his vernal hymn of thanksgiving to the bounteous Giver of light and heat. I shall remember my visits to your Mechanics’ Institutes, and Mercantile Library Associations, and the kind attention with which the advice which I tendered to your young men and citizens was received by them. I shall remember the undaunted courage with which the merchants of this city, while suffering under the pressure of a commercial crisis of almost unparalleled

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\* “ This speech was listened to with tears by a crowded audience in the very place where, a few years before, he had been so scandalously outraged and insulted.”—Walrond, 165.

severity, urged forward that great work which was the first step towards placing Canada in her proper position in this age of railway progress. I shall remember the energy and patriotism which gathered together in this city specimens of Canadian industry, from all parts of the Province, for the World's Fair, and which has been the means of rendering this magnificent conception of the illustrious Consort of our beloved Queen more serviceable to Canada than it has, perhaps, proved to any other of the countless communities which have been represented there. And I shall forget, but, no ; what I might have had to forget is forgotten already, and, therefore, I cannot tell you what I shall forget."

Sir Edmund Walker Head, having been appointed to succeed Lord Elgin as Governor General of Canada, arrived at Quebec in the early part of the year, and opened Parliament on the 23rd February, 1855.

The Administration of Sir Edmund Head is notable chiefly from the fact that it was under his rule the idea of Confederation of the Provinces gained much strength. This scheme had, in fact, been propounded by a member of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia as far back as 1806 ; but it met with no response from Canada. In May, 1838, some time previous to the date of Lord Durham's Report, a scheme for Colonial Union was promulgated by Mr. Howe of Halifax, and that well-known and very able man, at that early period, sketched a plan of the Confederation of the Provinces of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and the two Canadas, very similar to the "Quebec scheme" of 1864, which formed the basis of the British North America Act of 1867,—the Act of Union. In the following year, 1839, the report of Lord Durham appeared, in which he strongly urged the Union of all the Colonies. Fifteen years passed away without any practical effort being made to carry out the project. On 10th February, 1854, resolutions in favor of a union or confederation of the British North American Provinces were carried in the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, and the Lieutenant Governor was requested "to make known to Her Majesty, and to the Governments of the Sister Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island," the opinion of the Houses that such a union or confederation "on just principles, while calculated to perpetuate their connection with the parent state, will promote their advancement and prosperity, increase their strength and influence, and elevate their position," and he was also desired "by correspondence with the Imperial and Provincial Governments, and by all means in His Excellency's power, to urge and facilitate the consideration of the measure." In 1857 another step was taken, and again by Nova



Scotia. In the summer of that year, a delegation, consisting of the Hon. Messrs. J. W. Johnston, and A. G. Archibald,\* both of Nova Scotia, proceeded to England, instructed by the Nova Scotia Ministry to bring the subject of a union of the Colonies under the notice of the Colonial Secretary, with a view to effective action being taken.

In the following year (1858) after many appeals, direct and indirect, from Nova Scotia, Canada, for the first time, appears on the scene as an active negotiator. She was approaching the dead-lock, which eventually compelled her to look to Confederation as the only escape from the difficulty. In that year a general election in Upper Canada resulted in a large majority for the Reformers, while in Lower Canada, the returns were just the reverse, the Rouge party being in a large minority. When the Legislature met, the Ministry of Mr. (now Sir) John A. Macdonald was forced to abandon the "double majority" principle. He was immediately charged with subjecting Upper Canada to French domination; and the Reform party at once began the advocacy of "Representation by Population" without regard to the boundaries of the Provinces, as the only means by which Upper Canada could exert her proper influence in legislation. This was the germ of Confederation, for, as time passed on, the duty of carrying on the Government became each day more difficult. The parties were so evenly balanced that neither could command a working majority in the House of Assembly, and, after the formation and breaking down of several Ministries, a serious attempt to secure Confederation was resolved upon.

On 28th February, 1860, the Canadian Parliament met at Quebec, Mr. George Brown moved two resolutions, the first was :

"That the existing Legislative Union of the Provinces had failed to realize the anticipations of its promoters,—had resulted in heavy debt, great political abuse, and universal dissatisfaction, and that the Union could no longer be continued with advantage to the people."

The second proposed :

"That the true remedy for these evils will be found in the formation of two or more local Governments, to which shall be committed all matters of a sectional character; and the erection of some "joint authority" to dispose of the affairs common to all."

These were lost at the time, but the principle involved in them was ultimately adopted as the only solution of the increasing difficulties in carrying on the government of the country.

\* Now, Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia.

On 15th April, 1861, the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia passed resolutions *nem. con.* urging the expediency of a union, and requesting the Lieutenant Governor to communicate with the Colonial Secretary, the Governor General of Canada, and the Lieutenant Governors of the other Provinces in order to ascertain the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and the opinions of the other Colonies, with a view to the consideration of the question of Confederation. A year passed away before action was taken on this resolution; but, in 1862, Mr. Howe, its mover, and head of the Nova Scotia Ministry, proceeded, with two other members of his cabinet as delegates to Quebec, where they met delegations from the Governments of Canada and New Brunswick assembled for the purpose of settling on a scheme of union. The mission failed:—Canada was not ripe for the movement. In October of 1861, Sir Edmund Head was succeeded by Lord Monck. The difficulties between the Upper Canada and the Lower Canada sections of the House of Assembly had been steadily increasing during his Administration. Lord Monck found the political parties much excited, and the conviction was daily increasing in strength that the administration of affairs by a sectional majority could not long be tolerated. The struggle continued with varying success until the defeat of the MacDonald-Sicotte Ministry in the early part of 1864, when both parties acknowledged that it was impossible to carry on the Government under the existing system. A Coalition Ministry was formed for the avowed object of carrying Confederation. As the year advanced the attention of the Imperial authorities was closely devoted to the question; Lord Monck entered into active communication with the Lieutenant Governors of the Provinces, and the question became the great one of the day.

The Legislature of Canada in 1864 passed resolutions in favor of a union of all the North American Colonies,—failing which, they provided for a dissolution of the Union of the two Canadas, and their re-union upon a federal basis. At the same time, Nova Scotia, disheartened, it would seem, by the obstacles in the way of a general union of all the Provinces, passed a resolution in favor of a union of the Maritime Provinces alone, and providing for a conference upon the subject with delegates from New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The Legislatures of these Provinces each passed a similar resolution. On the 1st of September, 1864, the delegates from these three Provinces met at Charlottetown, the seat of Government of



Prince Edward Island. It was soon discovered that some of them really desired a union of the Maritime Provinces alone. In the meantime delegates from Canada arrived, who proposed to confer with their fellow-colonists on the subject of a union of all the British North American Provinces. This proposal was cordially and unanimously accepted, and Newfoundland volunteered to join in the negotiations. The conference was therefore adjourned to Quebec, where a convention met on the 10th October, 1864. It was composed of thirty-three representatives from the Provinces of United Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island. Seventy-two resolutions were adopted as the basis of Confederation, which were to be submitted to the Legislatures of the different Provinces, and the final decision was to be made by the Imperial Parliament. This is known as the "Quebec Scheme," and on it was based The British North America Act of 1867—the Act of Union.

But now unexpected difficulties arose. Both Upper and Lower Canada were anxious for union. Their governments had come to a deadlock, and so strong and universal was the popular opinion in its favor that no one even seriously mooted the idea of submitting the "Scheme" to a new Assembly elected for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the country. It was considered, as the fact really was, that the action of the existing House, though not elected with any special view to legislation on the question, would be satisfactory to the people. The British Government warmly approved the scheme, and Mr. Cardwell, the Colonial Minister, lost no time in urging on the Lieutenant Governors of the Provinces the desirability of taking immediate and effective action on it. New Brunswick was the first to move. Her Parliament was dissolved, that the sense of the people might be ascertained on the question. But the electors, taken by surprise, and alarmed at the magnitude of the change involved in a scheme which they had not had time or opportunity to discuss, refused their assent. The Ministry resigned, and an anti-confederate one took its place. The Confederates of Nova Scotia took warning, and determined to wait further developments in New Brunswick. The Colonial Office, while placing such pressure on New Brunswick as the relations of parent state and colony permitted, did not urge Nova Scotia for a reply. Early in 1866, another election was brought on in New Brunswick, and a re-action having set in, the vote of the previous year was reversed,—the assent of the people to the union was constitutionally obtained, and its terms were cheerfully and loyally accepted. Now, Nova Scotia moved, but she did not, like

New Brunswick, dissolve her Parliament, and seek approval of the proposed union from an Assembly elected for the purpose of deciding on the scheme. She used the existing House, disregarding numerous petitions for a dissolution, and the Confederates triumphed. But it was a dearly bought victory. The conduct both of the Imperial and of the Colonial Government was fiercely assailed, and a deep bitterness of feeling was created which is hardly yet removed. In truth, the policy was, to say the least, unwise. It was not just,—and it placed a strain on Constitutional Government which it bore with difficulty. The facts seem to be, that the Imperial Ministers were somewhat too willing to believe the representations, doubtless made to them by the Confederates of the Province; and deeply impressed with the conviction that the policy was one of good to all as a whole, and to each Province as a unit, they consented to a little constitutional wrong in order to secure a great material benefit. It led, however, to serious inconveniences, and the experiment will, doubtless, not soon be repeated of placing a Province in a union upon which its people had been given no specific opportunity of expressing their opinion at the polls, though this opportunity had been demanded by addresses, deputations, and representations through the press. The enlightened ideas now entertained of Constitutional Government would doubtless restrain the hand of an Imperial Minister who should contemplate such an act.\*

From the 3rd to the 13th February, 1865, the debate on Confederation continued in the Canadian Assembly. Mr. John A. Macdonald moved:

“That a committee consisting of himself, Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Brown, Robitaille and Haultain, be appointed to draft an Address to Her Majesty on the subject of the Union of the Colonies of British North America.”

\* It is only proper to notice that the course pursued by the Imperial Government has been ably and warmly defended on the following grounds: *Firstly*, constitutionally it was not bound to ask for any expression of feeling, or opinion, on the part of the people of Nova Scotia by a *plebiscite*, or otherwise, before passing the Act of Union. *Secondly*. Admitting for argument's sake that these feelings and opinions should have been ascertained and consulted, the Imperial Authorities, in the summer or autumn of 1866, were put in possession of what they were constitutionally bound to consider the expression of Nova Scotia's feelings and opinions, for they were placed in possession of the solemnly avowed sentiments of the Parliamentary Representatives of the Province. And, *thirdly*, the Imperial Government, without being under any sort of obligation to concern itself to know whether the constitutional representatives of Nova Scotia represented the real sentiments of their constituents, or not, had the best of reasons for supposing that they did represent them. “The Repeal Agitation,” by P. S. Hamilton.



After four amendments had been lost, the resolution was carried by a large majority. This vote established Confederation. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had adopted the scheme, but Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island left the question in abeyance.

On the 8th June, 1866, Parliament commenced its first sittings in the new buildings at Ottawa. The Ministry immediately took the necessary steps to complete the work of Confederation, and the House adjourned on the 18th August. Delegates from the two Canadas, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick lost no time in proceeding to England to effect a final arrangement of the terms for their Federal Union. On the 7th of February, 1867, the Bill for Confederation was introduced in the British House of Commons, by the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Carnarvon. It passed rapidly through all the necessary stages, and received the Royal Assent on the 28th day of that month.

It came into force 1st July, 1867.

By "The British North America Act, 1867," the four Provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were federated under the name of "THE DOMINION OF CANADA." Upper Canada was changed into "Ontario," and Lower Canada into "Quebec." The first day of July, 1867, was celebrated with great rejoicing as "Dominion Day." At Ottawa, the seat of the New Government, Chief Justice Draper administered the oath of Governor General of the Dominion to Lord Monck, who, by command of Her Majesty, conferred upon the Hon. John A. Macdonald the order of Knighthood, and upon the Honorables Messrs. Howland, McDougall, Cartier,\* Galt, Tilley and Tupper, the Companionship of the Bath. The Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald became the first Premier of the Dominion. The Hon. W. P. Howland, C.B., was appointed lieutenant Governor of Ontario; Sir Narcisse Belleau, of Quebec; the Hon. Mr. Wilmot, of New Brunswick; and Lieut.-General Doyle, of Nova Scotia.

Discontent soon began to shew itself in Nova Scotia. Her repugnance to the Union now took a distinct shape in the complaint that she had given up much more than she had received,—and that her share of the public revenues would not meet the current expenses of her government; this position was maintained by the Anti-Unionists, and at the elections for the Commons and the Local Legislature a large anti-confederate majority was returned. On the 18th September, 1867,

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\* The Hon. Mr. Cartier was subsequently nominated a Knight.

the startling news was sent through the Dominion that in these elections the Confederate party had met with a terrible defeat. Out of eighteen members of the Commons, but one Confederate, Dr. Tupper, was returned,—and out of thirty-eight members of the Local House of Assembly but two Confederates had survived the storm of public opinion. This disastrous turn of affairs spread gloom among the friends of the Union, for it was feared that New Brunswick would sympathize with the victorious Anti-Confederates of Nova Scotia, and that the combined opposition of these two Provinces would endanger the whole Union. Here was the natural result of the ill-advised haste with which Union had been imposed on Nova Scotia, for it soon became evident that a large proportion of the people had supported the Anti-Union cause in the recent elections, not so much from love of it as from dislike to the mode by which they had been carried into Confederation. The magnitude of their success surprised and embarrassed the conquerors themselves, for the serious question now presented itself: "What shall we do with our victory?" They were compelled to adopt some policy, and, after much halting, it was authoritatively announced by the Attorney-General, Mr. Wilkins, the Premier, and one of the chiefs of the Anti-Confederates, in a manifesto issued in December, 1867, that the ultimate aim of the party was Repeal. Mr. Howe, the real leader of the movement, now began to hesitate. He had loyally fought the battle of the Anti-Unionists up to this point, but the more ardent spirits had compromised themselves and him by openly tampering with disloyalty,—dallying with treason,—advocating annexation, and hinting at the material aid which they would receive from American "Sympathizers" in the event of their throwing off their allegiance to the British Crown. This was excessively repugnant to Mr. Howe; his feelings of loyalty were outraged, and his sense of reason was shocked. "The old flag," he said, "must float above us still, and be revered and respected until we receive our answer from England." It soon came. A deputation, consisting of Messrs. Howe, Annand, Troop and Smith, went to England to lay their case at the foot of the Throne. They were instructed to accept nothing but the Repeal of the Union, but they soon found, what every one out of the House already felt, that such a demand would not be yielded by the Imperial Government. Their case was brought before the British House of Commons, where, by a large majority, a Committee of Inquiry was refused, and in the Lords the motion for one was withdrawn. The Duke of Buckingham,



then the Secretary for the Colonies, immediately conveyed to Lord Monck the official reply of the British Cabinet to the Delegates. It was in substance that the Act of Union could not be repealed,—but the Dominion Government was invited to remove all just grievances, and deal as generously as possible with the Province. In obedience to this suggestion Sir John A. Macdonald, accompanied by some other Ministers, visited Halifax in September, 1867, and attended the Repeal Convention then sitting, with a view accurately to ascertain their wishes,—but nothing was done : the Ministers complained that the malcontents declined to specify their demands ; the malcontents complained that the Ministers made no offers ; and in a few days the Convention formally reported its determination to continue the agitation for Repeal. Their chief support, however, was slowly but surely failing them. Mr. Howe was gradually widening the breach between them and himself. He clearly saw that Repeal could not be obtained, and he scouted the idea of force or annexation. He had fought the battle bravely and well, but now, when he saw himself defeated, he was prepared gracefully to accept the position, and loyally to assist in the smooth working of a union which had become an irrevocable fact. His mind was too noble,—his vision too clear to persist in a bootless warfare which must end in utter defeat, and the protraction of which must keep the Province in a state of constant irritation, to the great injury of all its material and industrial interests. The delegates were, on the opening of the House, after their fruitless errand to England, to receive the thanks of the Assembly for their services. Mr. Howe's seat was vacant,—the breach between him and his former friends was now complete. He justified his course by alleging that he found his party had become unmanageable,—that he had to choose between treason if he remained with them, and loyalty by leaving them, and he could not hesitate a moment in the choice. It was soon seen that the Assembly could do nothing ; the prestige of the Anti-Confederates quickly disappeared,—their credit for honesty of purpose was lost,—their inactivity proved their weakness, and the Unionists now felt that the victory was, at last, their own, though they knew that it would take time, and that some trouble would be involved, in bringing the Province to a state of perfect quiet on this harassing subject. Soon after the close of the session Mr. Howe published a letter, declaring his complete disapproval of the Anti-Confederate policy ; expressing his belief that Repeal was unattainable, and announcing that he was prepared to consider a proposition for “better terms” of Union which had been made to him by the

Finance Minister of the Dominion. He was instantly assailed by a storm of abuse from his late friends, and the most unworthy motives for his change of opinion were freely imputed, but he answered his opponents by the persistent maintenance of his opinion that the course he advised was the only proper one ; he challenged the Anti-Unionists to show even a remote probability of Repeal being obtained, and, as for rebellion or annexation, he scouted the idea of either. His position was really impregnable, and yet his old friends still kept aloof from him. But allying himself with Mr. McLellan, a gentleman who had acquired a fair local reputation as a financier, he entered into negotiations with Sir John Rose, the Finance Minister of the Dominion, and, after an arduous examination of the question, an agreement was entered into by which Nova Scotia secured all the advantages which the Anti-Unionists claimed as her due, but which, in the haste of the first negotiations, had been overlooked. "Better terms" having now been secured, the Dominion Ministry considered it essential that Mr. Howe should enter the Cabinet for the purpose of assisting the Government in carrying the agreement through the House, where it was sure to meet with a strong opposition. Mr. Howe consented. Being obliged to seek re-election on his acceptance of the position of Secretary of State, he was bitterly opposed,—but right triumphed, and the Anti-Confederates met with a crushing defeat. During the next Session the Dominion Parliament approved of the "better terms" agreement, and thus Nova Scotia was quieted.

We can now look upon the fine Province of Nova Scotia with feelings of the liveliest satisfaction. A high-minded, industrious and intelligent people who have been distinguished by the exceptional ability of their public men, and the enterprise of their mercantile and industrial classes, and who were at one time smarting under a real injury, and heated to an undue degree by the appeals of rash, though doubtless sincere men, have now, thanks to the counsels of moderate men, nearly obliterated the old feelings of bitterness, and have transformed Nova Scotia from an irritated member of the Dominion into one of the warmest and most valuable supporters of its integrity.

During the year 1867, the Province of British Columbia began to consider the question of joining the Confederacy. In November, 1868, Sir John Young, afterwards Lord Lisgar, arrived from England as the successor of Lord Monck, and in this year a bill was passed by the Dominion Parliament praying the cession by the Crown of the North West Territory, and granting £300,000 sterling to be paid to the



Hudson's Bay Company in exchange for its rights, with some reservations. On the 4th May, 1870, a bill was introduced into Parliament for the reception of the North West, and these territories were, in July, formally ceded to Canada by the Imperial Government. The Province of Manitoba was created, and the Hon. Mr. Archibald went out as Lieutenant Governor. On 20th July, 1871, British Columbia and Vancouver Island entered the Confederation, under the name of British Columbia.

As already stated, the Earl of Dufferin arrived at Quebec as the successor of Lord Lisgar, on the 25th June, 1872. The retiring Governor General, in a speech at a banquet given to him in Montreal on the 20th June, 1872, so well summarized the conditions of the British North American possessions at the moment of their rule passing from his hands to those of the Earl of Dufferin, that his address on that occasion is reproduced. He said :

“GENTLEMEN,—I am very sensible of the honor conveyed by your applause, and I beg you to accept my warm and earnest thanks for all your kindness. I was much gratified at receiving the invitation to this banquet, which, indeed, I did not expect to find so numerously attended and so marked in all respects. I feel the compliment all the more inasmuch as it is a repetition, after some length of time and acquaintance, of a similar compliment paid to me on my first arrival. I retain in distinct recollection the prompt hospitality and the lavish attention which were paid to me by the Mayor and citizens of Montreal more than three years ago. Such demonstrations, I am aware, are made, not to the individual, but to the official,—not to the person, but to the choice of the British Government and the representative of England in this great and noble dependency ; and it is only right that they should be so directed, seeing, as we see by the latest instance, the pains and care the British Government bestows on the selection of a person to represent the Sovereign in her British North American Possessions. They have selected Lord Dufferin, a nobleman of high rank, favorably known in literary circles, and conversant with all the accomplishments and intricacies of social and political life. When I had the pleasure of addressing a large and intelligent audience in this place three years ago, I was just entering upon the duties which had been assigned to me by the choice and good opinion of the Duke of Buckingham, acting on behalf of the Government of England. I was, as it were, buckling on my armor ; now I am laying it off. There is a proverbial warning against boasting on the former occasion, which I cannot consider inapplicable to the latter also, and I hope I shall not lay myself open in any degree to the imputation of neglecting it at the close of my official life, for I consider this my last public appearance at the close of a public career which, whatever its general shortcomings, has certainly been passed in employments of high responsibility, and has been sometimes thrown upon circumstances of great difficulty. But when I recall to mind the topics upon which I dwelt when I last spoke in this place, I then felt that, basing myself upon the known energy of the people, and the good faith which had theretofore attended the counsels of the

statesmen of Canada, I could argue well for the future. I anticipated large additions to the territory; I indulged the hope that the bitter feeling which then prevailed in the United States would speedily give place to amity and reconciliation, and I looked forward to the early commencement of public works of great magnitude and undoubted utility. Well, three years have barely passed: the things which rose then in anticipation,—the visions of hope,—some said, of too sanguine hope, are now a realized, accomplished success. It is true that Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island still stand without the pale of the Dominion, and deny themselves the advantages which have flowed in so full a tide upon the Provinces which have thrown in their lot with it. But the vast area held by the Hudson Bay Company, has, after a protracted investigation, been ceded to the Crown, and by the Crown forthwith transferred to Canada,—a mighty boon, greater in extent, and richer in resources, than more than one first-class European Kingdom. British Columbia came in on equal terms, a willing and valued partner and associate. The temper and sagacity brought to bear on the arrangements with British Columbia reflect credit on the negotiators on the one side and the other. If it be high praise for machinery to say that it works evenly and efficiently without noise or friction, to that praise the arrangements with British Columbia are entitled. They work efficiently and work satisfactorily to all concerned, and seem to be as highly approved of after trial as they were at their first commencement. The troubles which ensued in Manitoba were due rather to misunderstanding and misapprehension, arising from ignorance, than to any rooted policy. They were overcome by steadiness, patient explanation and the occasional display of an adequate armed force to sustain civil authority. The form and frame of representative institutions have now been organized, and set in motion with every prospect of satisfactory working. Much praise is due to Lieutenant Governor Archibald for the legal attainments, the unwearied industry, and the fine temper which he has brought to bear on the difficulties he had to encounter. He literally encountered the wilderness, but he has cleared the forest and taken out the stumps. Whoever succeeds him, for I hear Mr. Archibald wishes to leave with views and objects of his own, will have an easy task. He will enter on the results of another man's intelligent labors, and will not probably have more obstacles in his way than were found in the older settled Provinces. To carry on the agricultural simile, he will only have to cultivate the cleared farm on ordinary known principles, and with a proper rotation of crops. So much for the extensions of territory that have been made. The Dominion now stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and opens its ports on the one and the other ocean to receive and interchange the manufactures of Europe and the varied products of Australian and Asiatic commerce. As to Nova Scotia, I need not inform this audience that the work of reconciliation has been effected. Whatever of ill-feeling remains is only the smouldering embers of the former fire, and is fast dying out. The danger of conflagration is past, and if we wanted proof to confirm the accounts received from many quarters of the good dispositions which prevail throughout all the Acadian bodies, it may be found in the concurrence of opinion with the other Provinces, and in the mode in which the representatives of Nova Scotia joined with the representatives of the other Provinces in affirming for the general interests the acceptance of the articles of the Treaty of Washington which affect Canada.



“I must admit that when I alluded to public works of great magnitude, of which I hoped to see the commencement, I had not in view,—I had not formed the conception of so vast an enterprise as a railway thousands of miles long to connect the Canadian system of lines with some point on the coast of the Pacific. I had only in my mind the water communication,—new canals to be dug, and old ones to be enlarged and deepened. Vast as is the project of the railway, it need not be appalling. It is only in the darkness of night or of ignorance that doubts and apprehensions appear appalling,—that shapes and shadows loom portentous in the gloom. They vanish away, or assume their proper dimensions, in the light of science, and the clear day of reason and awakened energy. We may indeed draw courage from the earliest lessons learned in our infancy. The memories of a champion, which continue, I trust, to be as popular and as carefully studied as they were in my youth, assure us that many a giant may be overcome by intelligence; and this giant of a railway, if there be any truth in the adage that well begun is half done, is already half overcome by the careful preliminary surveys which have been carried over a wide expanse of country, and in the teeth of many obstacles, by that excellent public servant, the Engineer-in-Chief, Mr. Sandford Fleming, and his indefatigable assistants. The conquest will be completed in good time by the united energy, capital and credit of the country. I see at hand and around me those who possess all the requisites, and are equal to the task. The work will be done, for it is indispensable, in order to fulfil the inter-provincial engagements which have been entered into, to afford facilities for traffic, and travelling to distant parts of the Dominion, and not merely to bind all the parts together by a strong bond, and fresh links, by links stronger than iron, but to rivet them together by fresh associations, and weld them into one integral, indissoluble whole by constant, familiar, mutually beneficial intercourse. The last, but by no means the least, advantage which will accrue from the work is the powerful stimulus which it will give to emigration. It will afford employment and encouragement to multitudes who are prepared, and longing to avail themselves of it, and who need such help and encouragement during their first struggles for a few months, or it may be for a year or two, in a strange country. This last remark applies in an equal degree to the works upon the canals. They too will swell the tide of emigration by hopes of employment. I do not believe that I ever read a paragraph in an opening speech from the Throne with greater satisfaction than that which proclaimed that the Government were about to take the canals in hand, and press their improvement on a large scale. This satisfaction was enhanced when I saw it officially announced in his budget speech by my honorable friend the Minister of Finance,\* that the country could well afford the outlay, and that now was the time. I hope I may be allowed to say, even in Sir Francis Hincks’ presence, that he appears to me to unite, in an eminent degree, accurate knowledge of the subjects he has to handle with a true appreciation of the requirements of the country, and the tendencies of sound public opinion. In his lucid exposition of the financial state and prospects of the country, he spoke of the marvelous increase of Canadian exports, that is, of the marvelous increase of the products of Canadian industry, the proofs of a mar-

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\* Sir Francis Hincks.

velous advancement in the country ; he mentioned the rising manufactures, a rapidly growing carrying trade, and used the term, 'wonderfully prosperous' in reference to the present condition of the country, while he looked forward to a further progress as well as a great increase in the public revenues in future years. I think that the conclusion is properly and emphatically drawn that now is the time to undertake the necessary—and what past experience of similar outlay, and even calculation of future chances, pronounce to be safe—expenditure. I have heard apprehensions expressed in some quarters that the combinations amongst working men, and the high rates of wages insisted upon, may go far to check or delay the progress of public works, or make the outlay a burthen too grievous to bear. These apprehensions need not be indulged in. Combinations to keep up wages are seldom successful, except in trades where the work people are a few in number, and collected in a small number of local centres. In all other cases, wages soon find their natural level, that is to say, the level of the rate which distributes the whole circulating capital of the country among the entire working population. If workmen demand more, their demand can only be obtained by keeping a portion of their number permanently out of employment. The intelligence of the people will soon discover this point, and their entering into combinations and unions will facilitate their doing so. No attempt should, therefore, be made to prevent or put down the combinations by legislation or by force. The atrocities sometimes committed by workmen in the way of personal outrage or intimidation cannot be too rigidly repressed, and to that end the process of law should be simplified and made summary. In all other respects, and so long as they abstain from the molestation of parties who do not join them, the Trades' Unions should be left free to combine for their own purposes and to further their own interests by all lawful and peaceable means. I served on a Committee of the House of Commons many years ago, by which these principles were ascertained or confirmed, and upon its conclusions the law of England now rests. I was glad to see that in the course of the Session just closed Sir John Macdonald introduced a bill to assimilate the law of Canada to that of Great Britain in these respects. I believe this course was wise in itself, and doubly so inasmuch as it is desirable that the law in Canada should in all cases be as closely as possible assimilated to that of England. No surer or more lasting bond of Union between the two countries can be devised than an identity of laws founded upon and fostering an identity of feeling. I well know that Sir John Macdonald has this object much at heart, and that he desires to strengthen the bond and perpetuate the connection, the good intelligence, the alliance between Canada and England. I wish him and all those who work with him in this field, God-speed, and the amplest success. But, after all, the true remedy for the follies and violences of strikes and demands for too high wages, as of all social evils, is popular intelligence, quickened by sound education. You have established an excellent system in the Dominion, and education is in a flourishing condition. I fear it may be objected that the process is slow, that the truths of Economic Science and the convictions of philosophy can scarcely reach the popular mind ; that the knowledge of the people is, and must ever remain, superficial. This, to a certain extent, cannot be denied. Still, the truths which regulate the moral and political relations of man are of no great distance



from the surface. The great works in which discoveries are recorded cannot be read by the people, but their substance passes through a number of minute and circuitous channels, through the lecture, the pamphlet, the newspaper, to the shop and the hamlet. To borrow a simile from an eminent writer: 'The conversion of these works of unproductive splendor into select use and unobserved activity, resembles the processes of nature in the eternal world. The expanse of a noble lake, the course of a majestic river imposes on the imagination by every impression of dignity and sublimity, but it is the moisture that insensibly arises from them, which gradually mingles with the soil, nourishes all the luxuriance of vegetation, and adorns the surface of the earth.' But now, Sir, I must bring my remarks to a close. There are, no doubt, many other topics to which I might allude, the Treaty of Washington, for instance, but that is ground on which I will not tread; Sir John Macdonald's excellent and exhaustive speech must be fresh in all your recollections;—a speech which convinced or satisfied the Parliament of Canada, and elicited the applause of the ministry and the press of England. I will not weaken it by any attempt at repetition or 'risk darkening councils by words without knowledge.' I will not further trespass on your indulgence than to reiterate my thanks, and to say that, in leaving Canada, I leave no serious difficulties for my successor. There are no clouds in the Canadian political sky,—no harassing questions to engross his attention on his arrival. Should any arise hereafter, he can rely, as I have relied with confidence, on an experienced and responsible Ministry, and recur, if need be, to the assistance of a loyal and well-instructed Parliament. I am happy to be able to say so much, and to think that my humble name has been honorably associated with the youthful energies and the rising fortunes of the Dominion; I say rising fortunes, for many are the signs and assurances that its fortunes are rising, and they are legibly written in evidence. The judgment and foresight displayed in reconciling the conflicting claims of the different Provinces and cementing them into one powerful and harmonious union argue statesmanship of no mean order. The entertainment of such vast projects as the Pacific Railway and the improvements on the canals show how large and comprehensive a view Parliament can take of what is needed to advance the general interests. In the last session a question arose on the point of religious education and touching the respective rights and powers of the Dominion and the Provincial Legislatures. At first, it wore a threatening aspect, but it was set at rest by the united action of parties usually opposed to each other, much to their credit, while the settlement proved that the wisdom and moderation of Parliament are equal to dealing with the most thorny and troublesome matters. Lastly, the adoption of the articles of the Treaty of Washington, under the doubtful circumstances of the time, and when every day brought a different surmise as to the chances or fate of the Treaty, savoured of that magnanimity which Edward Burke said was not seldom the truest policy of the state. These wise and happy arrangements show that the day of little things and little minds is past. The Parliament and the people are conscious of their position, and zealous to act up to it valiantly and becomingly, with the Divine blessing. They will take for their motto the old watchword of the Church, *Sursum Corda*;—brace up their energies, and raise their hearts to the great responsibilities and the lofty destiny to which, in the order of Providence, they are called, and proceed, as I most wish they will, from strength to strength rejoicing."

Such was the picture of the condition of the British North American Possessions as painted by the retiring Governor General, Lord Lisgar ;—a ruler who had given the utmost satisfaction to the Imperial authorities, to the Dominion Government, and to the people of Canada. His careful regard for the principles of Constitutional Government had gained for him the respect of all shades of political opinion, and the unobtrusive cordiality with which he encouraged and supported every judicious enterprise for the development of the great industries and resources of the country had gained for him the reputation of an excellent ruler.



## CHAPTER III.

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THE Earl of Dufferin was received at Quebec by the Premier, Sir John A. Macdonald; the Hon. Hector Langevin, C.B., Minister of Public Works; Hon. Mr. Cauchon,\* President of the Senate; the Hon. Mr. Chapais, Receiver General; Sir Francis Hincks, K.C.B., Minister of Finance; Hon. J. G. Blanchet, Speaker of the Quebec Legislative Assembly; Sir Hastings Doyle, Administrator of the Government; his Honor Sir Narcisse Belleau, Lieutenant Governor of Quebec; his Worship the Mayor of Quebec, with many Aldermen and Councillors, and by a large assemblage of the most distinguished citizens of the ancient capital.

His Excellency was sworn in during the day as Governor General of Canada, the Hon. Chief Justice Meredith administering the Oath. Addresses of welcome were presented to him by the Corporation and citizens of Quebec, the Quebec Board of Trade, the St. Patrick's

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\* Now (1878), Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba.

Society, and on the next day by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. Having visited the fortifications and camp then formed at Point Levis, His Excellency, on the 26th June, accompanied by the Countess of Dufferin, Sir John and Lady Macdonald, Sir George Cartier, and others, proceeded to Ottawa, the Seat of Government, where he arrived on the evening of the 27th June, and was met with the utmost enthusiasm.

The press now began faithfully to interpret the universal feeling of the people of Canada towards His Excellency. His peculiar fitness for the position of Governor General in a social point of view was well known ; his reputation as a man well versed in the constitutional usages and laws of the Empire had preceded him ; his unceasing searching after information augured well, for it supplied a guaranty that he would become acquainted with the people and the country and judge for himself, unprejudiced by the whisperings of plotting politicians, or interested schemers after wealth or position. It was doubtless pleasing to a disposition so frank and open and manly as that of Lord Dufferin to find the people freely expressing their opinions of his predecessors, and their expectations from him. Even the Countess of Dufferin was invited at the same time to listen to suggestions as to her own social policy. Their Excellencies were reminded in courteous and kindly, but in firm words, that Canada had enjoyed the rule of but few Governors who had cared to exhibit a generous hospitality ; that their views had been exclusive ; that popular rulers, in the broad sense of the term, had been not only rare, but actually non-existent ; and that the ladies who had presided at Government House had not always drawn the distinction between coldness and condescension. They were told that some Governors had been accused of spending less than half their salaries, and of keeping up the state of the vice-regal mansion by just so many entertainments as would free them from the charge of premeditated isolation. It was admitted that but few had trenched on the liberties of the people, or had been guilty of any intentional abuse of their power, but it was at the same time advanced that also few had risen to the true dignity of the ruler of a great country, full of immense resources, and fitted for an empire. The ambition of the Earl of Dufferin might justly have been fired by the remark that most of his predecessors had been content to come, remain and go, mere figure-heads, caring little for the work of developing the enormous latent power and wealth of the Dominion,—not curious to visit the various Provinces, or explore the vast terri-



tories, and see with their own eyes the beauty and capabilities of the great country under their charge ; or learn from the lips of the inhabitants themselves the story of their hopes, or their needs,—their trials, or their successes. The press, second to none in the British dependencies, was not backward in reminding the new Governor General that the justice and exceptional moderation and leniency of the Imperial Government had conferred on Canada a constitution, and given to her a freedom of legislation which rendered his appointment almost the only link which bound the child to its great parent, and that upon his personal bearing and political judgment depended, to a great extent, the satisfactory working of our institutions. He was reminded that the cardinal principle of Constitutional or Responsible Government was the polar star of our system, and that any, the slightest, interference with it, by him, would be quickly resented. It was pointed out by men who well knew of what they were speaking, that even in England this principle had not yet been fully developed, but that the people of Canada expected its recognition in its widest and fullest sense. He was respectfully told that he had in his hands the power to mould, modify, and improve the legislation of the country, and closely identify himself with the people, without, in the slightest degree, invading their freedom, or the just rights of his ministers. He was cordially invited to mix with the people, and ascertain by personal conference with them their true opinions, their complaints and their desires.

It was pressed on him to visit every part of the Dominion, and the great significance of submitting to the tedium of attending the public festive gatherings of the populace, and countenancing even their public amusements, was delicately suggested. In brief, the noble example of his great Mistress was placed before him as a model from which to mould a new Empire, and bind to Her, with hooks of steel, a people in every way worthy of the splendid race from which she and he had both sprung. That the Earl of Dufferin was able to rise to the importance of the position, and carry out all these suggestions in a manner far surpassing in magnificence and brilliancy the expectations or hopes of Canada, is to be attributed the fact that he now stands out in bold relief as the grandest figure in the long procession of Canadian rulers, and that he has just left our shores laden with the blessings of an unselfish and admiring nation.

His Excellency on his arrival at Ottawa was received by a large number of gentlemen forming delegations from numerous public institutions, and before leaving the steamer was presented with addresses

from the City Corporation, read by Mr. Mayor Martineau ; from the Carleton County Council, read by Mr. Warden Morgan ; from the Board of Trade, read by Mr. E. McGillivray ; from St. George's Society, read by Dr. Sweetland ; from the St. Jean Baptiste Society, read by Dr. Dorion ; from the Canadian Institute, read by Dr. St. Jean ; from St. Andrew's Society, read by Mr. E. McGillivray ; from St. Patrick's Literary Association, read by Mr. W. H. Waller ; from the Irish Catholic Temperance Association, read by Mr. J. Birmingham ; from the I. O. O. Good Templars, read by Mr. Johnson of the Customs Department ; from the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, read by Mr. Sheriff Powell ; and from the Metropolitan Canadian Society, read by Mr. P. A. Egleson. His Excellency's reply to the address of the Mayor and Corporation of the city expressed in brief terms some of the principles which he had laid down for himself on assuming the Government of the Dominion. He said :

“ MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—The warm and hearty welcome which has been accorded me on my arrival in Canada, and the magnificent reception with which I have been greeted on reaching the Metropolis of the Dominion, emanating, as it has done, from all sections, creeds and classes of Her Majesty's subjects on this side of the Atlantic, only affords fresh proof of the attachment, loyalty and devotion of the Canadian people to the Throne and person of our most gracious Queen.

As long as I have the honor to be the representative of the Crown in this country it will be my most anxious endeavor, on the one hand, to cherish and foster, by every means in my power, those loyal sentiments by which you are so profoundly animated, and on the other, to exhibit, on behalf of Her Majesty, the affection and solicitude which she has never ceased to feel for the inhabitants of this her greatest dependency.

In thanking you for such expressions of kindness in your address as are personal to myself, I can only say that, although I cannot hope to fulfil the flattering expectations of me which you have been pleased to form, I am actuated by the most earnest and single-minded desire to serve you to the best of my ability, to spend the best years of my life amongst you, and to place unreservedly at your disposal such experience in the conduct of government as my previous public career has enabled me to acquire.

To be permitted to associate myself with you in developing the marvelous resources of this glorious land,—to have a share in building up on this side of the Atlantic a great, prosperous and loyal community, is a privilege amply sufficient to satisfy the ambition of the most aspiring statesman.

In conclusion, I beg to thank you on Lady Dufferin's behalf for having included her in your kindly welcome.

I can assure you that from the moment we set foot on Canadian soil, we have both forgotten that we ever had another home than yours,—and in discharging the



social duties which attach to her position, Lady Dufferin confidently expects to establish ties amongst you which will effectually compensate her for the loss of those she has so lately been forced to sever."

No Governor, upon his arrival in Canada, ever before received so warm and flattering a reception, and none ever entered upon his duties under brighter auspices.

At this time the system of forming camps for the drill of our volunteers was in full working order, and encampments were to be found at Quebec, Laprairie, Prescott, Kingston, Niagara, and Windsor. The men composing them were congregated from the various portions of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, and numbered about 30,000. His Excellency, unwilling to miss the opportunity of a personal inspection of the volunteer force of Canada, which had been spoken of in the highest terms by experienced officers of the regular service, left Ottawa on 1st July, for the camp at Prescott, accompanied by Col. R. Ross, Adjutant-General; Col. Fletcher, Military Secretary; Lieut.-Col. Macpherson, Hon. Col. Gray, M.P., and Capt. Coulson, A.D.C. After the inspection of the force under the command of Col. Buell, His Excellency proceeded to Kingston where the camp, containing about 3,000 men, of whom about 400 were cavalry, was under the charge of Lieut.-Col. Jarvis, A.A.G. He here met the Hon. Mr. Cockburn, speaker of the House of Commons, the Dean of Ontario, the Hon. Mr. Campbell, Post Master General, and a number of other distinguished gentlemen. His Excellency gave expression to his feelings in a brief address. He said:

"COL. ROSS, COL. JARVIS, OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE THIRD MILITARY DISTRICT,—It can hardly be expected that on an occasion such as this, I, a civilian, should attempt to address you, but inasmuch as I have had, as Under Secretary of State, and as a Minister of a Military Commission, considerable experience in military matters, I hope that a few remarks from me will not be out of place. I had heard much, before coming to this country, of the Canadian Volunteers. I had heard them highly spoken of, but I confess that I am agreeably surprised at the magnificent physique and appearance of the men whom I have had the pleasure of reviewing to-day. As Her Majesty's representative, I rejoice to find that she has such a sturdy and proficient army of defenders; and I doubt not that, should the occasion arise, you would all turn out manfully for the defence of your families and homesteads. The spectacle which I have to-day witnessed is one which I shall long remember. The steadiness and proficiency of the men is beyond all praise, and, though I am not conversant with the details of military science, I could not but observe the admirable manner in which the different corps acted. As the representative of the Queen in this country, I shall have much

pleasure in congratulating Her Majesty's Government and the Commander-in-Chief on having so fine a body of men for the defence of this country as that which is furnished by the Third Military District. I am aware that soldiers are not fond of long speeches, and I therefore close my remarks to you by thanking you sincerely for the gratifying and magnificent spectacle you have afforded me this day."

On the next day we find His Excellency back at Prescott, when he made a more complete inspection of the camp, and on the following morning, being joined by Her Excellency and Sir George Cartier, he went to Montreal, where the party arrived in the evening.\*

Apartments were secured at the St. Lawrence Hall hotel, and it is not a little curious that, while the vice-regal party were dining in one part of the house, Her Majesty's Opposition in the House of Commons were holding high festival in honor of their leaders in another.†

On the day following His Excellency proceeded to Laprairie, where about 1000 volunteers were in camp. He was received by the Mayor and Corporation, and had presented to him the Hon. Mr. Justice Dunkin, Messrs. Foster and Baker, and several other gentlemen. The Mayor read an address in French, to which His Excellency replied in that language,‡ to the great delight of the French officers and men, who were much gratified to find this graceful recognition of their language made by their new Governor. In the afternoon he attended at the City Hall, where he was met by the Mayor, the members of the Corporation, and a large number of the

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\* "Old Baptiste" is historical. The faithful old pilot of whom all travellers down the St. Lawrence have heard, and most of them have seen, met, as usual, the Steamer Magnet on this occasion, paddling from the shore in his well-known canoe, and safely conducted another Governor General down those most dangerous rapids of Lachine, by a channel which he himself discovered in 1842. It is said he has never missed a day since that period.

† Party feeling was then running high in Canada; the general elections were near at hand, and the Liberal party were making the most strenuous efforts to secure the power of Government. At this gathering great enthusiasm prevailed, the whole company frequently rising and waving their table napkins, often leaping on the table, and expressing their delight in the most vociferous manner.

‡ His Excellency reads French, and speaks it with the pure Parisian accent. He also reads Greek, Latin and Italian, and has made a considerable progress in the study of Hieroglyphics. His speech delivered in Greek at McGill University, which will be referred to in its place, astonished and delighted the learned professors of that eminent seat of learning.



most distinguished citizens of the commercial metropolis of the Dominion. His Worship the Mayor presented him with an address, to which he replied, taking occasion to express his gratification at the fact that,

“Thanks to the magnanimous and wise conduct of your Parliament, and the sagacious administration of my predecessors, I should have arrived in Canada at a time when most of the anxious political questions, which occupied your attention, have been settled, and all classes and sections of the community seem to be united in an endeavor to promote and develop the material resources of the country.”

He took care to point out the political course it was his purpose to pursue by the remark,

“Bred, as I have been, in the atmosphere of Constitutional Government, I trust that my administration of your affairs may prove worthy of a free and noble people.”

He expressed the determination of himself and Her Excellency to take up their residence in Montreal during some portion of the year, and thus become, as he expressed it,

“Intimately acquainted with your beautiful neighborhood, and the agreeable society of which it is the centre.”

In the evening His Excellency and suite, accompanied by Her Excellency and Lady Harriet Fletcher, left for Quebec, where they arrived on the morning of the 5th July, and were met by Sir Narcisse Belleau, the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec, whose guests their Excellencies were during their stay in the old capital. In a few days they proceeded to the lower St. Lawrence, and spent the hot season in the vicinity of Rivière du Loup. Preparations were, during their absence, made to supply suitable accommodation for their Excellencies' stay in Quebec.

The General Elections for the Dominion House of Commons onw commenced. On the 24th July the first of these took place at Ottawa, when Messrs. J. B. Currier and J. B. Lewis were returned by acclamation in the interest of the Liberal Conservative party, led by Sir John A. Macdonald.

At the opening of the first session of the then last Parliament there were in the Commons 181 members. Of these 82 were from Ontario, 65 from Quebec, 19 from Nova Scotia, and 15 from New Brunswick. The Liberal Conservative party then in power, though strongly sustained in the House by Ontario and Quebec, found the Nova Scotia representatives all arrayed against it, with the single exception of Dr. Tupper. Sir John Macdonald, the Premier, could only count on the

support of about half of the members from New Brunswick. As time wore on some of the Nova Scotia members gradually gave in their adhesion to Sir John. During the fourth session Manitoba's three members, (one seat in the Province being unfilled) gave Sir John their support, and in the last session British Columbia's six representatives also joined him, which gave him a working majority of between thirty and forty. He had a larger majority on the Treaty of Washington Bill, when every one of the Nova Scotia members, and most of those from New Brunswick laid aside party ties for the moment, in order to carry this great measure, on which the peace, conciliation, and material benefit of the Dominion so much depended. There was no great question before the people during the elections of 1872, and the Liberal Conservative party went to the country with the prestige of success in amalgamating the Provinces, and in the general working of the machinery of Government. The country was prosperous, and the people contented. The great work of the Inter-colonial Railway was going forward, and the Pacific Railway was engaging the active and serious attention of the Government and people of the country.

The most memorable occurrence of the campaign was the defeat of Sir George Cartier in Montreal East. This very valuable man owed this disaster entirely to his nobility of character and breadth of views. This may seem strange, but it is not the less true. A Frenchman, he was a descendant of the Jacques Cartier of 1534, who on the 20th April of that year, by command of Francis the First, King of France, sailed from St. Malo, on a voyage of discovery, and after coasting the Gulf, entered the River St. Lawrence, and took possession of the country in the name of his Sovereign. He was an ardent admirer of British Constitutional Government, and never hesitated to act on his convictions, even though his action might jar on the feelings or prejudices of his French supporters. He was, in effect, though of French descent, an Englishman in his love of Constitutional Government, and though a Roman Catholic, a Protestant in his love of religious freedom. He was not French enough for many of his French supporters,—he was not Roman Catholic enough for many of his Roman Catholic supporters. But he outlived as well this defeat as the misapprehension of his truly noble character, and died in England, where he had been an honored guest of Queen Victoria herself, deeply regretted by all Canada, and by none more deeply than the misguided people who in the campaign



of 1872 were, for the moment, led astray by men more designing than honest.

Their Excellencies were, from the first week in July until about the middle of August, enjoying the coolness of the lower St. Lawrence, when they returned to Quebec, and from about the 20th August to the day of their departure from Quebec, on the 23rd September, they had availed themselves of every opportunity of studying the people among whom they were thrown and the institutions of that part of the Dominion. Lord Dufferin with all his hospitality and open handedness was ever on the alert for information, and by mixing freely with the people from the highest to the lowest, he obtained a wonderful knowledge of the Canadian character. Their Excellencies had no sooner settled themselves in Quebec, than a series of receptions, levees, dinner parties, balls, and visits to public institutions, educational, religious, and charitable, were inaugurated, which revived in the glorious old city the departed grandeur of the ancient regime. Foreigners can scarcely estimate the great effect this social policy,—for the means adopted to secure the great ends their Excellencies\* had in view deserve this dignified epithet,—had not only on the citizens of Quebec, but on the people at large. It will be remembered that the annexationist feeling still slumbered in the minds of many. The frequent allusions of leading English writers and speakers to the small value of Canada to the empire,—the bitter taunt to a really noble and loyal people that Britain would willingly free them from their allegiance at any moment they desired it, and the apparent coldness of some of the predecessors of Lord Dufferin, had all produced a subdued feeling on the part of the populace, but when the brilliancy and kindness of the new life burst forth, their hearts instantly went out in all their fullness to their Excellencies, and the pent up feelings of love for the glorious “Old Country” were showered upon these exponents of a new policy and a new regime.†

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\* The Countess of Dufferin is associated with His Excellency, in these remarks, from a conviction that the people of Canada are almost as deeply indebted to her as they are to him for this phase of his rule. Her kindness, gentleness, affability of manner, and thoughtful consideration for all within the sphere of her influence, have created in the hearts of the Canadian people, a warmth of affection for her which they themselves are utterly unable to express.

† The following extracts from one of the Quebec journals of 14th September, 1872, so well expresses the general opinion then formed of their Excellencies, that, though somewhat rude in structure, the article is re-produced. “There was

Lord Dufferin here evinced his broad and liberal religious views. He visited the school of the Roman Catholic as willingly as that of the Protestant. He saw loyalty in both. As the representative of the Queen, who rules over millions of Hindoos and Mohammedans, as well as of Roman Catholics and Protestants, respecting and protecting the rights of each creed with an even-handed justice, Lord Dufferin began his Canadian career by meeting with equal respect, and treating with equal consideration and deference, both the Roman Catholic minority and the Protestant majority of Ontario ;—also the Roman Catholic majority and the Protestant minority of Quebec.

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a time when a Military Martinet bred in the Camp, renowned for severity, and loyal to excess by education, interest and professional training, was supposed to be the man and in fact the only man for a Colonial Governor. All the first Governors of Canada answered to this description. A narrow minded, violent tempered, choleric man of the sword, knowing nothing but "His Majesty's Service," and entertaining some Dutch Corporal's ideas of that,—in fact some superior "Von Spitter" of the "Jungfrau" was the sort of person it was thought indispensable to send to Canada, during the days of the Georges, and the long period of English hostile rivalry and frequent warfare. Since that epoch the material of Governors has somewhat improved intellectually :—nevertheless too many gentlemen have, since the passage of Sydenham's Union Act, been sent here merely to amend their fortunes, improve their opportunities, and make a living out of the post they were assigned to. Canadians had come to look upon the time of Durham as that of a brilliant meteor, charged with a message of Imperial concern, and for Imperial purposes. Lord Metcalfe was a man with a settled purpose, resolved to spend no money in its accomplishment, and it was thought that Responsible Government having given rule virtually to the Colonists in the Cabinet would end by our having no more politicians, and no more soldiers for Governors, but would also cause us to have no more men of large income for the office, and confine us to a class of persons coming here for their salary, and it only. Under such a state of public opinion, the advent of Lord Dufferin is hailed by our people with a lively but perfectly natural pleasure. In His Excellency they recognize a gentleman of large means, kindly heart, and liberal disposition. An author of European celebrity, a traveller of merit even in the days of Burton and Speke, although unlike them he chose "High Latitudes" in preference to the tropics as the scene of his researches, Lord Dufferin comes with the prestige of intellect, of benevolence, and of almost royal revenue and munificence amongst the people of Quebec. This, however, is not all. The Quebecers, naturally retiring and sensitive, seldom make up their minds about any man until they have had an opportunity of seeing him, and observing his manners and his temper. This opportunity Lord Dufferin has graciously allowed, and the opinion they have formed of him and his amiable and accomplished lady is most favorable. In this opinion of the wise and kindly



He, as Governor General, knew them but as devoted subjects of Her Majesty, and he furnished proof of his great tact, good feeling and adaptability of temper when we see that from his first visit to a Roman Catholic school in Canada, the modest Convent at St. Roche, until the day he left its shores he has never been charged with a neglect of Protestantism and of undue attention to Roman Catholicism, by the Protestant, nor of neglect of Roman Catholicism and of undue attention to Protestantism, by the Roman Catholic. The local papers of the day gave glowing accounts of the visits of their Excellencies to "Le Monastère des Ursulines," "L'Académie de Sillery," the "Séminaire de Québec," "L'Université Laval," "L'École Normale, Laval," the "Good Shepherd Institution" and schools attached, and several other educational institutions.\* Nor were they inattentive to the amusements of the people. The Stadacona Athletic sports were attended by them, and on the grounds, in the presence of 5,000 spectators, the Mayor of the City, president of the games, presented their Excellencies with an address, thanking them for their countenance. The reply of His Excellency was characteristic. He made use of the event to inculcate the idea, that one of his duties as the representative of Her Majesty was to identify

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carriage of His Lordship, and the Countess, there is no exception of race, or creed, or political party. The Quebecers are a unit as to the admirable manner in which royalty is now represented in the Dominion. The Earl and Countess of Dufferin have excited an absolute enthusiasm of regard among our citizens, and have by their mere living and deportment, and their most generous, graceful and judicious hospitality, done more to stamp out the last embers of annexation than could have been effected by a dozen repressive statutes. Quebec should feel grateful to the Queen and Government of England for the excellent selection of their representative in the person of His Lordship, and we ought not to forget that the appointment was a graceful concession to Canadian feeling,—the Dominion Cabinet, with great judgment and sagacity having an earnest desire to secure for their country the valuable services of Lord Dufferin."

\* The Countess of Dufferin was quite as desirous as His Excellency to countenance and assist in all worthy undertakings. To the application of the officers she, when in Quebec, kindly and promptly sent to the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association the following reply: "The Countess of Dufferin has great pleasure in complying with the request of the General Committee of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association, that she would become a Lady Patroness of that Association. Being already interested in the subject, and having been President of a similar Association in Belfast, Lady Dufferin will watch with sincere interest the progress and the success of the efforts made in Montreal to advance the education of women."

himself with the people in every laudable way, and even in their holiday amusements. He said :

“ Mr. MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I can assure you that both myself and Lady Dufferin feel gratified by the expression of thanks which you have just made, and by the warm reception which we have had here to-day. In being present to-day I do no more than fulfil a duty as the representative of Her Majesty, for our beloved Sovereign seldom allows an occasion to pass without shewing her interest in the sports and amusements of her people. I am sure we must all feel gratified at the way in which the games of the day have gone off:—it has seldom been my good fortune to be present at so large a gathering to witness such extraordinary good behavior, mutual courtesy and good humor. I cordially reiterate the desire expressed by you, Mr. Mayor, that the present celebration may be the inauguration of the institution of annual games in this city, and, more, that you may always be favored with such delightful weather and your assemblies graced by the presence of so many beautiful ladies.”

Among those present at the luncheon given by the Mayor were the Hon. Hector Langevin, Madame Langevin, Col. and Lady Harriet Fletcher, Col. and Madame Strange, Mons. Chevalier, Consul General of France, Col. Gibbon, Halifax, Capt. and Mrs. Sericole, Lieuts. Rowe and Courtenay, His Worship the Mayor, and Madame Garneau.

In order to prove that he desired on all occasions to imitate as closely as possible the affability of Her Majesty, whose political representative he officially was, and whose social representative he desired to become, His Excellency did not confine his hospitality to select dinner parties or out-door fêtes. During the last week of their stay in Quebec, two splendid balls were given by their Excellencies, to which were invited all the ladies and gentlemen who had called upon them. The ball-room, in the Citadel, was tastefully fitted up, with the adjacent terrace as a pleasant retreat,—and the unsurpassed enjoyment of the company flowed more from the marked and charming affability of the Earl and Countess, than from the ordinary pleasures of a ball. The Vice-regal set was composed of the Governor General and Lady Belleau, Sir N. F. Belleau and Lady Dufferin, Hon. Mr. Langevin, C.B., and Madame Garneau, Col. Fletcher and Madame Langevin, the Mayor and Lady Harriet Fletcher, Mr. Burstall and Mrs. R. H. Smith, Lieut. Coulson and Mrs. Burstall, Major Montizambert and Mrs. Boswell.

In referring to the general effect of this memorable visit of their Excellencies to Quebec, a leading local journal well remarked :

“ It is in no spirit of adulation that we point to it as a providential circumstance that, at this turning point in the history of the magnificent appanages of the British



Crown in Northern America, the first commission of Governor General of a Dominion, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, has been conferred upon a nobleman so ready and able to sympathize, and so well seconded by Her Excellency in sympathizing with all the religious, social and industrial elements of the communities entrusted to his care." \*

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\* The following notice of their Excellencies appeared in a Quebec Journal of 24th September, 1872, the day after their departure from Quebec for Toronto and Hamilton: "The resolution of our citizens to mark their sense of the amiable qualities, the courtesy and hospitality of their Excellencies the Earl and Countess of Dufferin by a grand ball in their honor is every way commendable. The demonstration of yesterday, embracing a good-bye excursion up the river, and a parting cheer to those exalted personages, was conceived in the same sense, and with the same object in view. Nothing could have been more appropriate. Indeed, had the Governor General and Lady Dufferin been permitted to depart, even for a time, which we hope will be short, without some special and emphatic exhibition of interest, friendship and admiration, on the part of the citizens of Quebec, they would have had just reason for shame and self-condemnation. Our citizens are not likely, however, to subject themselves to any such reproach. Hospitable themselves, they know how to appreciate the attentions and hospitalities of others. It affords ourselves some pleasure to witness the full realization of the anticipations we were not slow to express in connection with our notice of Lord Dufferin's selection for the Canadian Vice-Royalty. The noble Earl has proved himself worthy of the warmest words of welcome uttered through the press from Quebec to Vancouver Island. In him centered the powers and sterling qualities of an able and warm-hearted Irishman, who has added to his natural gifts the valuable advantages of good education and extensive travel. Lord Dufferin's affability, his condescension and desire to please all, stamp him the true gentleman. His example in this respect might be followed with good results in Quebec and other cities, where you often meet persons not one whit above you in social position, and far inferior to you in the qualifications which render a man agreeable and entertaining, unwilling even to be ordinarily polite on social and other occasions. This constant affectation of superiority in a new, democratic, self-made community is the most ridiculous outcome of egotism and stupid pride conceivable. The people who ape this superiority, unconsciously betray both their ignorance of what good breeding is and their inward knowledge of the fact that there is nothing really superior about them. It is not the genuine metal that needs polish and gilding, but the worthless pinchbeck. We have heard the remark more than once made of late, that the development of habits of silly display and snobbery in our Canadian cities is something both surprising and ridiculous; and such "fashions" may be expected to live on as long as sensible people who don't like, or can't afford them, don't snub their votaries on all proper occasions, and as long as obliging tailors and milliners don't refuse to give long credit. We want just such real leaders of society as Lord and Lady Dufferin in this country, at present, to reform, by quiet, gentleman-like demeanor and gracious conduct towards persons who really are inferior, that it is not necessary to be rude, haughty, or foppishly dressed to play a gentleman's part in "good

The social qualities of their Excellencies have been dwelt on, because they form a very large constituent of the power which the Governor General was able to use, and of the great influence he was subsequently able to exert in very momentous political exigencies, and under very pressing circumstances. The kindness, hospitality and affability both of the Governor General and of Her Excellency were never assumed in public, and discarded in private : they were part of their natures. On the eve of their departure for the Province of Ontario, their Excellencies were presented with an address by his Worship the Mayor, on behalf of the citizens of Quebec, respectfully requesting that they would be pleased to honor them by their presence at a ball to be given at such time as might suit their convenience. The reply of Lord Dufferin gives full expression to the ideas he entertained of the state uses of such gatherings, and of his duty as the Governor of the Dominion in giving encouragement to them. He said, in his usual felicitous and beautiful language :

“MR. MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I can assure you, I find it difficult adequately to express, either on Lady Dufferin’s behalf or on my own, our deep sense of the kindness of yourself, and our other friends in thus coming to bid us good-bye. The delicacy of feeling which has suggested so graceful a compliment doubles its value in our estimation. When we first arrived here we were unknown to you all, and strangers in the land. When we next come to Quebec, we feel that we shall be returning to a circle of warm friends,—to a most charming and agreeable society, and to the sight of kind, familiar faces. Our only regret is that circumstances have not permitted us during our brief stay amongst you to make greater exertions on your behalf, for I am well aware that the social duties of my station are as imperative as my political functions. Encamped, however, as we have been upon the rock above us, and confined within the narrow casemates of the Citadel, it was impossible for us to open our doors as widely as we could have wished ; but though in one sense the space at our disposal for your accommodation has been

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society.” Lord Dufferin must have laughed over Spurgeon’s timely hit, which we printed a short time ago, twitting the sovereigns with their refusal to shake hands with the half-sovereigns, and the halves for turning their backs on the quarters, and the crown pieces for looking down on the poor shillings. But “good gwacious” as Lord Dundreary would say, only to think of Lord Dufferin not only bringing the thousands, dollars, we mean, face to face with the hundreds, of dollars,—but of himself—a great rich Earl—actually speaking to—worse than that—shaking hands with persons—well—for whose bank books, Mr. Casey could not get a bid of \$100 after their debts were paid ! His Excellency doesn’t look into a man’s circumstances before issuing his invitations, and we feel bound to say that, among the best men he has seen in Quebec, or anywhere, are men light of pocket and modest in department.”



restricted,—in another way, at all events, we can make ample provision for you all. *In the chambers of our hearts there is room and verge enough for many friends. Their avenues are guarded by no state, nor ceremonial: no introduction is needed to gain admission there; and those who once enter need never take their leave.\** Both on my own behalf, and on Lady Dufferin's, Mr. Mayor, I accept with gratitude your kind invitation to a Ball later in the year."

A few hours afterwards their Excellencies and suite were on board the steamer which was to convey them to Ontario. At the Government wharf lay the steamer *Napoleon III.*, Capt. Gourdeau,—which had been kindly placed at the disposal of the Committee by the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries,—and the Grand Trunk Ferry steamer *St. George*, Capt. Lamontagne,—both gaily dressed with bunting. These vessels were filled with citizens who had been invited by the Committee to accompany the steamer *Montreal* to Cap Rouge, but as they were not nearly capacious enough many had to take passage on the *James*. The *Maid of Orleans*, the *Levis*, and the *National*, on which were the pupils of the Seminary, and their band, proceeded on a similar expedition. All along the walls, the Lower Park Garden, the Terrace, the Grand Battery, the Citadel, and at every point commanding the scene, thousands of people were collected, and row-boats, full of people, were also on the river.

As the *Montreal* steamed from her moorings, the guns of the Citadel began to thunder forth a salute, which was taken up and repeated by the Abyssinian field pieces of B Battery, on the Government wharf. The band of the Battery, on the *Napoleon III.*, played "God save the Queen," as so did the Seminary band on the *National*, and a tremendous cheer arose from the vast multitude. The *Montreal* steamed up the river, the six steamers following closely behind,—the *St. George* and *Napoleon III.* afterwards taking up positions on either side. His Excellency the Governor General and the Countess came out on the promenade deck, and gracefully acknowledged the cheering and salutes. As the fleet moved up the river, salutes were fired from the wharves of Messrs. Roche & Staveley, R. R. Dobell & Co., and Mr. Chantillon at Sillery, and the residents of the Coves gave hearty farewell cheers. The children of the Sillery school turned out nearly opposite the church with flags and banners, and cheered, and waved their handkerchiefs as the boats passed up.

About Cap Rouge leave was taken of the *Montreal*,—hearty farewell cheers being given their Excellencies. The *Napoleon III.*

\* The Italics are the author's.

fired a salute in turning, and then all steamed back to port, where they arrived at about half-past six o'clock. Such was Quebec's leave-taking of their Excellencies, and such a demonstration the citizens would not have made had it not been richly deserved,—and it was as hearty as it was spontaneous.\*

At Montreal the Vice-regal party took the Grand Trunk Railway, and proceeded to Toronto, where they arrived in the evening of the 24th September.

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\* Quebec Chronicle.



## CHAPTER IV.

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Arrival at Toronto, 24th Sept., 1872—Reception—Visit to the Provincial Exhibition, Hamilton—Return to Toronto—Grand Reception—Addresses and Replies—Visit to Falls of Niagara—Return to Toronto—Drawing Room in Parliament House—Visit to the Western Fair, London—Reception at Woodstock—Addresses—Replies—Arrival at London—Grand Reception—Addresses—Replies—Visit to Strathroy and Petrolia Oil Regions—Return to Toronto—Stay of about three weeks—Visit to Wykeham Hall School—St. Nicholas Home—Trinity College—Presbytery of Toronto—Visit to St. Michael's College—St. Joseph's College—Convent—Address from Yacht Club—Inspection of Normal School—University Athletic Sports—Loretto Abbey—House of Providence—La Salle Institute—Visit to Miss Stubbs' School—Grand Ball—Visit to Osgoode Hall—Concert at Yorkville, in aid of Y. M. C. A.—Speech at Upper Canada College—Speech at Toronto University—Address from the Sabbath School Association—Protestant Orphans' Home—Visit to Sunday School of St. James' Cathedral—Return to Ottawa—Address from the Bishops of the Church of England and Reply—Visit to Montreal, November, 1872—Presentation of Statue of Her Majesty to the City—Speech on the occasion—French Speech—Return to Ottawa—Visit to the Christian Brothers School—Ottawa Ladies College—Convent de Notre Dame—Visit to Quebec, January, 1873—Visit to Poultry Show—Grand Citizens' Ball—Visit to Falls of Montmorenci—Ball given by Stadacona Skating Club—Visit to Ursuline Convent—Lord Dufferin on "Pet Names"—Arrival at Montreal—Visit to St. Ann's School—Torch-light Snow-Shoe Tramp—Inspection of Fire Brigade—Visit to Church of Notre Dame—Catholic Commercial Academy—Ladies Benevolent Institution—Deaf and Dumb Asylum—House of Industry—Asylum for Deaf-Mutes—McGill College University—McGill Normal School—St. Mary's Jesuit College—Christian Brothers Schools—Montreal College—Convent of Villa Maria—Montreal Water Works—Protestant Infants' Home—St. Mary's Convent, Hochelaga—St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum—St. Bridget's Refuge—Court House—Supreme Court—Sergeants' Mess Room—Races of Alexandra Snow-Shoe Club—Victoria Skating Rink Tournament—Address from Presbyterian Church—St. George's Society—Montreal Board of Trade—Grand Ball—Skating Carnival—Concert of Philharmonic Society—Speech at McGill College University, 22nd January, 1873—Speech at McGill Normal School—Hints as to "manners" of youth—Speech at St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum—Summary of His Excellency's character, so far exhibited in Canada—Leaves Montreal for Ottawa, 5th February, 1873.

TORONTO turned out *en masse* on the evening of the 24th September, 1872, to do fitting honor to their Excellencies. They were met at

the station by his Honor Lieutenant Governor Howland, Sir Hastings Doyle, and a great number of distinguished citizens of the capital of Ontario, and were escorted by an immense torch-light procession, with military and music, to Government House, which was brilliantly lighted and decorated for the occasion. Illuminated arches had been prepared, and the reception was most enthusiastic. The Hon. R. W. Scott, Secretary of State, had joined the party at Prescott, and on the arrival at Government House of their Excellencies the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie and the Hon. Archibald McKellar paid their respects to them.

Great preparations had been made for a ball at Government House. During the next day their Excellencies remained the guests of the Lieutenant Governor, when the members of the Ontario Government were presented. In the evening one of the most brilliant balls ever given in Toronto welcomed the representative of Royalty.

On the next day, the 26th September, the Governor General proceeded to Hamilton, where the Provincial Exhibition was in progress. Hamilton, having earned the cognomen of "The Ambitious City," was determined to preserve her reputation. She had sent a deputation to Toronto, to meet His Excellency in that city, and accompany the party to Hamilton. This deputation consisted of the Hon. Isaac Buchanan, Hon. S. Mills and Messrs. D. McInnes, A. T. Wood, Æ. Irving, W. K. Muir, and S. E. Gregory. The Vice-regal party consisted of their Excellencies the Earl and Countess of Dufferin; Lieutenant Governor Howland; Sir Hastings Doyle, Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia; Sir Frederick Arrow, Deputy Master of Trinity House, England; Col. and Mrs. Harriet Fletcher; Col. Cumberland, A.D.C.; Mr. Coulson, A.D.C.; Mr. Brassey, M.P., England; Mrs. Brassey; Hon. Messrs. A. Mackenzie, Adam Crooks, R. W. Scott, A. McKellar, and Peter Gow.

On arriving at the station in Hamilton, where His Excellency was received by the Mayor and Aldermen of the city, the members of the Board of Trade, the members of the Exhibition Board, and a large assemblage of citizens, a number of addresses were presented. The City Clerk, Mr. Beasley, read the address of the Mayor and Corporation, presented by the Mayor, Mr. D. B. Chisholm; Mr. A. T. Wood read the address of the Board of Trade; Mr. Alex. H. Wingfield read a poem of welcome, composed by himself. On arriving at the Exhibition grounds, His Excellency was met at the gates by the president



and officers of the Association, and an immense number of people.\* On ascending the judges' stand, Mr. S. White, the President of the Association, read an address of the Council of the Agricultural and Arts Association of Ontario to His Excellency, another to his Honor Lieutenant Governor Howland, and one to Sir Hastings Doyle, to all of which suitable replies were made.

The next day His Excellency and party returned to Toronto where extensive preparations had been made for their reception. The demonstrations in Quebec had stirred up the citizens of the chief city of Ontario, who were determined to show their appreciation of Lord Dufferin by an unusual display. The city was gay with triumphal arches, flags, decorations, devices, mottoes, and armorial bearings at every turn, while thousands of enthusiastic people crowded the streets. Their Excellencies, the Mayor and Aldermen, and the gentlemen who accompanied them, were conducted to the City Hall, where a number of gentlemen were presented to their Excellencies, among whom were the Chancellor of Ontario, the Hon. Mr. Spragge; Chief Justice Draper; the Hon. Mr. Hagarty, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; the Hon. Mr. Galt, one of the Puisné judges; the Hon. Messrs. M. C. Cameron, Wm. Macdougall, W. L. Macpherson, J. B. McMurrich, Wm. McMaster, G. W. Allan; the Bishop of Toronto,

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\* "Never was there such a multitude seen at an exhibition, the number being estimated as high as fifty thousand."—*Toronto Mail*, 27th September, 1872.

"The party then, upon the suggestion of His Excellency, left the stand, and on foot made the whole circuit of the ring, in order that the people might see them better than it was possible for them to do from the distance at which they stood. The progress of His Excellency and Lady Dufferin was a continued ovation, the people cheering enthusiastically as they passed, and exhibiting in every way the feelings of loyalty and pleasure with which they were filled. It was a very pleasant and impressive spectacle to see the representative of Her Majesty making acquaintance in this manner with the people over whom he had been appointed to govern; and it was inspiring to hear the acclamations of twenty thousand loyal subjects resounding in honor of one who has already earned a title to their consideration and respect. \* \* \* The palace and grounds were too crowded to admit the party extending their visit to other parts of the exhibition, and after examining the animals, they again took carriage, and soon afterwards left the grounds, the people cheering when they passed, as before. The party were driven through the principal streets of the city,—Lord and Lady Dufferin to the residence of Mr. D. McInnes, Lieut. Governor Howland to that of the Hon. Isaac Buchanan, and Sir Hastings Doyle to Colonel McGiverin's."—*Ibid.*

Rev. Provost Whittaker, Dean Grasett, Rev. Dr. Davies, Archbishop Lynch, Father Gemmell, Dr. McCaul, Prof. Wilson, Dr. Ryerson, and Cols. Denison, Spicer and Stevenson. His Worship the Mayor, Mr. Sheard, read an address from the corporation, and Mr. A. R. McMaster, President of the Board of Trade, read another from that body. To these, verbal replies were given by His Excellency, and subsequently, written ones were furnished. As these replies were among the first of Lord Dufferin's official utterances in the great Province of Ontario, and, as they vividly express the views he then entertained on the points referred to in them, they are now in part reproduced. To the Mayor and Corporation he said :

“MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—During my progress through the various sections of the Dominion I have been everywhere greeted with assurances of the deep attachment of the Canadian people to the British Throne and Constitution, and nowhere have those expressions been more marked than in the Province of Ontario. I can assure you that I am deeply sensible of the honor I enjoy in being called upon to administer the Government of so important a community,—a community destined, I believe, to develop the traditional institutions and the genius of the Mother Country to the highest degree of perfection.

The confederation of the Provinces proves how great is the practical wisdom and sagacity of your statesmen ; and the rapidity with which all sectional jealousies, and the animosities of race and religion, have disappeared affords a striking proof of the patriotism and magnanimity of the people. Most cordially do I reiterate your hope that, ere long, the whole of the North American Provinces may be welded into a perfect whole, and that before I leave your shores I may have called together a Dominion Parliament, in which no portion of Her Majesty's Transatlantic Territories shall be unrepresented.”\*

In his reply to the address of the Board of Trade he said :—

“I feel it to be a great honor to have been called upon to administer the Government of so progressive and so prosperous a Dominion. Hardly a week passes but fresh proofs are brought to my notice of the illimitable resources which it contains, and which cannot fail to become rich fountains of wealth to its industrious and energetic people.

“I have been looking forward with impatience to my visit to the capital of Ontario,—and I propose to spend some weeks in Toronto for the express purpose of becoming acquainted with its inhabitants and its institutions.”

The city was brilliantly illuminated in the evening.

Saturday morning was devoted to the reception of addresses at the

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\* This hope was fully realized with the exception that, when His Excellency left Canada, Newfoundland alone, of the whole of British North America had not yet entered into confederation.



Queen's Hotel. An address was presented by the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. The deputation consisted of the Rev. Morley Punshon, President of the Conference ; Rev. William Scott, Secretary ; and the Rev. Messrs. C. Slater, John Gemly, E. H. Dewart, Alex. Sutherland, and W. S. Griffin. An address from the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Toronto was presented by the following gentlemen : Warring Kenny, President ; W. F. McMaster, Vice-President ; Dr. Hodgins, A. T. McCord, Alex. Hamilton, Robt. Wilkes, M.P., James Irwin, Dr. Aikins, Thomas Kerr, and N. Dickey.

Later in the day a deputation from the Temperance Societies attended His Excellency, and an address from members of the Total Abstinence Organization of the city was presented by Edward Beckett, P. H. Steward, Dennis O'Brien, M. Nasmith and James B. Nixon. In the afternoon His Excellency held a levee in the Legislative Assembly Hall of the Parliament Buildings, which was very numerously attended. On the following Monday the Vice-regal party proceeded to Niagara Falls, in whose vicinity they remained during the week, visiting the numerous places of interest.\*

When at Hamilton during the Exhibition an address on behalf of the Indians of the Six Nations was presented, signed by James Givins and thirty-two other chiefs. His Excellency forwarded a reply from Niagara, in which he referred to the loyalty of the Indian races to

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\* "Take a carriage," vociferated half a dozen greedy hackmen.

"No, I thank you," politely answered the Governor General. "We much prefer walking—it is but a short distance."

"Three quarters of a mile—a long walk for your Excellency," persisted one of the more unfortunate of these irrepressible Jehus.

"That's but a step, my man," said the Governor General, and away they went.

"A shoddyite, with only five dollars in the world to bless himself with," observed a gentleman witnessing the scene, "would have taken a carriage, and here's a man with a salary of \$50,000 a year in gold—more than twice that of the President of the United States—who goes on foot." \* \* \* \* \* The receptions given him, amounting to the dignity and importance of a triumph, in his recent tour through Canada, attest the favorable impression he has already made upon the people. He has entered upon his new career under the happiest auspices, and everything betokens his most admirable fitness for the place. He is modest, unassuming, courteous to all,—and with nothing of that brusqueness of manner that in so many men clothed with only a little brief authority shews itself with such odious prominence. The Countess of Dufferin appears to be a lady of the same modest and retiring disposition,—a lady of the Queen Victoria school, quiet, unpretending, winning smiles and love wherever she goes."—*Correspondence of New York Herald.*

the British Crown, assured them that their devotion was esteemed by Her Majesty, "to whom the welfare of her Indian children is a constant care," and trusted that the Six Nations would endeavor to emulate their white brethren "in the industry, the sobriety and the providence which do so much to ensure happiness, and are evidences of a noble, firm, and constant character."

On Saturday, 5th October, the Vice-regal party returned to Toronto. On the following Tuesday night, their Excellencies gave their first Drawing-room in Ontario, in the Assembly Chamber of the Parliament Buildings, which was attended by about fifteen hundred persons,—and on 10th October, their Excellencies and suite, attended by the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie and the Hon. Arch. McKellar, proceeded to London to attend the Western Fair. On their way, addresses were presented to His Excellency, at Woodstock, by the Mayor and Corporation of the town, read by Mr. William Grey, the Mayor; and by the Warden and members of the County Council of the county of Oxford, read by Mr. H. Parker, the Warden. An immense number of people had crowded into Woodstock to get a sight of the already popular Governor General, and his brief stay was the occasion of great enthusiasm. The Vice-regal party reached London in the afternoon, and were received by his Worship the Mayor, Mr. John Campbell, and the members of the City Council; Mr. Atkinson, the President, and the members of the Board of Trade; Col. Taylor, Col. Moffatt, Major Walker, the Hon. Mr. Leonard, Senator; Mr. T. M. Daly, M.P.; Mr. Scatcherd, M.P.; Mr. Oliver, M.P.; Mr. Glass, M.P.; Mr. G. W. Ross, M.P.; Mr. Waterworth, M.P.; Mr. J. B. Guest, M.P.; Mr. Stephen Blackburn, and a number of other prominent gentlemen of the city and county. An address from the Mayor and Corporation of the city was read by the Mayor, Mr. Campbell; another of the City of London Board of Trade was read by Mr. Atkinson, to each of which His Excellency gave a suitable reply. A procession was then formed, and, accompanied by many thousands of enthusiastic people, the Governor General and his party were escorted to the Exhibition grounds. On his arrival he was received by Mr. Wm. Saunders, the President of the Western Fair Association, by whom an address of that body was read, to which His Excellency replied. In the evening the city was illuminated. A number of arches were erected for the occasion, lighted up by gas. Chinese lanterns were lavishly used in the streets,—an immense torch-light procession with fire works added brilliancy to the scene. A grand ball was given which passed off with great *éclat*.



The next day was devoted to a visit to Petrolia, the centre of the oil regions. On his way thither His Excellency was presented with an address at Strathroy by the Mayor and Common Council, and on his arrival at Petrolia, with another, by the Reeve and Municipal Council of the village.

A little incident occurred here, illustrative of the thoughtful kindness of His Excellency, even to young children. After his reply to the address of the Municipality, and while the people were being presented to Her Excellency, he, almost unobserved, walked back to the place where the children were seated, and began addressing them in a familiar and paternal way. It was not for some minutes that his absence from the dais was noticed, and then a number of persons gathered around him to listen to his remarks. He said he was glad to learn that the children were good in behaviour, attentive to their studies, and industrious in their habits. They had the advantage of being natives of a country where all possessed equal rights,—where the road to prosperity and honors was open to every one alike, and where no abject want prevailed. They were born to advantages greater than those of the people of any country in Europe, and he trusted that as they grew older they would learn to appreciate and value them.

His Excellency returned to Toronto during the evening, special trains having been placed at his disposal by Mr. Muir, manager of the Great Western Railway Company, to ensure the speedy return of the party.\*

Lord Dufferin remained in Toronto until the 28th October. In order to show how desirous he was to acquire a knowledge of the various institutions of the capital of Ontario, their Excellencies, on the 15th October, visited Bishop Strachan's Church of England school, known as "Wykeham Hall School." On the 16th, they attended a concert in aid of the St. Nicholas Home for boys, under the patronage

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\* The general result of Lord Dufferin's visit to Western Ontario is fairly summed up by one of the leading Canadian journals of the day: "A couple of years ago, when a company of French *artistes* and *littérateurs* visited England, it was said of Earl Granville, and the Earl of Dufferin, who did the honors at a public dinner given to them, that they were perhaps the only two public men in the Kingdom to whom it was a not more difficult task to address a learned assemblage in the French than in their own language. No one who has read Lord Dufferin's speech delivered in Ireland, at the banquet given him just before his departure for Canada, and has perused his briefer speeches since he has been among

of his Honor Lieutenant Governor Howland and Mrs. Howland ; on the 17th, Trinity College ; on the 18th, University College. On the 21st, His Excellency received an address from the Presbytery of Toronto ; on the same day their Excellencies visited the following Roman Catholic institutions : St. Michael's College, St. Joseph's College, and the Convent. His Excellency received an address from the Yacht Club ; and in the evening, their Excellencies gave a dinner and evening party. On the 22nd the following programme was carried out :—visit of inspection to the Normal School ; University Athletic Sports, the prizes were distributed by Her Excellency ; dinner party. On the 23rd, visit to John and King Streets Schools ; also to Loretto Abbey, House of Providence, and La Salle Institute, Roman Catholic institutions ; dinner and evening party. On the 24th, visit to the Private Schools of Miss Stubbs and Miss Dupont ; ball at Parliament Buildings. On the 25th, visit to Osgoode Hall, the Hall of the Law Courts :—lunch there, and concert at Yorkville in aid of the Young Men's Christian Association. On the 26th, Athletic Sports on the Toronto Cricket ground. In the evening a ball, perhaps the finest ever given in Toronto. The following ladies were honored by dancing with His Excellency : Mrs. Howland, Miss Cumberland, Mrs. Mowat, Mrs. T. C. Patteson, Miss Crawford, Mrs. J. B. Robinson, Miss Harman, Miss Taylor (London), Mrs. George Brown, Miss Fraser (Port Hope), Mrs. F. Barlow Cumberland, Mrs. Allan McDougall, Mrs. Kirkpatrick (Kingston), Miss Heward and Mrs. Nicol Kingsmill. Her Excellency, honored with her hand the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Mowat, Mr. George Brown, and Mr. McKellar.

Among the numerous speeches which Lord Dufferin made on these occasions, three, which, from their importance and excellence, are re-produced at length.

The first was delivered at Upper Canada College, on the occasion of the visit of their Excellencies to that institution, on the 15th

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us but must feel satisfied that he has a most complete mastery of English. All his speeches are models of correct diction." \* \* \* "Lord Dufferin's observations of Canada and of Canadian society must have produced that agreeable surprise which is common to every educated Englishman—we use the word in its widest signification—who has visited the Dominion for either a shorter or a longer period. His every word bears evidence of the delight he has experienced from contact with our people, as well as from the natural beauties of the country,—the substantial wealth of our chief cities and towns, and the general prosperity of all classes of the community."



October. In reply to the address of the officers of the College he said :

“ MR. PRINCIPAL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I can assure you that it is with very great pleasure I find myself within these walls. Any institution which contains within it such a specimen of the youth of a country must be one of the most interesting sights which could be presented to the eyes of those who are in any way connected with its administration, and I am sure that both to the Lieutenant-Governor and to myself the aspect of so many bright and intelligent faces is a matter of the greatest satisfaction. I have had the pleasure already of passing through the various class-rooms, of informing myself of the course of instruction communicated at this college, and of making the acquaintance of those gentlemen who superintend the studies of the pupils ; and, from first to last, I have seen nothing but what appears to me to be based upon the most admirable principles for the instruction of youth. As I understand, it is the ambition of those who direct the internal affairs of this establishment, to assimilate, as far as possible, the principles of its moral government to those which have proved so successful in the administration of the great public schools in England. Well then, sir, I ask myself what are the leading features of an English public school ; and here I would lay aside for the moment any reference to the particular course of study which may be pursued at those establishments, because they vary in different localities and are influenced by different considerations, but there is one feature which is common to them all, and that is, that the authorities who are charged with the responsibilities of the education of those young lads have laid down for themselves this golden rule, that they will not treat the boys placed under their care as mere children, as incapable of themselves discerning between what is right and what is wrong, between what is honorable and what is dishonorable ; but they endeavor to create among their pupils a healthy public opinion, and through its instrumentality to maintain the proper discipline of the school. I am certain that there is no more fruitful principle, no more certain mode of gaining at the same time the confidence of the pupils and enlisting them on the side of order, regularity and good conduct, than by thus making an appeal to their honorable feelings. Educated myself at a public school where, perhaps, this principle of trustfulness towards the boys has been carried out to the greatest extent, I know how it acts upon the minds of the individuals who are thus honored by the confidence of their masters. Although, of course, like other boys, we were very often idle, and occasionally disobedient, although we committed many things for which we deserved punishment, and for which, I must say, we received it, yet we each of us had this feeling, that, placed upon our honors, as it were, we disdained to commit a base, a dishonorable, or an unworthy action. (Loud applause.) Perhaps the distinction between what was strictly right and wrong was somewhat confused ; though we gave rather a liberal interpretation to the code which we thus set ourselves, yet notwithstanding any imperfections of this kind, there was not one of us who, if discovered in a fault, or accused of any act of disobedience, would have hesitated to avow this fault, or would have sought refuge in anything so dastardly as a lie. There was also another principle to which an appeal was made with

success, and which worked with great benefit among the boys—the principle of endeavoring to impose upon the elder lads a certain degree of responsibility, not only in regard to the example they set, but in reference to the active influence they exercised among their junior companions. This was a very healthy principle. I do not think that the authority thus delegated was ever abused, or that the boys who were the most conscientious in its exercise were at all unpopular upon that account with their younger colleagues; and I am sure a kindly word of warning from a boy whom we felt to be superior to ourselves, not only in his moral character, his age, or learning, but also in his skill in manly sports, exercised a most healthful and pleasant influence upon our own conduct. (Applause.) We knew, of course, we were school boys, and willingly and gladly submitted to the discipline we were called upon to obey; but our masters were always careful to inculcate upon our minds that because we were school boys, we had not ceased to be English gentlemen. I will not dwell further upon this point because I know that to a youthful audience, brevity is the soul of eloquence; but before concluding, I wish to say with what satisfaction I have perceived the catholic character of this establishment, not only in the technical acceptance of that term in respect of its freedom from any religious restrictions or controversial impediments to its utility, but in the sense that its healthful influence seems to extend throughout the whole Dominion of Canada, and even into distant parts of America. I have already had the pleasure of speaking to two or three boys who have come from the Southern States, one from Georgia and another I think from New Orleans; and it speaks well for the reputation of this college that such distant students should have been attracted to its walls. There is also another very favorable regulation which I have observed, and which had not been thought of when I was a boy, and which, in a country like this, cannot fail to be of the greatest convenience. I mean the principle of allowing the streams of education, after they have flowed together for some time, to bifurcate in different directions, so as to allow the boys to follow the course which their taste or talents point out, or their parents in their discretion may select for them. By this means you are able to furnish students to all those varieties of occupation which are so multiform in a new country. It must be a source of pride to you that this college should have furnished to the annals of the State the names of so many distinguished persons. You already count among those who have gone before you the Prime Minister of the Province, and perhaps some day you may also be able to point out, as amongst the numbers of your predecessors, the Prime Minister of the Dominion. (Applause.) We have present here to-day one of the most distinguished gentlemen of this Province, a person eminent in the legal profession, who was also a pupil of this establishment, and it must be a mutual satisfaction to him, as well as to the pupils assembled in his presence, that they should have this opportunity of meeting. (Applause.) I thank you, Mr. Principal, I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, and I thank you, boys, for the kind and hearty welcome you have given to the representative of Her Majesty; and I am quite certain that, wherever a Canadian boy is to be found, there, also, Her Majesty will find a loyal subject.” (Loud cheers.)

His Excellency subsequently rose again, and requested the authorities to grant the boys a whole holiday. The Principal consented, and fixed upon Monday for the holiday. The boys of the Sixth, and



the Exhibitioners of the Fifth Forms were then presented to His Excellency, and the Vice-regal party left the building.

The second was delivered at Toronto University on the 18th October. His Excellency had been invited to attend the annual convocation of University College, and consented to take a prominent part in the proceedings by presenting the prizes. The Senate of the University, conjointly with the Council of University College, presented an address of welcome to His Excellency. The address, signed by the Hon. Adam Crooks, LL.D., Vice-Chancellor of the University; W. G. Falconbridge, Registrar; John McCaul, LL.D., President of University College; and W. H. Vandersmissen, M.A., acting registrar, was read by Mr. John A. Boyd, M.A., His Excellency replying in the following terms:

“DR. McCAUL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I cannot quit the presence of this distinguished company without desiring in a few words to express to the Chancellor, to the Vice-Chancellor, and the authorities of this institution, and to those who, upon this occasion, have associated themselves with them in the pleasing welcome which they have been good enough to extend to Lady Dufferin and myself, my best thanks for the kind and hearty reception which they have accorded us. I have been looking forward for a considerable time with the greatest pleasure to this occasion. I had long since heard of the admirable system of education which had been established in the Province of Ontario, and especially in the University of Toronto. (Applause.) But I must say that any expectations I may have formed, however pleasing, have been infinitely surpassed by the pleasure I have experienced in my visit. (Applause.) Until I reached Toronto itself, I confess I was not aware that so magnificent a specimen of Gothic architecture existed upon the American continent. (Applause.) I can only say that the citizens of Toronto, as well as the students of this University, have to be congratulated, in the first place, that, amongst the inhabitants of their own Province, there should have been found a gentleman so complete a master of his art as to have been enabled to decorate this town with such a magnificent specimen of his skill; and, in the next place, on the liberality and public spirit of the Government and the people, which placed at his disposal the means of executing his design. (Applause.) But it is not only on account of the material appliances for the distribution of instruction that I have to congratulate you. I must also felicitate those whom I see present still more upon the fact that they have been able to collect within these walls, and to furnish this Hall and its chairs with a President, and with a body of Professors, amply worthy of the building which they occupy. (Applause.) Thanks to an intimacy I had the good fortune of forming with some relatives of Dr. McCaul, before I reached Canada, I was in some measure aware of the successful nature of his labors, and of the noble work upon which he was engaged. (Applause.) Since my arrival here, I have also been able to assure myself that, perhaps, in no other educational establishment is there to be found a more competent body of Professors, or a collection of gentlemen who, in their several departments, are more qualified to do justice to the subjects

which they undertake to teach. (Applause.) It is a special matter of congratulation to the inhabitants of Toronto that there should be residing in their midst a body of gentlemen of this description, because it cannot fail to be an advantage to any society that, mixing upon familiar terms with them upon every occasion, there should be found gentlemen of erudition in the several departments of human knowledge, inasmuch as their presence and their conversation cannot fail to stimulate the intellectual and the mental activity of all who have the happiness of becoming acquainted with them. But, of course, ladies and gentlemen, it is rather in their professorial and professional character that we have now to consider them, and I must say that nothing has taken me more by surprise, while, at the same time, nothing has given me greater pleasure, than to have perceived, in consequence of the pleasing duty which I have been called upon to perform, that, within the walls of this University, a greater number of subjects is taught and a more practical direction is given to the education and to the studies of the students than within the walls of any University with which I have been hitherto acquainted. (Applause.) All I can say is, that I myself, who have been educated at Oxford, should have been extremely grateful if the same means, the same appliances, and the same advantages for pursuing the various branches of study, which were not then considered by any means a necessary portion of our curriculum, had been placed within my reach. (Applause.) But, while I hasten to pay this compliment to the practical character of many of the departments over which these distinguished gentlemen preside, I trust it will not be for a moment imagined that upon that account I am one of those who are disposed to undervalue or to desire to see relegated to an inferior position that which I consider to be the backbone of a liberal education. I mean the study of the Greek and Roman classics. (Applause.) I am happy to think that, amongst the many students to whom it has been my good fortune to deliver prizes, there have been several young gentlemen who have distinguished themselves both in Latin and in Greek, and I think that, especially in a new country like this, where there is such an exuberant display of all the riches of nature—where every one almost is primarily concerned in material pursuits—it is a point of the very greatest importance that the lessons and the experiences of antiquity should not be lost sight of, but that a knowledge of the learning, of the poetry, and of the history of the past, should liberalize our modern ideas. (Applause.) In considering the educational system of Toronto, so far as I have been able to make myself acquainted with it, it seems to me as though its University were the key-stone of that educational arch upon which the future prosperity of the Province must depend. (Applause.) Owing to the very high standard which has been fixed for matriculation, there is naturally required of every educational establishment of a lower degree the maintenance of a correspondingly high standard, while that standard itself becomes the platform from which the students, when once they have succeeded in entering your walls, take a new departure, and endeavor to reach, before they have finished their University career, even a still higher elevation. And now, in conclusion, I would ask permission to say a very few words more, especially addressed to the students of the University themselves. I by no means venture to read them a lecture, or to preach them a sermon; but I would simply remind them that perhaps in no country in the world, under no possible conditions which can be



imagined, do a body of young men, such as those I see around me, start in life under more favorable auspices, or enter upon their several careers with a more assured certainty that, by industry, by the due cultivating of their intelligence, by sobriety of manners and of conduct, they may attain the greatest prizes of life. I would remind them that they are citizens of a country in which the most cherished prizes of ambition are open to all—that, however humble the origin of any one of them may have been, there is no position in the service of the country which he may not hope to attain, and such a position is one of the most honorable objects of ambition which a young man could put before him as his aim in life. And I would further remind them that they may hope to attain to, not only the prizes which exist in this country in the several professions they may adopt, or in the public service of the Dominion, but that there are other prizes of an imperial nature within their reach,—for the Queen of England does not stop to enquire whether a deserving citizen is an Australian, or a Canadian, or a Scotchman, or an Irishman, or an Englishman, it is enough that he should have rendered the State good service, and this is his title to her favor and reward. (Applause.) Already we have in this country a distinguished example of the truth of what I have said. Within a few weeks past, to a native born Canadian, and at the same time one of the most distinguished servants of the Empire, the Queen has been pleased to extend a signal mark of her favor, and has invited Sir John Macdonald to become a member of the Imperial Privy Council. (Applause.) There are others, friends of my own, who, in their early life having been Colonists, on returning to England have fought their way into Parliament, and are now counted among the most distinguished and successful rulers of the Empire. It will be enough for me to make this slight allusion to this subject. I am sure those I am addressing will lay it to heart, and the lesson I have ventured to inculcate will not be lost upon them. Ladies and gentlemen, I have to apologise for the extremely imperfect nature of these remarks. It was not until a very short time before I made my appearance among you that I was made aware that I should be called upon to do more than make a formal reply to the very cordial address with which I have been honored. Had I known that an opportunity would be afforded to me of addressing, for the first time since I have been in Canada, an audience so distinguished in every respect, both for its learning, and, I may say for its beauty (applause), I certainly should have made that preparation which I feel to be necessary, and the want of which I trust you will kindly excuse.” (Loud applause.)

On the 23rd October their Excellencies paid a visit to the Loretto Young Ladies' school, Toronto. A delicate compliment was paid to His Excellency in the singing by Miss Payne of the “Irish Emigrant,” a beautiful song written by his mother. In replying to the address of the pupils, Lord Dufferin said :

“YOUNG LADIES,—I can assure you that I find it very difficult, indeed, to discover words which will express, with sufficient earnestness, my deep sense of the kindness with which you have received me to-day. When I look around and consider all the preparations which have been made for my welcome, I scarcely know to which to refer with the greatest admiration. The young ladies themselves,

ranged like a bed of flowers in the sunshine of spring-tide,—the beautiful music which has been sung with such taste, delicacy, and feeling, more especially the song which was written by my mother, to which, naturally, I can never listen without deep emotion—all have combined to make an impression upon me which will never fade away. I have been extremely interested in learning, from the observations which fell from His Grace the Archbishop, the origin of this community, and I am proud to think it was from Irish shores it set forth to this country upon its beneficent mission. I congratulate you heartily, young ladies, upon the fortunate circumstance which has placed you within these walls, and I am sure, from all I have heard and witnessed of the noble work in which the sisters are engaged, that the benefits which will be spread abroad through the Dominion cannot be over-estimated. In speaking of a certain lady, an English writer, famous in his time, concluded a brilliant passage in her honor by observing that ‘to know her was itself a liberal education.’ I would venture to recommend you to lay this observation to heart, and to remember that the character and conduct of the women of a country do more, perhaps, than anything else to elevate the tone of feeling amongst its inhabitants, to inspire them with high thoughts and noble endeavors, and with that spirit of chivalry which raises our nature far above its ordinary level. When, however, these sentiments, are still further illuminated by a spirit of devotion, and directed by the counsels of religion, we have just cause to hope that the career of such a nation will receive the blessing of God, and will prove a benefit to the world at large. I wish more especially to express to the sisters themselves my deep and hearty sympathy with them in their lives of retirement and self-sacrifice, and I cannot imagine that there can be a greater consolation to their own minds, or that a more perfect tribute could be paid to the utility and high character of their work than the fact that the pupils placed under their guardianship and beneath the influence of their saintly lives should include the flower of the Catholic maidenhood of Toronto. I can only say, in conclusion, that, on my own behalf, as well as on behalf of the Countess of Dufferin, I thank you again and again, and that I wish to each one of you individually, and to the community collectively, all the happiness that this world can give. I make no doubt but that, whatever may be the dangers, the anxieties, the trials, and temptations which, in your future lives you will have to encounter—and there is none of us whose life is entirely exempt from them—the instruction which you have had here will do as much as any earthly thing can do to sustain and comfort you, and will prove, to the end of your lives, a delightful reminiscence.” (Applause.)

On 26th October His Excellency received an address from the officers of the Sabbath School Association of Canada, and in the evening, accompanied by Her Excellency, his Honor the Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Howland, with their suites, attended the Lyceum Theatre, at an entertainment given for the benefit of the Protestant Orphans’ Home, under the direction of Mrs. Morrison, the secretary of the Institution. On the following day, Sunday, their Excellencies visited the St. James’ Cathedral Sunday school, where His Lordship addressed the pupils. On the next day, the 28th October, the Vice-



regal party left Toronto for Ottawa, where they arrived on the same evening.

On the 6th November His Excellency was presented with an address from the Bishops of the Church of England in the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada, then assembled in conference at Ottawa, expressing the congratulations and good wishes of the church. The deputation consisted of His Lordship the Bishop of Ontario,\* the Archdeacon of Ottawa,† and the Rev. H. Pollard. The reply was couched in the following terms :

“TO THE BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL PROVINCE OF CANADA :

“MY LORDS,—As the representative of our most gracious Queen, who is the Head of the Church, of which you are the Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province, I accept with pleasure the address of welcome which you have presented to me, and, in doing so, I fulfil a function in especial accordance with my delegated office ; but it is not solely as representative of our Queen in her relationship to the Church of England but rather as the Chief Governor of this Great Dominion and her Civil Minister that I desire to record my satisfaction at receiving so cordial an expression of good-will from the rulers of a religious community whose influences have been so generally beneficial throughout the country. Conciliating and blameless to those of your fellow-subjects who are not members of your communion, you faithfully maintain in this new land the faith, discipline and doctrines of the Mother Church, while, by your efforts to spread abroad true religion, and to inculcate the truth of the Gospel, upon which alone national prosperity and the happiness of a people is founded, you contribute to promote the present and ensure the future greatness of Canada. I can assure you that no efforts shall be wanting on my part to further your religious endeavors. In conclusion, I beg to thank you on Lady Dufferin's behalf and on my own for your prayerful aspirations and kind wishes.”

In November His Excellency proceeded to Montreal, and on the 21st of that month made a formal presentation to the city of a statue of Her Majesty which had been procured by the citizens for the ornamentation of Victoria Square. There were in attendance about 20,000 people, of all ranks, creeds and nationalities. Mr. W. Murray, the chairman of the Committee, read an address to His Excellency, requesting him to crown their work by presenting the statue to the city of Montreal, which His Excellency did, in the following terms :

“GENTLEMEN,—It is with a degree of pleasure, very difficult to express in words, that I find myself engaged in the discharge of a duty so appropriate to my office,

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\* The Right Reverend J. Travers Lewis, D.D., LL.D., appointed in 1862.

† The Ven. J. S. Lauder, LL.D.

and so congenial to my feelings, as that which you have imposed upon me to-day. (Cheers.) Among the many circumstances which have made me feel at what a fortunate epoch I have arrived in Canada, by no means the least agreeable is the fact that there should have been reserved to me this opportunity of taking part in a ceremony which evinces, in so marked and general a manner, the unfailing loyalty and affection entertained by the citizens of this large, prosperous and wealthy town to the person and throne of our Sovereign. (Cheers.) It is, therefore, with the most heartfelt satisfaction that I undertake the function now allotted to me, and that I become the momentary depositary of this unique and precious gift with which you, gentlemen, the subscribers to the undertaking, are desirous to grace your city, and which you now commission me to hand over as a perpetual ornament to the inhabitants of Montreal and to their children forever. (Applause.) And I must say it is to no mean heritage that these future generations will fall heirs, for, thanks to the magic power of the sculptor, long after we and those who have loved and honored Queen Victoria shall have passed away, there will still remain to them and to their descendants, untouched by time, this breathing representation of that open and intelligent regard, that sweet womanly grace and imperial majesty of aspect, which in her lifetime combined to render the presence of the Queen of England more august than that of any contemporary monarch. (Tremendous cheering.) It is to you, then, citizens of Montreal, that I now turn; it is in your hands that I now place this sacred deposit; it is on you that I lay the charge of guarding for yourselves and those who come after you this fair image of your Queen, this gracious impersonation of the Majesty of Britain, this stately type and pledge of our Imperial unity, this crowned and sceptred symbol of those glorious institutions which we have found to be so conducive to the maintenance of individual liberty, and of constitutional freedom (loud applause). Gentlemen, it was my good fortune in early life to serve near the person of our Sovereign. At that time no domestic calamity had thrown its ineffaceable shadow across the threshold of her home. I was then a spectator of her daily life, its pure joys, its refined and noble occupations, its duties never neglected, but their burdens shared by the tenderest of husbands and most sagacious of friends. It was then that I learned the secret of that hold Her Majesty possesses over the hearts of her subjects in every part of her extensive empire, (cheers) and when in latter days death had forever shattered the bright visions of her early happiness, and left her to discharge alone and unaided, during long years of widowhood in the isolation of an empty palace, the weighty and oppressive functions of her royal station, renewed opportunities were afforded me of observing with what patience, patriotism and devotion to the public service her brave and noble nature bore each burden and discharged each daily task. (Applause.) From dissipation, gaieties, the distraction of society, the widowed Sovereign may have shrunk, but from duty never. (Loud cheers.) When, therefore, you cast your eyes up to this work of art, let the image of the woman, as well as of the Queen, be enshrined in your recollections, and let each citizen remember that in Her whose sculptured lineaments he now regards he has an example of prosperity borne with meekness, of adversity with patience, of the path of duty unflinchingly followed, and of a blamelessness of existence which has been a source of pride to every



English heart, (cheers) and whose pure and radiant influence has shed its holy light on a thousand, thousand British homes. (Great applause.) Above all let each Canadian patriot remember as he contemplates with pride the ever brightening destinies of his native country, let your children and your children's children remember, as, generation after generation, this great Dominion gathers strength and power, that it was under the auspices and the government of Her whose statue I now confide unto your keeping, that these mighty Provinces were confederated into a still mightier State, and that the foundations of that broad Dominion were laid which I trust is destined to prove the brightest ornament, and I trust the most powerful adjunct of the Empire of Britain. (Great enthusiasm.) Gentlemen, I thank you again for the opportunity you have given me of taking part in these proceedings, and for those kind expressions which you have addressed to me personally. I feel I can make no better return than by saying that, in the discharge of my office in this country, it is my desire and hope to follow, at however humble a distance, the example of that beloved Sovereign, who during a long reign has faithfully trod in the paths of the British Constitution, and has never once failed in Her duty to Her Crown, Her Ministers, Her Parliament, or Her people." (Prolonged cheers.)

At the request of the Mayor His Excellency then addressed the assembly in French. He said :

“*MESSIEURS*,—Je le ferai, sans doute, d'une manière bien imparfaite, mais je ne saurais voir cette cérémonie solennelle se terminer, sans essayer de vous exprimer dans votre propre langue combien j'ai été heureux d'assister à cette belle fête, et de pouvoir apprécier l'empressement que vous avez mis à y prendre part, de votre côté.

Je n'ignore pas, messieurs, que dans nulle partie de son vaste empire, notre Souveraine saurait compter sur un dévouement plus complet que celui des canadiens-français.

Brave et noble race qui, la première, fournit à l'Europe les moyens d'importer la civilisation sur le continent d'Amérique. Race valeureuse et hardie dont les explorateurs, dans l'intérieur de ce continent ont permis à l'industrie européenne de s'implanter non-seulement sur les bords du Saint-Laurent, mais encore dans les riches vallées de l'Ohio et du Mississippi; les premiers forts qu'elle érigea et les premiers établissements qu'elle forma sont devenus aujourd'hui, grâce au jugement droit et à l'espèce d'instinct qui la caractérisent, le noyau de grandes villes et de puissantes populations; et c'est à leur coopération actuelle et à leur intelligence naturelle, que nous devons une bonne partie de la condition prospère de cette Province.

Le spectacle de deux peuples composés de nationalités si diverses s'efforçant, à l'envi l'un de l'autre, de prouver leur loyauté à leur Reine et au gouvernement, et travaillant de concert et dans une harmonie parfaite au bien de leur commune patrie, restera l'un des faits les plus remarquables et les plus heureux de l'histoire du monde, en même temps qu'il témoignera de la sagesse politique et des sentiments magnanimes dont sont pénétrés tous les membres de la grande famille Canadienne.”

On his return to Ottawa His Excellency evinced great interest in the educational institutions of that city, and graciously accepted all

invitations in connection with them. He took especial pains to mark his high appreciation of the blessings of education, especially among a people enjoying an untrammelled, civil and political liberty. Her Excellency also took a great interest in them, and usually accompanied him on these occasions. On the 3rd December they visited the Christian Brothers school, a Roman Catholic institution ; on the 16th the Ottawa Ladies' college, a Protestant school, and in reply to the address presented to him His Excellency in conclusion said :

"I would beg to remind you that in course of time we shall expect a considerable proportion of those whom I am now addressing to be pioneers of civilization in a westerly direction, and to help to people those rich regions of Western Canada—the North West Provinces—which are being opened up to civilization, and to the industry and enterprise of this great Dominion."\*

On 20th December, their Excellencies paid a more formal visit to the school of the Christian Brothers, which was tastefully decorated for the occasion with flags, evergreens, mottoes and devices. An address was delivered, to which His Excellency happily replied. On 21st December they visited the Convent de Notre Dame du Sacré Cœur. Their Excellencies were received by the Mayor, the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop, and a great number of the *elite* of the city. In his reply to the address, His Excellency congratulated the good Sisters upon the manifest success which had attended their labors, both in the nursing of the sick and in the education of the young. Already, he and Lady Dufferin, had had occasion to profit by

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\* This College is undenominational, every section of the Protestant Church being represented among the pupils. Their Excellencies were received by the Rev. John Laing, B.A. ; Rev. Mr. Wells, Presbyterian Church, Montreal ; Rev. Mr. Moore, Secretary ; Mr. John Rochester, M.P. ; Mr. J. D. Slater, Dr. Sweetland, Rev. Mr. Gordon, Mr. Orme, Mr. Bronson, Mr. C. J. Robinson, Mr. John Durie, Mr. Geo. Hay, Mr. J. C. Robinson, and others. In conversing with the Secretary, Mr. Moore, His Excellency asked :

"Do the clergy of the various religious bodies visit your school ?"

Mr. Moore—"Oh, yes !"

His Excellency—"It is a mixed institution of French and English ?"

Mr. Moore—"No ; we have no French. We teach Latin, French and German."

His Excellency—"Do you teach Latin ?"

Mr. Moore—"We do."

His Excellency, after a pause—"Do you teach cooking ?" (Laughter.)

Mr. Moore—"It is our intention to do so."

His Excellency's object being, under cover of a jest, to convey his preference for practical education over a mere smattering of Latin or German.



their kind offices, a number of the Sisters having been called in to attend a member of their household during a dangerous illness. He added :

“ It would be impossible to equal the attention and devotion exhibited by these ministering angels on the melancholy occasion in question.”

On 7th January, their Excellencies arrived at Quebec, to attend the Citizens' Ball, which had been tendered them on their leaving the old capital in the preceding September, and on the following afternoon they visited the Poultry Association show, where they were received by the Lieutenant Governor, the Mayor, and the members of the Committee. A guard of honor was in attendance, and his Honor Sir Narcisse Belleau, the Lieutenant Governor, welcomed the visitors in a neat address, in which he referred to the great pleasure the citizens of Quebec felt in seeing their Excellencies again among them.

In the evening the Citizens' ball took place. The ladies of honor in waiting upon Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin were : Mesdames Garneau, Duval, Langevin, Taschereau, Reeve, Meredith, H. Smith, Dobell, Tessier, Murphy, Casault, De Lery, Stuart, Caron, Chauveau, Sewell, Chevalier, and Strange.

The Vice-regal set was arranged as follows :—

The Earl of Dufferin.....	Madame Garneau.
Lieutenant Governor Belleau.....	The Countess of Dufferin.
Hon. Mr. Langevin.....	Madame Duval.
“ Judge Meredith.....	“ Taschereau.
“ “ Stuart.....	“ Meredith.
“ “ Caron.....	“ Smith.
“ Mr. Tessier.....	“ Dobell.
“ “ De Lery.....	“ Tessier.
Lieutenant Col. Casault.....	“ O. Murphy.
“ “ Reeve.....	“ Casault.
Mr. R. Hamilton.....	“ De Lery.
“ R. R. Dobell.....	“ Stuart.
Lieutenant Coulson, A.D.C.....	“ A. Chauveau.
“ Hamilton.....	“ Sewell.
Monsieur Chevalier.....	“ Dunscomb.
Lieutenant Col. Strange.....	“ Chevalier.
Mr. R. H. Smith.....	“ Strange.

The entertainment had exhausted the resources of Quebec in all

that was necessary to render it, as it was, the grandest ball given for many years in the ancient city.\*

A visit to the Falls of Montmorenci, accompanied by the members of the Stadacona Hunt and Driving Club ; a ball in the rink, given by the Stadacona Skating Club ; a curling match in the rink of the Quebec Curling Club, formed the amusements of their Excellencies until the 10th of January, when they left for Montreal, His Excellency declining a public demonstration which had been proposed on the occasion of their departure. They arrived at Montreal on the next morning. The avidity with which His Excellency seized on every opportunity, however minute, of gaining a full and accurate knowledge of the various institutions of the country, and of the habits and sports of the people, and of securing their good-will, may be estimated by the fact that during a stay of twenty-five days in Montreal, he frequently visited the Skating Rink, and mixed in unrestrained freedom with the frequenters of that very pleasant place of exercise ; he, with Her Excellency, who was always as desirous to please as he himself, took part in a snow-shoe tramp by torch-light, a novel entertainment in which all the snow-shoe organizations of the city joined, and which was witnessed by thousands of spectators ; inspected the Fire Brigade of Montreal ; visited the Church of Notre Dame, the Catholic Commercial Academy, the Ladies' Benevolent Institution, the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf Mutes, the Protestant House of Industry, McGill College University, the McGill Normal School, the Jesuits' College, the Schools of the Christian Brothers, the Montreal College, the Convent of Villa Maria, the Montreal Water Works, the Protestant Infants' Home, St. Mary's Convent, Hochelaga ; St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum, St. Bridget's Refuge, St. Ann's Public School, the Court House, the Supreme Court in Session, the Sergeants' Mess Room of the 1st or Prince of Wales Rifles, the annual races of the Alexandra Snow-Shoe Club, and the Victoria Skating Rink Tournament. In

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\* The *Quebec Chronicle* of 9th January, thus alludes to the visit of His Excellency : "From the day when Lord Dufferin set his foot within the boundaries of Canada, he has been growing in the love and estimation of her people. His progress has been a triumphal one, for everywhere he is a conqueror of hearts. In Quebec, a city for which he has evinced a warm affection, he displayed such sterling qualities as won for him the esteem of all, and, therefore, when he took his departure from us, there was little wonder that the hearts of the people should break out in enthusiastic demonstrations. But it was thought proper that there should be a fuller and more tangible expression to His Excellency of the appreciation by the people of his generous and unbounded hospitality, and thus it was that the project of the ball which took place last night originated."



addition to these labors His Excellency received deputations from the Canada Presbyterian Church, the St. George's Society and the Montreal Board of Trade who presented him with addresses, and their Excellencies attended a magnificent ball, a splendid skating carnival, and a concert given by the Philharmonic Society.

The visit to the University of McGill College on the 22nd January, deserves especial notice. Accompanied by Her Excellency and his Aide-de-Camp, Capt. Hamilton, he reached the gates of the College, when the students, particularly of the Faculty of Arts, mustered *en masse*, and called on the coachman to "stand and deliver," declaring that they would themselves draw his sleigh to the doors of their *Alma Mater*. After a moment's parley His Excellency gave his consent, remarking that this demand reminded him of one of the happiest occasions of his life, when, on his return from church with his bride, a similar ovation had been tendered him. Coachman and footmen at once set to work to take out the horses, and the students having hitched themselves to the vehicle, passed up the roadway at a rapid pace, amid the cheers and shoutings of the assembled crowd. At the door the Vice-regal party was met by the Chancellor, the Hon. Charles Dewey Day ; the Vice-Chancellor ; Dr. Dawson, the Principal ; Mr. W. C. Baynes, the Registrar ; the Metropolitan, and others. The guests proceeded to the William Molson Hall, where the Governors, Fellows, Faculty and Graduates had already preceded them. An address having been read by the Chancellor, His Excellency replied extemporaneously in the following terms :

"MR. CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I can assure you that I am deeply sensible of the warm and flattering welcome which you have given me, a welcome not only conveyed in the words of the address which you, Mr. Chancellor, have just read, but which has been still further exemplified and accentuated by the ceremony which preceded my admission to your halls. Only upon one other occasion, and that the most important in the lives of each of us, have Lady Dufferin and myself been treated to similar honor, and that was upon our marriage day. I can only say that if the 'coaches' of this college are as good as the 'horses'—(applause and laughter)—the students cannot fail to take very high and creditable degrees. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not propose to trouble you upon the present occasion with anything more than a very brief but very warm expression of my thanks, not only for the welcome which you have addressed personally to myself and to the Countess of Dufferin, but still more for that exhibition of loyalty with which you have gratified me as the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty. In return, I can assure you, with the most perfect truth, that there is no university in any part of Her Majesty's dominions which the Queen does not regard with interest and solicitude. (Applause.) At the same time I think

it right to mention that I feel I should not be treating this great institution with respect if I did not promise to myself on some future occasion, when I shall have had more leisure than has been possible to me during my present visit to Montreal, —to take advantage of the privilege which belongs to me as visitor to address the students. (Applause.) And I am less inclined at the present moment to trespass upon your time, because within the last few weeks the whole subject of University Education has been most exhaustively considered and discussed by three of the principal statesmen of England. If any of the professors, if any of the students should have happened to have read the speech of Mr. Gladstone at Liverpool, of the Duke of Somerset, at Plymouth, and of Mr. Bruce when addressing his constituents, I am sure they will feel it would be impossible for any one to add anything to the combined treatment by those gentlemen of this subject. Of course, we are all aware that in England and elsewhere, a very violent contest is raging between those who regard the Art courses as amply sufficient for all the real purposes for which educational establishments are founded, while upon the other hand, a school equally respectable, and supported by equal authority, is inclined to denounce a system of classical education as a prejudice or superstition of the past, and to set up the material and applied sciences as their only curriculum. Mr. Gladstone on the one hand, with a very natural affection for his own Alma Mater, went so far as to say that he considered even the unimproved course which prevailed at Oxford when he himself was a student was quite sufficient to furnish as well educated a set of young men as the necessities of the age required, and that by the occasional training which was there given, the mind was more fitly prepared than it could have been by any other means, for the various difficulties, struggles and contests of life. On the other hand, the Duke of Somerset took an opposite view, and referring with something approaching disdain to the assertion made by Mr. Gladstone, that the construction of a violin had exhibited as much ingenuity and intellectual power as the invention of the steam engine, called upon his audience to compare the respective achievements of material and political science. Now, I confess, as far as I myself am individually concerned, my own training naturally leads me to regard perhaps with undue favor a classical curriculum as the back bone of a liberal education, but, be that as it may, and, without venturing for a moment to pronounce a dogmatic opinion upon so debatable a topic, I cannot help remembering that in this country, at all events, the almost overwhelming reasons which, on the one hand, may be urged in favor of paramount attention being given to the physical and practical sciences, are confronted with arguments of corresponding force in favor of the arts and classical learning; for while on the one hand the prosperity of the Dominion almost entirely depends upon every one of its inhabitants using every exertion and straining every nerve to develop its material resources; on the other, the fact of the whole population being engaged in these necessary occupations, and in the accumulation of wealth, renders it all the more a matter of vital importance that the purely intellectual life of the community should be ennobled, embellished, disciplined, and refined by the wisdom, the poetry, the wit, the experience, and the philosophy of the classic ages. Leaving, however, this part of the subject, I will conclude by addressing a very few words to those young men who have shown in so gratifying a manner



with what indulgence they will probably listen to anything which falls from their well-wisher and a friend. I would ask them, then, to remember that the generation which has preceded them has succeeded in bringing to a successful issue one of the most difficult and one of the most beneficial achievements which statesmen have ever undertaken. The generation which now lives and superintends the affairs of this great country has been able, in spite of no ordinary difficulties and impediments, to weld into an united Dominion the whole of those magnificent provinces of Canadian America which are contained between the Atlantic and the Pacific. It is to the guardianship and the improvement of that inheritance which in due time those I now address will be called, and a heavy burden and responsibility will lie upon them to take the best advantage of that glorious birth-right to which they are destined to fall heirs, and in no degree to be behind those who have preceded them in their devotion to their native country. I would further remind them that happily they live in a country whose inhabitants are as free as the air they breathe, that there is not a single prize which the ambition of man can desire to which they may not aspire, and which they may not be certain of making theirs, if only they will apply those faculties with which Providence has endowed them with industry, intelligence, and perseverance. There is not one of you here who may not rise to the highest offices of the state, who may not render his name illustrious for all time to come, who may not engrave for himself on the annals of his country an imperishable record. Finally, ladies and gentlemen, I must congratulate this university, this city, this province and the Dominion at large, upon the fact that an establishment so well conducted, founded upon so wide a basis, endowed with such a healthy vitality, should be daily pouring forth into the world a band of young men, who each sets out upon his separate career, endowed with all the advantages which a university education can give, and amongst those advantages you must reckon not merely the learning, not merely the intellectual training which is the end of all education, but that more subtle and even more important quality which will enable the most casual acquaintance to distinguish between a university man and one who is not. I cannot conclude these few and imperfect words, which I regret not having had the opportunity to study before I ventured to address you, without commenting upon the fact that it is to a citizen of Montreal that we are indebted for this great establishment, and that it is to the continued and repeated munificence of other citizens of Montreal, who have imitated his liberality, that the usefulness of the University has been continuously expanded. In this country hereditary distinctions do not take such root, or become so completely a part of the social system, as in Europe, but I will venture to say that the very fact of any man having connected his name in so honorable a manner with an Institution of this kind will ever prove to his descendants as legitimate a source of ancestral pride as any that ever originated in the Letters Patent of a Sovereign. I thank you again, Mr. Chancellor and gentlemen, for the sentiments of kindness contained in your address to Lady Dufferin and myself. I trust that during our residence in this country we may have many opportunities of improving our acquaintance with you, and I consider it a matter of no small advantage that, whenever we come to Montreal, it will be possible for us to recur to the intimacy of a body of men that represent so ably every branch and description of human learning."

His Excellency's remarks on the "manners" of some young people, made in his reply to the teachers of the McGill Normal School, are pertinent. He said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I can assure you it gives me the greatest pleasure to have had an opportunity of paying you this visit, and of showing you by my presence here to-day not only what an interest I take in the general subject of education, but how much importance I attach to those particular functions which you will be shortly called upon to perform. It would be almost impossible to exaggerate the responsibility which rests upon you, because it is upon you, upon the teachers who are spread abroad in every village and district from one end of the country to the other, that must depend the due education of the great mass of the people. I am happy to think, from what I have seen in Toronto and here, that every precaution has been taken and every means has been furnished which man's ingenuity can contrive to fit you for the successful performance of your important task. It is a delightful thing to know that a number of young men and women, whose intelligence is printed on every lineament of their countenances, should year after year be sent forth from each of these parent establishments, spreading abroad in all directions sound teaching and whatever is necessary to develop the intellectual vigor and activity of the country. I do not know that there is any practical suggestion I have to make to you, and yet there is one thing of which I would venture to remind you, namely, that in your future relations with your young pupils, you should remember that your functions must not be confined merely to the development of their intelligence and the imparting of information, but that there is also another duty as important as either of these, and that is, that you should endeavor to refine, discipline, and elevate their general behavior, rendering them polite, well-bred, deferential, respectful to their parents, to their elders, and their superiors. Perhaps in a new country where, on every side, we are surrounded by the evidences of prosperity, where a spirit of independence is an essential element of success, where, at a very early age, young persons are called upon to fight their own battles and to undertake their own responsibilities, it is very natural that there should be developed an exuberant spirit of self-confidence. Now, what I would venture to ask you from time to time to impress upon your pupils is this, that, although upon the one hand, there is no quality more creditable than self-respect, yet, on the other hand, the very idea of self-respect excludes self-assertion, and I say this the more readily because I confess, if there is any criticism which I have to pass upon the youth of this new country—I do not say of Canada especially, but of the Continent of America,—it is that I have been struck by the absence of that deference and respect for those who are older than themselves to which we still cling in Europe. Now, to use a casual illustration; I have observed in travelling on board the steamboats on the St. Lawrence, children running about from one end of the vessel to the other, whom more than once I have been tempted to take up and give a good whipping. I have seen them thrust aside gentlemen in conversation; trample on ladies' dresses, shoulder their way about, without a thought of the inconvenience they were occasioning, and, what was more remarkable, these thoughtless indiscretions did not seem to attract the attention of their parents. When I ventured to



make an observation on this to the people with whom I have been travelling, I was always told that these little peccant individuals came from the other side of the line. Well, I only hope that this may be so : at all events, without enquiring too strictly how that may be, I trust that the teachers of the schools of Canada will do their very best to inculcate into their pupils the duties of politeness, of refined behavior, of respect for the old, and of reverence for their parents ; that they will remember that a great deal may be done by kindly and wholesome advice in this particular ; and that, if they only take a little trouble, they will contribute greatly to render Canada not only one of the best educated, most prosperous, most successful, and richest, but one of the most polite, best bred, and well-mannered countries of the American continent."

His Excellency paid a visit to St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum on the 30th January. In answer to the address, he replied as follows :

"MR. SECRETARY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—So far from it having been a sacrifice on my part to come here, I can assure you that it has been to me an unmixed gratification. No one can find himself under this roof, in the presence of such a scene as this, without esteeming the invitation which he has had the pleasure of receiving a very great privilege. The allusion which has been made in your address to that devastating famine by which Ireland was depopulated in 1846 and 1847 has recalled to my recollection very bitter and affecting memories. It so happened that it was in that year I first was called upon to undertake the responsibilities attaching to the ownership of land in Ireland, and my first initiation into my duties as an Irish landlord consisted in an endeavor to confront the exigencies of that terrible disaster. Although in my own neighborhood, owing to peculiar circumstances, the distress never reached a point which did not admit of alleviation, circumstances led me to the southern portion of the Kingdom, where famine had seized upon the people, and with my own eyes I was forced to see all its terrible consequences. Since coming to this country I have had occasion to make myself acquainted with a fact, of which I confess until then I was but very imperfectly informed, and that is, the noble way in which the inhabitants of Canada assisted the unfortunate emigrants who, forced to fly under the stroke of famine from their own country, arrived upon the shores of North America not only destitute, but many of them struck down and perishing by disease. I am now aware of how many of the clergy of Canada, both Catholic and Protestant, as well of the members of the medical profession, fell victims to their noble and courageous endeavors to assist those unfortunate persons ; and I confess that when I read the record of the mortality which then took place amongst those classes to whom I have referred, I was perfectly horror-struck with the facts that were revealed ; and so, as an Irishman, if on no other account, I shall ever bear in my heart the deep sense of the debt which we all owe to this country, and especially to those classes to whom I have referred, for the assistance which they then rendered to us. The existence of this asylum only shows that in the chastisements with which we are afflicted a merciful Providence very frequently sows the seeds of innumerable benefits ; for, as has been stated by your Secretary, it is owing to the emergency which then arose, and which you endeavored to meet, that this admirable establish-

ment continues to dispense those benefits to the unfortunate orphans of the locality, even although the immediate occasion to which it owes its existence has happily ceased to endure. (Applause.) I am very glad to think that the establishment is being conducted under such satisfactory auspices, and I am sure it will not be considered inappropriate if, on behalf of those who are interested in all such good and noble works as these, I should venture to tender to those ladies who are present and who, I understand, are good enough to devote their time and their energies to the education and to the interests of these little fatherless children, my best thanks, accompanied by an assurance that, in common with every one who is acquainted with their good deeds, I am deeply sensible of all that society owes to them." (Applause.)

The public opinion of the character of His Excellency was briefly but fairly summed up by a leading journal of Montreal on his departure for the seat of Government, where he arrived on the 5th February.

"Lord Dufferin has now passed several months in Canada, and as the time has been divided between the principal cities, the people of the Dominion have very generally had an opportunity of assuring themselves that the praises bestowed upon His Excellency in England were neither misplaced nor exaggerated. Of late, many in the metropolitan city have enjoyed ample facilities for personal communication, but of this we shall not speak here. We take simply the spoken words of His Excellency on the several occasions when he has appeared in public. From these, the recluse in his closet, or the wider circle of readers who live at a distance from the city, can form an opinion equally well with those who were present and heard the words uttered. The first reflection which these speeches excite is, that few attain the gift of saying so much, and yet saying it so well, or of speaking so frankly, and yet pleasing all. His Excellency, while never descending to the part of a merely formal visitor, has avoided with infinite tact the slightest offence to the most susceptible among our mixed population. Nor has any one been able to detect the smallest assumption in the *role* of Governor. The people of the Dominion, with an exuberance of friendship to the Mother Country, and of loyalty to the Crown, yet enjoy to so large an extent the privilege of self-government, that any putting forward of the idea of control from abroad would doubtless be distasteful to many. We avow with truth our allegiance, and glory in the connection, but with a spice of self-assertion, perhaps, we are inclined to resent the utterances of that school in England which holds that the benefit is all on our side. Of such a sentiment not a trace can be found in the Governor General's speeches. Then, again, in the numerous engagements which have crowded upon His Excellency during his stay in Montreal, the enlightened statesman and scholar has never for a moment been lost in the simple representative of royalty. In the halls of our universities and colleges Lord Dufferin has spoken like a scholar, and suggested matter for reflection. In his reply to the literary and national societies he has exhibited an ease which shows how familiar he is with the guise and the language of the polished man of letters. Often when it might have seemed to others well nigh impossible to keep clear of the most formal expressions, "*il a semé des fleurs sur un terrain aride*"—some literary ornament has redeemed the reply from formality.



Among merchants he has shown himself conversant with the great commercial questions of the day, and in the presence of the leading men of the bar, the clergy, and other professions and callings, His Lordship has been equally at home. It would be unfair to conclude these remarks, imperfect as they are, without some allusion to the hearty sympathy which His Excellency has manifested for our national sports,—a kindness on his part which has given an impetus to these healthful recreations. But the time devoted to the encouragement of athletic pursuits has not interfered with the fulfilment of a long list of more serious engagements. Our columns during the past month afford ample evidence of the liberal attention bestowed by their Excellencies on the various institutions of the city, and the kindly expressions with which their work has been commended. Even the deaf have not been strangers to their words, nor have the blind missed the genial influence of their presence.”\*

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\* A St. John, N.B., journal thus alludes to this visit to Montreal: “Every institution of a public character is attended to, His Excellency shewing a decided inclination for such as are of a literary or educational character. His tour is not a mere round of festivities, and his replies to congratulatory addresses, instead of being a tissue of stereotyped platitudes, are *bonâ fide* speeches, abounding in sound common sense and valuable suggestions. Very good illustrations of this are furnished by extracts from some of his late speeches already published in our columns, especially his remarks on the Educational Controversy, and the necessity for cultivating national politeness.”

## CHAPTER V.

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State of Parties after the General Elections in the Autumn of 1872—Opening of Parliament, 5th March, 1873—His Excellency's Speech from the Throne—Social Life at Rideau Hall—Ontario House of Assembly—Orange Bills—His Excellency declines to deal with them—Sir John Macdonald's opinion on the Constitutional Question—Mr. Huntington's Motion in the House of Commons for a Committee to investigate charges made against the Ministry in respect to the Pacific Railway—History of the events leading up to the "Pacific Railway Scandal"—Defeat of Mr. Huntington's motion—Motion of Sir John Macdonald for a Committee—Committee appointed—The Oaths Bill,—it is passed, and disallowed by Her Majesty—Proceedings of Committee adjourned to 2nd July—House adjourned to 13th August—His Excellency leaves Ottawa 10th June for the Maritime Provinces—Visit to Quebec—Baptism of Lady Victoria Blackwood—Her Majesty's present as Godmother—Visits the Wimbledon Team *en route* for England—Sir John Macdonald offers a Royal Commission to the Parliamentary Committee—Declined by Messrs. Dorion and Blake—Publication of the "McMullen Correspondence," and Sir Hugh Allan's statement—Their Excellencies leave Quebec for the Maritime Provinces—Progress to Prince Edward Island—Cape Breton—Halifax—Speech at Halifax Club—His Excellency obliged to return to Ottawa to meet Parliament on 13th August—Interview with the deputation from the "Ninety-three"—Their Memorial—His Reply—Meeting of the Pacific Railway Committee—Opening of Parliament, 13th August—Mr. Mackenzie's motion—Turbulent conduct of the Opposition—House Prorogued—Meeting of Opposition Members after Prorogation—Full text of His Excellency's celebrated despatch of 15th August, No. 197—Despatch of 18th August—Despatch of the Earl of Kimberley, 9th October,—*London Times*—Return to Maritime Provinces—Visit to St. John, N.B., 19th August—Visit to Fredericton—Nashwaak—Woodstock—Grand Falls—Return to Quebec, 5th September—Members returned to the House of Commons for P.E.I.—Newfoundland—Charter of the Canadian Pacific Railway surrendered—Meeting of Parliament, 23rd October—Speech from the Throne—Report of the Royal Commission issued to enquire into Mr. Huntington's charges—Debate on the Address—Mr. Mackenzie's Amendment—Speakers on both sides—Resignation of the Ministry, 5th November—Mr. Mackenzie sent for to form a new Ministry—Names of Ministers—Remarks on the Pacific Railway matter.

LORD DUFFERIN had now been in Canada about eight months. He



had fully developed the social system he had proposed for himself. More than usual prominence has been given to the festivities attending his movements, because under these lay a policy far more important in a political point of view than would, at the first blush, appear. It will have been observed that in all his replies to addresses he takes care to emphasize the fact that he appears as the representative of Her Majesty, and he had evidently determined to bind the people to her, through himself, by exhibiting an honest and warm interest in their institutions, their welfare, and their happiness, by a respectful consideration for their manners, their habits, their creeds and their language. A ball was to him not a mere gathering of beauty and fashion,—it was a school where he could learn the tastes of the people and test the degree of refinement to which they had attained. A cricket, or a lacrosse match was not a mere passing amusement,—it was an exhibition by which he could compare the physical strength and the manly qualities of the Canadian youths with those of their transatlantic cousins. A visit to universities, or colleges, or schools, was not to him a vain show, but a means of increasing the dignity and value of a liberal education. The unwonted affability both of Lord and Lady Dufferin drew to them the hearts of all classes, and their geniality, and kindness, brought them in these few months to a height of popularity never before reached by any Canadian Governor. This geniality and kindness were so abundant, and were exhibited so constantly, and in so many varying ways that the people, taken by surprise, were sometimes inclined to fear that the exhibition was spasmodic, and that their Excellencies would soon sink into the accustomed seclusion and indifference of former representatives of British power,—but after six years' residence in Canada, they left the country, as will be seen, after enjoying a constantly, and steadily increasing popularity, which had known no check, and had never suffered the slightest diminution of warmth. But now, Lord Dufferin was to enter upon another phase of his life. Settled at the Seat of Government, just after a General Election throughout the Dominion, his attention was about to be drawn to the more serious subjects of his rule.\*

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\* The observations of a correspondent of the *New York World*, who, we may suppose, was uninfluenced by any national or sectional views, are interesting. He says: "It would be trite to say that, since Lord Dufferin came to Canada, he has been winning 'golden opinions' from all classes. He is the most popular of royal representatives, and court journalists never tire of singing his praises. He has placed upon record his mature conviction that he has

The general elections had passed off in quiet. There was no great issue before the country. The Government of Sir John Macdonald had been sustained, notwithstanding the efforts of the Opposition to destroy his majority by their attacks on the Nova Scotia "better terms,"—their denunciations of the agreements by which Manitoba and British Columbia were induced to enter Confederation,—their protests against the inaction of the Ministry in omitting to provide legislation for the suppression of corrupt practices at elections,—their sharp criticisms on the Pacific Railway policy, and their insinuations that the Secret Service Fund had been used for illegitimate purposes. The Government of Sir John was at this period firmly rooted in power,—it possessed the confidence of the people, and had nothing to fear from a weak and disunited Opposition. It had survived the attacks

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social as well as political responsibilities, and he has accordingly entered upon a ceaseless round of festivities and entertainments. Not only does he give splendid balls and magnificent dinners, but he holds levees, attends concerts, visits public schools, patronizes lacrosse matches, lays corner-stones, attends University convocations, receives addresses on all possible occasions, and delivers happy, though impromptu, replies. He mingles very freely with the people, and is altogether so unaffected, pleasant and popular that if the Great American Eagle were to be his guest at Holland House, Toronto, or Rideau Hall, Ottawa, the Geneva award might be cancelled, or perhaps handed over to the Dominion to pay for the enlargement of its canals. Not only does His Excellency guide the affairs of a growing nation but he buys dolls for pretty little girls on the street. The Earl of Dufferin is in fact the most wonderful and popular Governor that has been for years bestowed on the loyal Canadians." \* \* \* "He has discharged his social duties with a 'graceful hospitality' worthy of the old days, though personal Government would, no doubt, be the last thing thought of by such a Liberal, and such a stickler for the Constitution as His Excellency. Lord Dufferin manifested great shrewdness, and a keen appreciation of the state of affairs, by spending some weeks in Toronto before taking up his residence for the winter at Ottawa. He rented Holland House, and gave a series of private and public entertainments which rendered society in the Ontario Capital exceedingly gay for a time, and gave the people a very favorable impression of His Excellency and his accomplished wife." \* \* \* "The Governor's affability may afford some scope for snobs and sycophants to ply their harmless avocations;—but, by mixing freely with the people whom he has to govern, he has shown more practical statesmanship, and become better acquainted with them and their aspirations than if, like his predecessors, he had gone quietly to Rideau Hall, and had seen nothing more of the people than could be noticed in a state tour. He has now gone to the Dominion capital, where he is displaying the same splendid hospitality which made his stay in Toronto very pleasant, and where he has promptly thrown off the shackles which a band of would-be fashionables and aristocrats would have fastened upon him."



made on it, on account of the alleged improper concessions made by Sir John in the Washington Treaty,—for the people had exhibited too much good sense, and too much respect for Imperial necessities, to carp at a measure which, though in some slight matters it was possible to be considered as inimical to their interests, was yet one of much importance to the Empire at large, since it buried forever several dangerous disputes which might at any moment have involved Britain in serious complications. The crowning success of Sir John was in transforming Nova Scotia from a passionate opponent of Confederation into one of its most loyal supporters, and in inducing British Columbia to join her fortunes with the Confederated Provinces.

The recent elections had developed to an alarming extent the fatal disease of corrupt practices. The evil had been steadily growing. There was no special legislation directed against it. It was universally admitted that corruption was making gigantic strides among all grades of the people. The usual venality of large towns had crept into even the farming districts, and bribes were now as unblushingly received as they were unblushingly offered. Neither of the great political parties could boast of their purity,—one was as bad as the other, the only difference being in the extent of means. The Liberal party laid hold of the obvious corruption as a charge against the Conservatives, and cried with all the semblance of honesty, “turn out the corruptionists,—put us in their places,—then, and not until then, will the reign of purity commence.” This cry assumed an unusual importance in the course of subsequent events.

In the meantime each party was preparing for the struggle in Parliament, and Lord Dufferin was quietly studying the people, and the present needs of the country.

On his return to Ottawa His Excellency devoted himself to a preparation for the first session of the second Dominion Parliament. It opened on 5th March, with more than usual splendor. The Hon. James Cockburn, member for the West Riding of the County of Northumberland, Ont., was, on the nomination of Sir John A. Macdonald, elected Speaker without opposition.

In the speech from the Throne His Excellency expressed his deep sense of his good fortune in being permitted to associate himself with the Houses in their labors and aspirations for the welfare of the Dominion. He rejoiced to think that his assumption of office took place when the prospects of the country appeared so full of promise,—when peace and amity prevailed amongst neighboring nations, and

when so many indications were afforded of the success with which Canada was consolidating her political unity and developing her natural resources. He announced that to carry out the legislation of the preceding session a charter had been granted to a body of Canadian capitalists for the construction of the Pacific Railway. He informed the Houses that the surveys for the improvement and extension of our system of canals had been in active preparation,—that the plans for the enlargement of the Welland and the construction of the Baie Verte Canal had been completed, and that the surveys for the St. Lawrence Canals would, he was assured, be finished in time to commence the works at the beginning of the next year. He expressed his gratification that the efforts made to encourage immigration had met with a great measure of success. He alluded to the census, and informed the House, that a measure for the purpose of consolidating and amending the Acts of the several Provinces relating to the representation of the people in Parliament, and one for the trial of controverted elections would be submitted for their consideration.

Their Excellencies held a "Drawing Room" in the Senate Chamber, on the evening of the 6th March, which was attended by an unusually large number of ladies and gentlemen, gathered from all parts of the Dominion, anxious to pay their respects to the representatives of Her Majesty who had already won for themselves the affections of the people. This reception was the formal inauguration of a system of "At Homes," "Theatricals," "Concerts," "Balls," "Curling and Snow-shoeing parties," and other amusements given at Rideau Hall, the invitations to which were very general, thus giving, during the Session, an opportunity to many to cultivate the personal acquaintance of their Excellencies. These gatherings were not exclusive. All ladies and gentlemen who chose to enter their names at Government House were sure to receive cards of invitation, and thus its doors were thrown as wide open to every visitor as the hearts of Lord and Lady Dufferin were to the people to whom they had been sent as the representatives of the Queen. Fortunately for their Excellencies, and for their guests, they found in Ottawa a large fund of histrionic and musical talent, from which they liberally drew for the excellent rendering of these recreations. The frequenters of Rideau Hall, during this memorable Session, will recall with pleasure the efforts made by Col. Stuart, Capt. Hamilton, A.D.C., Capt. Coulson, Miss



Himsworth, Mrs. Stuart, Mdlle. Perrault, Miss Low, Mrs. Waters, Mrs. Beverley Robinson, Miss Aumond, Monsieur Edward Kimber, Monsieur St. D. Lemoine, Mr. Himsworth, Monsieur Kimber, Master Henry Stuart and others to assist their Excellencies in their festivities at Rideau Hall.

The following extract from a leading English journal of 21st March, expresses the unbiassed opinions of an intelligent foreign observer :

“The increasing importance of the Dominion of Canada is abundantly manifested by the unprecedented ceremony and display which accompanied the opening of Parliament at Ottawa upon the 5th instant. England has good reason to be proud of ‘Pro-consul on Pro-consul, a high and glorious line,’ to whose hands the administration of our North American Provinces has been successively committed. The list of the Governors General who within the present century have swayed the destinies of Canada, contains the names of statesmen no less eminent than any of the illustrious viceroys who have served their country by governing England’s mightiest dependency from Calcutta. Lord Durham, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Lord Sydenham, and Lord Elgin will not suffer by comparison with Lord William Bentinck, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning and Lord Mayo ; nor were there wanting many travelled Englishmen who, when Lord Northbrook was sent by Mr. Gladstone to Calcutta, and Lord Dufferin to Ottawa, were of the opinion that an Imperial statesman would find as many opportunities for gaining distinction among the snows and forests of the Dominion as awaited him among the burning territories of Hindostan. Never has a Governor General of Canada had so fair a field before him as was surveyed by Lord Dufferin in the able speech which he read, first in English and then in French, from the throne at Ottawa some sixteen days ago. Nor was the most distinguished living representative of the Sheridan blood unworthy of so suggestive an occasion. Young, eloquent, winning in manner and appearance, and gifted with no slight share of the genius of his race, Lord Dufferin is well calculated to rivet the ties of loyal affection which bind the magnificent Provinces of British North America to the Mother Country with hooks of steel. If we may be permitted to lift for a moment the curtain of private life, we shall be but echoing the universal sentiment of our Canadian fellow subjects when we say that Lord and Lady Dufferin are already more popular at Montreal and Quebec than any Vice-regal pair that ever England sent across the Atlantic. There is much in the physical features of the noble territory now submitted to his sway which cannot fail to fire an imagination so poetic, and a mind so quick and sympathetic as those with which the noble author of ‘A Voyage to High Latitudes’ is endowed. On a continent where female comeliness and grace command universal homage, Lady Dufferin is admitted, as was her husband’s aunt, the Duchess of Somerset, at the English Tournament, to be ‘an unrivalled Queen of Beauty.’ Great, indeed, are the advantages which ‘this noble-hearted pair,’ to use the words of a private letter, may have it in their power to bestow upon the young and vigorous offshoot of England, which covers more than half of the North American con-

minent. Wisely to guide the destinies and utilize the almost unlimited resources of the Dominion, is a task worthy of the loftiest and most far-reaching ambition which ever warmed an English heart."

As was generally anticipated, the Government of Sir John Macdonald was sustained on the first trial of strength, but by a smaller majority than he had commanded in the old House. The Hon. Alex. McKenzie, who had acted as leader of the Liberal party, was now formally installed as its head.

The Session of the Ontario Assembly which opened on the 8th January, closed on the 28th March following. Its proceedings related chiefly to the local affairs of the Province, having but little bearing on the policy or movements of the Federal Government. The reservation of the Orange Bills for the consideration of the Cabinet at Ottawa may be here noticed, as it forms a precedent illustrative of the working of Confederation. Two bills had been introduced: one to incorporate the "Loyal Orange Association of Western Ontario," the other the "Loyal Orange Association of Eastern Ontario." They were opposed by the Roman Catholic element in and out of the House. Mr. Fraser, a member of the Government, of which Mr. Mowat was the head, bitterly denounced them. Mr. Mowat studiously avoided embroiling his Government in the dispute, though he voted for the measures. They were passed, but the Lieutenant Governor reserved them for the assent of His Excellency the Governor General. It was charged that Mr. Mowat, the chief of a Liberal Government, thus advised his Honor, in order to escape the responsibility of dealing with measures which had excited the passions both of Orangemen and Roman Catholics, and casting it on the Dominion Ministry. But Sir John was not compelled to accept the burthen, and as his views on the question, elaborated in his report as Minister of Justice to His Excellency, were not subjected to revision by the Imperial authorities, they may now be said to stand as forming part of the constitutional law of the Dominion. Dates may be anticipated. The report was as follows:

"DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,

OTTAWA, *August 26, 1873.*

The undersigned has had under consideration two Acts passed by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario, at its last Session, entitled, respectively, "An Act to Incorporate the Loyal Orange Association of Western Ontario" and "An Act to Incorporate the Loyal Orange Association of Eastern Ontario," which were reserved by the Lieutenant Governor for the assent of your Excellency, and now



begs leave to report that these Acts purport to incorporate two Provincial Associations.

That the only object of these Associations appearing on the face of the Acts is the holding of property, real and personal, and this being a Provincial object, the Acts are within the competence and jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislature. Such being the case, in the opinion of the undersigned the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario ought not to have reserved these Acts for your Excellency's assent, but should have given his assent to them as Lieutenant Governor.

Under the system of Government which obtains in England, as well as in the Dominion and its several Provinces, it is the duty of the advisers of the Executive to recommend every measure that has passed the Legislature for the Executive assent.

The provision in the 'British North America Act, 1867,' 'that your Excellency may reserve a bill for the significance of Her Majesty's pleasure,' was solely made with the view to the protection of Imperial interests, and the maintenance of Imperial policy; and in case your Excellency should exercise the power of reservation conferred upon you, you would do so in your capacity as the Imperial officer, and under the Royal instructions. So, in any Province, the Lieutenant Governor should only reserve a bill in his capacity as an officer of the Dominion, and under instructions from the Governor General.

The Ministers of the Governor General and of the Lieutenant Governor are alike bound to oppose in the Legislature measures of which they disapprove, and if, notwithstanding, such a measure is carried, the Ministry should either resign, or accept the decision of the Legislature, and advise the passage of the bill. It then rests with the Governor General, or the Lieutenant Governor, as the case may be, to consider whether the Act conflicts with his instructions or his duty as an Imperial, or a Dominion officer, and if it does so conflict he is bound to reserve it, whatever the advice tendered to him may be; but if not, he will doubtless feel it his duty to give his assent, in accordance with advice to that effect which it was the duty of his Ministers to give. With respect to the present measures, the undersigned is of opinion that the Lieutenant Governor ought not to have reserved them for your Excellency's assent, as he had no instructions from the Governor General in any way affecting these bills. They are entirely within the competence of the Ontario Legislature, and if he had sought advice from his legal adviser, the Attorney General of Ontario, on the question of competence, he would undoubtedly have received his opinion that these Acts were within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislature. This is evident from the fact that (as appears by the votes and proceedings of the Legislature) the Attorney General voted for, and supported the bills, as a member of the Legislature. Under these circumstances, the undersigned recommends that the Lieutenant Governor be informed that your Excellency does not propose to signify your pleasure with respect to these reserved Acts, or to take any action upon them. The Legislature will, at its next Session, which must meet before the expiration of the year within which, by the constitution, your Excellency has the power to signify your pleasure, have the power, if it pleases, of considering these measures anew, and re-enacting them, or rejecting them at its discretion.

If these Acts should again be passed, the Lieutenant Governor should consider himself bound to deal with them at once ; and not ask your Excellency to intervene in matters of Provincial concern, and solely and entirely within the jurisdiction and competence of the Legislature of the Province.

(Signed,) JOHN. A. MACDONALD."

The bills were subsequently passed by the Ontario Assembly, and assented to by the Lieutenant Governor.

The Dominion Houses proceeded with but little excitement in the prosecution of the ordinary business of the country. A working majority of between thirty and forty placed Sir John Macdonald beyond all apprehension, and the Conservative party seemed again firmly seated in power, when suddenly they were roused from their sense of safety, and the country was convulsed by an astounding charge made in his place in the House of Commons by Mr. Huntington, Member for Shefford.

To obtain a clear understanding of the events which gave rise to this motion, commonly comprised under the term "The Pacific Railway Scandal," it will be necessary to give a summary of the proceedings connected with the inception of the huge undertaking of building the Pacific Railway,—a road which was to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific through Canadian territory, traversing a space of nearly 4000 miles.\*

It will be remembered that this project formed an essential part of the Confederation scheme, and British Columbia entered the Confederacy on the distinct agreement,—an agreement amounting to a solemn treaty, that the work should be commenced in two years, and completed in ten, computing from the day of union, 20th July, 1871. In order to carry out the undertaking, "An Act respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway" was passed on the 14th June, 1872,\* the recital of which is given in full since it succinctly states the conditions under which the measure was enacted, and this Act was the first practical step taken by Parliament in building the road. It states that :

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\* The Pacific Railway, with its adjuncts, as now proposed will comprise the following distances : Halifax to Rivière du Loup, 561 miles.—Rivière du Loup to Quebec, 126 miles.—Quebec to Montreal, 172 miles.—Montreal to Burrard's Inlet, B.C., *via* Ottawa, Pembroke, French River,—the Northern shore of Lake Superior—Fort William—Selkirk—Northcote—Tête Jaune—Pass—Kamloops, and Yale, 2862 miles—making a total of 3721 miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific.—



“Whereas by the terms and conditions of the admission of British Columbia into union with the Dominion of Canada, set forth and embodied in an address to Her Majesty, adopted by the Legislative Council of that Colony in January, 1871, under the provisions of the 146th Section of ‘*The British North America Act, 1867,*’ and laid before both the Houses of the Parliament of Canada by His Excellency the Governor General during the now last Session thereof, and recited and concurred in by the Senate and House of Commons of Canada during the said Session, and embodied in addresses of the said Houses to Her Majesty under the said Section of the British North America Act, and approved by Her Majesty, and embodied in the Order in Council admitting British Columbia into the Union under the said Act, as part of the Dominion of Canada, from the 20th day of July, 1871,—it is among other things provided that the Government of the Dominion undertake to secure the commencement simultaneously, within two years from the date of the Union, of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as may be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific, to connect the sea-board of British Columbia with the Railway system of Canada: and further, to secure the completion of said Railway within ten years from the date of the Union:—The Government of British Columbia agreeing to convey to the Dominion Government in trust, to be appropriated in such manner as the Dominion Government may deem advisable in furtherance of the construction of the said railway, a similar extent of public lands along the line of railway throughout its entire length in British Columbia, not to exceed, however, twenty miles on each side of the said line, as may be appropriated for the same purpose by the Dominion Government from the public lands in the North West Territories and the Province of Manitoba, subject to certain conditions for making good to the Dominion Government from contiguous lands any lands within the said limits which may be held under pre-emption right or Crown grant, and for restraining the sale or alienation by the Government of British Columbia, during the said ten years, of lands within the said limits: And whereas, the House of Commons of Canada resolved, during the said now last Session, that the said railway should be constructed and worked by private enterprise, and not by the Dominion Government; and that the public aid to be given to secure that undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land, and such subsidy in money, or other aid not increasing the present rate of taxation, as the Parliament of Canada should thereafter determine: and it is expedient to make provision for carrying out the said agreement and resolution: therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows,” &c.

This Act provided that the road should be constructed and worked by one company, having a subscribed capital of at least ten million dollars; that it should be *bonâ fide* commenced within two years from the 20th July, 1871, and completed within ten years from that day; that the land grant to the company should not exceed fifty millions

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\* 35 Victoria, cap. 71, Canada.

of acres, in blocks not exceeding twenty miles in depth on each side of the railway, alternating with other blocks of the like depth to be reserved by the Dominion Government to be sold, and the proceeds applied in reimbursing the sums expended by the Dominion under the Act. The money subsidy was not to exceed thirty million dollars. If more than one company should be formed, power was given for their amalgamation. By another Act, passed on the same day,\* entitled "An Act to Incorporate the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company of Canada," after reciting some of the facts just referred to, adding: "And whereas it is highly expedient that a great national Inter-Oceanic Railway, aided and subsidized by Parliament, should be managed, controlled, and worked in the interest of the Dominion, and, as far as possible, *by persons who are residents of Canada and subjects of Her Majesty,*" † a company was formed, at the head of which stood the Hon. Mr. Macpherson. By another Act passed on the same day, ‡ entitled, "An Act to incorporate the Canada Pacific Railway Company," a second company was formed, at the head of which was Sir Hugh Allan.

These companies became familiarly known as the "Macpherson Company," and the "Hugh Allan Company."

But, before the formation of these companies,—indeed before the legislation of 1872, just referred to, an Englishman, Mr. Waddington, attracted by the agreement made with British Columbia in 1871, had moved in the matter, with a view to the formation of a company to build the road, and, after failing in Toronto to secure the cooperation of capitalists for the purpose, had succeeded in securing the assistance of a number of wealthy gentlemen of New York and Chicago, most of whom were interested in the American line,—the "Northern Pacific Railway." A deputation from these gentlemen visited Ottawa in the latter part of 1871, and had interviews with some members of the Canadian Government, who intimated to them that it was yet too early to enter into negotiations respecting the building of the road. No move was made by any one for several months after this, but, in the month of July preceding this visit of the American projectors, Sir Francis Hincks, then a member of the Dominion Government, had informed Sir Hugh Allan of their movements,

\* 35 Victoria, cap. 72,—Canada.

† The Italics are the author's.

‡ 35 Victoria, cap. 73,—Canada.



—had given him the names of some of the Americans who had made advances to the Government in the matter, and had expressed his regret that a work of so great importance should pass into foreign hands. Sir Hugh acted on the hint,—carefully examined the subject, and soon formed a company for the purpose of building the road, composed of these Americans and some Quebec capitalists. But it soon became apparent to Sir Hugh that a company, important ingredients of which were Americans largely interested in the American Pacific, which would run parallel with the Canadian road, though further south, would not be countenanced by Parliament; and Sir Hugh was informed by the Government that no proposition from such a company would be entertained. He then proceeded to the formation of a professedly purely Canadian company, and positively assured the Government that his American friends had been completely eliminated from the new organization. This was the “Canada Pacific” already spoken of.

In the meantime, the Hon. Mr. Macpherson had organized another company,—the “Inter-Oceanic.” The three Acts already mentioned completed the scheme for the building of the road; provision was made for the amalgamation of the rival companies, and now everything seemed auspicious for the speedy commencement and completion of the great enterprise.

The session closed on the day these Acts were assented to—14th June, 1872. Parliament was dissolved on the 8th July. From the 15th July to the 12th October the General Dominion Elections were being held. So soon as they were completed, Sir John Macdonald returned to the seat of Government, and immediately engaged in the work of putting forward the Railway negotiations. The Ministry was not favorably disposed to either company. Mr. Macpherson’s company contained a dominant Ontario element, Sir Hugh Allan’s a Quebec one. The undertaking was so vast that it was deemed imperative to secure the assistance of capitalists from all parts of the Dominion, and an amalgamation of the rival companies became the chief object of the Ministry. A long and intricate negotiation took place between the companies, but a union could not be effected. On the one hand it was discovered, or strongly suspected, that Sir Hugh had not really broken his connection with his American friends\*,—and, on the other, Mr. Macpherson was not dis-

(\*) This, if true, would have been a fatal objection, as, by the terms of the Act 35 Vic., C. 72, foreigners were excluded from the control of the road.

posed to yield to Sir Hugh the Chairmanship of the proposed amalgamated company, a position insisted upon by Sir Hugh. The Ministry favored this claim of Sir Hugh, partly because he was first in the field, and partly because he was known to be a gentleman of large capital, and of very great influence in the moneyed community.

Sir John Macdonald, finding it impossible to effect a union of the two companies, announced the intention of the Government to promote the formation of a new one, seeking elements for it in the various Provinces, and a short time before the meeting of the House, in March, 1873, such an organization was completed, which included not only some of the chief men of the now defunct rival companies, but also a number of representative gentlemen from each Province.\*

Of this company Sir Hugh Allan was elected chairman. In order to prevent the introduction of American interests into the management, it was provided that no transfer of shares should take place during the first six years without the consent of the Government, nor after that period without the consent of the Board of Directors. Sir John Macdonald was very careful, and exhibited much solicitude in providing checks against the possibility of any one person, or combination of persons, whether represented by Sir Hugh or not, from obtaining any dominant influence in the direction.

On obtaining the charter, Sir Hugh proceeded to England for the purpose of strengthening the company through the capitalists of that country,—and he was there in April, when Mr. Huntington's motion was made. Up to this time the railway policy of the Government had been supported by the House, and the constitution

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\* The charter to this company was granted 5th February, under 35th Vic., cap. 73, and the following gentlemen were named in it as constituting the company, which was styled "The Canadian Pacific Railway Company":—Sir Hugh Allan, of the city of Montreal, Knight; the Hon. Adam George Archibald, of Halifax, N.S., C.M.G., a member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada; the Hon. Joseph Octave Beaubien, of Montreal, Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Province of Quebec; Jean Baptiste Beaudry, of Montreal, Esquire; Egerton Ryerson Burpee, of St. John, N.B., Esquire; Frederick William Cumberland, of Toronto, Esquire; Sandford Fleming, of Toronto, Esquire; Robert Newton Hall, of the town of Sherbrooke, Esquire; the Hon. John Sebastian Helmcken, of Victoria, British Columbia; Andrew McDermott, of the town of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Esquire; Donald McInnes, of the city of Hamilton, Ont., Merchant; Walter Shanly, then of the town of North Adams, U. S., Esquire; and John Walker, of the city of London, Ont., Esquire.



of the new company did not challenge special opposition from any quarter, excepting from Mr. Macpherson, who was disappointed at the success of his rival, Sir Hugh Allan.

At this stage, on the 2nd April, Mr. Huntington made this startling motion :

“ Hon. Mr. *Huntington* moved, that Mr. *Huntington*, a member of the House, “ having stated in his place that he is credibly informed and believes that he can “ establish by satisfactory evidence,—

“ That, in anticipation of the legislation of last Session, as to the Pacific Rail- “ way, an agreement was made between Sir *Hugh Allan*, acting for himself, and “ certain other Canadian promoters, and *G. W. McMullen*, acting for certain “ United States capitalists, whereby the latter agreed to furnish all the funds neces- “ sary for the construction of the contemplated Railway, and to give the former a “ certain percentage of interest, in consideration of their interest and position, the “ scheme agreed on being ostensibly that of a Canadian company with Sir *Hugh “ Allan* at its head,—

“ That the Government were aware that negotiations were pending between “ these parties,—

“ That subsequently, an understanding was come to between the Government and “ Sir *Hugh Allan* and Mr. *Abbott*, M.P.—that Sir *Hugh Allan* and his friends “ should advance a large sum of money for the purpose of aiding the elections of “ Ministers and their supporters at the ensuing General Election,—and that he and “ his friends should receive the contract for the construction of the Railway,—

“ That accordingly Sir *Hugh Allan* did advance a large sum of money for the “ purpose mentioned, and at the solicitation, and under the pressing instances of “ Ministers,—

“ That part of the moneys expended by Sir *Hugh Allan* in connection with the “ obtaining of the Act of incorporation and Charter was paid to him by the said “ United States capitalists under the agreement with him,—it is

“ *Ordered*, That a committee of seven Members be appointed to enquire into “ all the circumstances connected with the negotiations for the construction of the “ Pacific Railway—with the legislation of last Session on the subject, and with the “ granting of the Charter to Sir *Hugh Allan* and others ; with power to send for “ persons, papers and records ; and with instructions to report in full the evidence “ taken before, and all proceedings of said Committee.”

In moving, Mr. Huntington contented himself with saying that “ he felt compelled by a deep sense of duty to place the motion he was about to make before the House at the earliest possible moment, in view of the very grave question raised. He had already stated in his place that he was credibly informed that arrangements had been made by Sir Hugh Allan and an American gentleman representing certain American capitalists for the construction of the Pacific Rail-

way] in anticipation of the legislation of last Session : that the Government were aware of this ; and that subsequently arrangements were made between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan, by which a large sum of money was to be paid to the Government for the purpose of influencing the recent elections, in return for which Sir Hugh Allan and his friends were free to receive the contract for the construction of the Railway, and that this was done."

Not a word more was said on either side of the House. The Ministry treated the motion as one of non-confidence, and met it by absolute silence. On the vote being taken, it was found that Sir John, —in a House of one hundred and eighty-three,—had a majority of thirty-one.

Although it would have been impossible to grant a Committee on so loose a charge, unsupported by a single fact, and avowedly made, not on the responsibility of the mover, but on hearsay evidence, yet it was also impossible to permit the matter to rest. Sir John felt it due to himself, as well as to the country, that the charge should be fully met, though in a proper and constitutional manner. He therefore on the next day, 3rd April, gave notice that he would on the following Tuesday ask that the House should appoint a special Committee of five to be selected by the House, for the purpose of considering the subjects mentioned in the motion of Mr. Huntington. He added that, if need were, special power would be given to the Committee to sit in recess, and, if necessary, that a Royal Commission would be issued for the purpose of giving them additional powers. This motion was made on the 8th April, and carried. The members composing the Committee were Hon. Mr. Blanchet, Mr. Blake, Mr. Dorion (Napierville), McDonald (Pictou), and J. Hillyard Cameron (Cardwell).\* Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition, suggested that a short Act be passed, giving power to the Committee to sit during recess, and to take the evidence on oath. Mr. Dorion, Mr. Blake and Mr. Joly, leading members of the Opposition, expressed the same desire. Sir John assented to this, but intimated that he had doubts as to the power of the House to pass an Act allowing a Committee to take evidence on oath, but he promised that either by an Act or a Commission this power would be conferred.

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\* Of these gentlemen, three, Messrs. Blanchet, McDonald and Cameron, were supporters, the other two opponents, of the Ministry.



The Committee immediately proceeded with its duties. Mr. J. Hillyard Cameron was appointed chairman, and on the 17th April he presented its first report, which merely recommended that an Act be passed to enable the Committee to examine witnesses on oath. On the 18th April Mr. Cameron introduced such a bill. No objection was raised to it, excepting that Sir John Macdonald feared that the Act of Union did not confer that power on the Legislature.

It was hastened through both Houses, speeded on its way by the Ministry, but as it involved a doubtful point, His Excellency reserved it for the sanction of the Home authorities. It was passed on the 3rd May, and was on the same day transmitted to England. The Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Kimberley, referred it to the Law Officers the Crown, who reported that it was *ultra vires*; and on the 27th June, more than a month after the adjournment of the House, a telegram was received by His Excellency the Governor General from the Earl of Kimberley in these words: "Oath Act is disallowed."

In the meantime the Committee had met, and on the 5th May, Mr. Cameron presented a report to the House containing the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, that in view of the absence of Sir George E. Cartier and the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, members of the House of Commons, and the impossibility of proceeding with the investigation with which the Committee is charged without their being present, it is advisable the Committee should adjourn until the 2nd July, if this Parliament should then be in session."

This was strongly opposed, but it was carried on a vote of 107 yeas against 76 nays.

The ordinary business of the House was now nearly concluded. As it was conceded that prorogation would dissolve the Committee, it was agreed that, to prevent this, the House should adjourn to a day beyond the 2nd July sufficiently distant to enable the Committee to complete their examination and frame their report.

The 13th August was fixed upon as that day, and the House was on the 23rd May accordingly adjourned to the 13th August, then to meet *pro forma*, for the purpose solely of receiving the Report of the Committee, and not for its discussion or for any legislation. At this meeting it was understood that neither the Governor General, nor any members more than would be sufficient to form a quorum, need attend. On this agreement the Session closed, and the members of both Houses departed; none, excepting enough to form a quorum,

residing near Ottawa, expecting to return until an Autumn Session was called for the purpose of dealing with the Report of the Committee.\*

That the non-professional reader may understand why the House was adjourned until the 13th August, instead of being prorogued, it may be explained that a prorogation dissolves all the Committees of the House; everything done by a Committee in the way of taking evidence or otherwise, short of the actual presentation of the report to the House, falls to the ground; and, in order to proceed in the matter with which it may have been charged, a new Committee would require to be appointed at the next or some ensuing Session. As the ordinary business of the House was completed on the 23rd May the usual course would have been to prorogue, but, as this would have dissolved the Committee, and as it was absolutely necessary that it should complete its inquiries, and present its Report to the House before it became defunct, it was determined to adjourn the House to such a day as would give it ample time to meet, examine the witnesses, and settle its report for presentation. It being supposed that all this could be done by the 13th August, that day was agreed upon, as already intimated, for the purpose simply of receiving the report. This document having reached the House in Session, even though it were a *pro forma* one, would then become a record of Parliament, on which action could be taken when the House met in full Session.

The country was moved to its very depths. The Liberals saw in the conduct of Sir John, as charged, a fault so grave that nothing short of resignation would be received by an indignant people. The Conservatives hung their heads, and stood abashed before so serious an accusation, but they hoped it could not be true—a hope which found much support in the fact that Mr. Huntington had not produced a single tittle of evidence in aid of his indictment. But it is creditable to the people of Canada that no party, or section of a party, made the slightest attempt to thwart or delay the course of justice; and it is also creditable to Sir John Macdonald and his Ministry that not only did they place no stone on its track, but he and they carefully and most honorably removed every one which the Constitution of the country or the practice of Parliament had deposited in its way.

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\* This Session was subsequently called for the 5th November.



The most important matters which had engaged the attention of Parliament during the Session, besides the Pacific Railway, were the New Brunswick School question, the admission of Prince Edward Island into the Union, and the Provincial Debt Assumption. It was during the Session—20th May—that Sir George Cartier died in England, and that the Hon. Joseph Howe received the Lieutenant Governorship of his native Province, Nova Scotia.\*

On the 10th June their Excellencies left Ottawa for a tour through New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. On their way thither they re-visited Quebec, where they were received with all the enthusiasm which had been exhibited towards them on former occasions.† On the 17th June, the twentieth anniversary of the discovery of the Mississippi was celebrated with great pomp at the Laval University, and the proceedings were attended by their Excellencies. They were also present at the Convent with his Honor the Lieutenant Governor and Madame Caron, when His Excellency distributed the prizes to the successful pupils. Their spare time was occupied in visiting the educational, religious, and civil institutions of the city. On the 21st June His Excellency visited the Steamer *Prussian*, and addressed the Canadian Wimbledon Team,

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\* This distinguished man did not long enjoy the well-earned reward for his noble services to the Confederate cause in his Province. He died, rather suddenly, at Halifax, on the 2nd June.

† Lady Dufferin had given birth to a daughter at Ottawa on the 17th May, and it had been determined that the baptismal rites should be performed at the Anglican Cathedral, Quebec. Her Majesty the Queen had been graciously pleased to intimate a desire to act as godmother to the infant, and that the young "citizen of Ottawa," as His Excellency subsequently spoke of her, should bear Her Majesty's own name, Victoria. The ceremony took place on the 16th June, in the presence of an immense assemblage. Those present at the font were His Excellency, Her Excellency, as proxy for Her Majesty; Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B., godfather; Lady Harriet Fletcher, godmother; the Hon. Alex. Campbell, Col. Fletcher and Mr. Hamilton, A.D.C. The Rev. G. V. Housman baptized the child by the name of Victoria. The Rev. C. W. Rawson assisted in the ceremony. The font was filled with water brought from the Jordan by Mr. Douglas, thoughtfully offered for the occasion. Her Majesty had sent, as a present to her godchild, a beautiful locket of fine dull gold, with a raised medallion portrait of herself in the centre, enclosed in a circle of brilliants, and surrounded by an outer border in which pink coral bosses were relieved by diamond and pearl settings. From the locket depend five drops of coral. On the reverse is the inscription, "To Lady Victoria Blackwood, from her godmother, Victoria R., 1873."

then on their way to England under the command of Col. Peters. In the course of a short address he made to the Team, His Excellency intimated that it was the intention of the Countess of Dufferin to present the member of the Team who should score the greatest number of marks with a gold medal.

On the 27th June, while in the Maritime Provinces, His Excellency received the telegram from the Earl of Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary, informing him that the Oaths Act had been disallowed. The Governor General immediately communicated with Sir John Macdonald, who was inclined to issue a commission to the members of the Committee appointed by the House, but as he feared to do this lest he should expose the Crown to the indignity of a rejection of its mandate, His Excellency relieved him from his embarrassment by offering to sanction such a proceeding, adding that he thought Sir John might "with perfect propriety act upon the presumption that the members of the Committee will accept the charge confided to them."

Upon this Sir John wrote to each Commissioner, informing him of the disallowance of the Oaths Act, and renewing the offer made by him on the floor of the House of a Royal Commission addressed to the same gentlemen who had been nominated by the House, which would confer upon them all the powers desired, and he concluded his letter by saying :

"The acceptance of this Commission will enable the Committee to proceed with the enquiry and the examination of witnesses on oath without any important delay."

This proposal was rejected by Messrs. Dorion and Blake. The members of the Committee had met at Montreal on the 2nd July as pre-arranged, and on the next day these gentlemen proposed to proceed dispensing with oaths to the witnesses. To this the other members declined to accede, as they felt themselves bound by the express directions of the House to take the evidence under oath, and by their vote the meeting was adjourned until the 13th August, the day fixed for the *pro forma* assembling of the House to receive their report. The Parliamentary Committee was thus virtually dissolved. The promoters of Mr. Huntington's charges probably now felt themselves at liberty to place their evidence before the country by means of the press, and accordingly on the next day there appeared



in the Montreal *Herald* a number of letters and telegrams purporting to have been written by Sir Hugh Allan to Mr. McMullen, to Mr. Smith of Chicago, and to some unknown person in the United States on the subject of the Canadian Pacific Railway. On the next day Sir Hugh published in another paper a statement under oath on the same subject, and subsequently a series of letters was published, now known as the "McMullen Correspondence," containing documents which, if true, were calculated to compromise Sir John Macdonald, and other Ministers.

During these proceedings His Excellency was on his tour through the Maritime Provinces. The Government Steamer *Druid* had been placed at his disposal, and leaving Quebec on the 21st June he arrived, with Her Excellency and suite, on the 8th July, at Gaspé, where he was presented with an address from the County Council.

In their progress from Quebec the party visited Tadousac, the Godbout river, where they were invited to the salmon fishing grounds of Mr. Allan Gilmour of Ottawa, a warm and valued personal friend of their Excellencies, where that gentleman took every pains to show them good sport, and to make their visit an agreeable one,—a kindness in every way successful and most highly appreciated by Mr. Gilmour's distinguished guests. Mingan Harbor was also visited.\*

On the 14th July the *Druid* sailed for Percé, which His Excellency was desirous of visiting for the purpose of inspecting a place looked upon as one of the principal fishing stations on the coast, and of making himself acquainted with the mode of conducting the arrangements for that important branch of the industrial pursuits of that part of the Dominion. At about 7 a.m. the *Druid* stood off the town of Percé, and Mr. Orange and Mr. Boutilier immediately boarded her to pay their respects to their Excellencies. As she steamed around the Rock, the High Sheriff, Mr. Vibert, also came on board, and soon after their Excellencies and suite were rowed to the dock, where they were received by the Mayor, Mr. Harper, and

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\* The party had now spent about ten days in salmon fishing,—the result was seventeen salmon weighing 295 lbs. Of these Her Excellency captured one of 13 lbs. weight, which she landed with great skill from one of the upper pools of the St. John river. To Mr. Allan Gilmour, an ardent fisherman, belongs the honor of first tutoring their Excellencies in the craft of salmon fishing, and he found that they soon put his exceptionally great skill to a severe test in the friendly contest.

others of the principal gentlemen of the place, whilst the shore was thronged by the population who cheered heartily as their Excellencies landed. An address was read by the Mayor, to which His Excellency replied. He then, accompanied by the Countess of Dufferin, Colonel and Lady Fletcher, Mr. Hamilton and others, made a careful examination of the store houses, and inspected the method of curing the fish and preparing them for export. Every information was afforded him by those in charge, and His Excellency was much interested not only in the commercial enterprise, but in the influence it exercised on the character and habits of those engaged in it.

Leaving this interesting spot, the party reached Chatham, N.B., on the evening of the 16th July, where they were met by the leading men of the neighborhood, and an address was presented to His Excellency.

As the party landed they were met by a committee consisting of Messrs. W. Wilkinson, P. Colman, J. B. Snowball, J. Gough, J. Sheriff, Hon. W. Kelley, Hon. W. Muirhead, and Mr. McCulley. His Lordship Bishop Rogers was also present. After the address bidding him welcome to Miramichi, to which His Excellency gave a suitable reply, he and Lady Dufferin were escorted to the residence of the Hon. Mr. Muirhead. After luncheon, they returned to the *Druid*, which proceeded on her voyage to Newcastle, where they arrived on the 17th July, accompanied by the Hon. Mr. Muirhead, Mrs. and Miss Muirhead, the High Sheriff, the Hon. W. Kelley, Mr. Gough, and others. The field battery, commanded by Captain Call, fired a salute. The Governor General, followed by the greater portion of the inhabitants of the town, proceeded to the Court House, where an address was presented. After leaving the Court House the party drove in carriages, provided by Mr. Muirhead, Mr. Kelley and Mr. Snowball, to the railway bridge, then in course of erection,—after the inspection of which their Excellencies returned to the town, and shortly after took their leave for Charlottetown, where they arrived on the morning of the 18th July.

It will be remembered that this beautiful Island of Prince Edward had come into the Confederacy on the 1st of the then month of July, after much hesitation, and in face of the strong opposition of a powerful party. The visit of His Excellency was therefore most opportune, as his course was always marked by a softening of the asperities of political contests, and a willingness to forget past disputes, and unite in the work



of securing future prosperity. Great preparations had accordingly been made for his reception, and it is highly creditable to the gentlemen who had led the Anti-Union party that they now cordially assisted their late opponents in giving His Excellency a most hearty reception. Arches were erected, covered with inscriptions indicative of the popular joy that the Island now formed part of the great Dominion of Canada, and of the profound respect and deep love entertained both for His Excellency and the Countess of Dufferin. The party were received at the landing by his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Robinson, his worship the Mayor, Mr. Rankin, the members of the Local Government, the members of the City Council, the representatives of the Press, and a large number of the leading gentlemen of Charlottetown and the Island. The reply to the address, was as follows :

“GENTLEMEN,—Although, from time to time, it has been the good fortune of many of my predecessors to set foot upon your hospitable shores, none of them has ever arrived amongst you under such happy auspices as myself; and it is with unspeakable pleasure that I return you my warmest thanks for the cordial welcome you have extended to me.

Until the present moment each successive Governor General of Canada, though nominally invested with vice-regal authority over your Island, was necessarily precluded by the separate system of Governments hitherto in existence, from taking that immediate and personal interest in your affairs which your recent incorporation with the Dominion will henceforth enable me to do. But it is upon other grounds than these that I desire to take this, the earliest opportunity afforded me, of offering you my warmest congratulations on the great change in your political condition which has so recently taken place. Hitherto, thanks to the native ability of your public men, and the intelligence of your Local Legislature, your affairs have been administered with so much success as to have secured the utmost peace and prosperity to your citizens; and these advantages, as far as all matters of domestic interest are concerned, you will still retain, but to these there will be super-added the innumerable benefits which cannot fail to flow from your complete and perfect union with the Dominion,—a great and powerful community, whose political importance and whose material wealth and resources are yearly on the increase. A larger and more important field will be afforded to the talents and abilities of your public men, all of whom have so patriotically united in promoting the Confederation of the Island; and who, I feel assured, will be perfectly competent to hold their own, and to make their mark, and worthily to represent your sentiments and interests in the central legislature at Ottawa, while all the other arrangements which have become necessary to consummate the Union, whether of a commercial or financial character, will not fail, I trust, to pour a fuller tide of vitality and wealth through all the arteries which minister to your material welfare.

On the other hand, your accession to the Dominion will powerfully contribute to its strength and completeness, while your well-known loyalty will still further reinforce the devotion of its citizens to the Throne and the Empire.

In conclusion, gentlemen, allow me to assure you that it will be my especial care to watch over your interests with the most anxious solicitude, and, as far as in me lies, to make it a point of conscience that you shall not be losers by the bargain you have made.

I rejoice to think that so beautiful a day should still further enhance the enjoyment of our arrival at your beautiful Island; and, in returning thanks for the kindly words you have especially addressed to Her Excellency, I can assure you that we both look forward with the greatest pleasure to a visit so happily commenced."

Their Excellencies spent nine days on the Island, and, with their usual industry and desire to become acquainted with the people and institutions of the Province in all their different phases and characteristics, the time was spent in driving about the country; in a levee and reception at Government House; in the reception by His Excellency of addresses from the members of the Local Government, from the Conference of the two Presbyteries, and the Irish Benevolent Society; in an excursion into the interior of the island by railway; in attending a ball at Government House, and one in the Colonial Building; and in witnessing a regatta. The members of the Local Government then in Charlottetown, viz. : Messrs. the Hon. J. C. Hope, the Hon. T. H. Haviland, the Hon. J. Brecken, the Hon. W. W. Sullivan, and the Hon. L. C. Owen, presented the address from the Executive Council, which was read by the Premier, Mr. Pope. A deputation from the two Presbyteries, composed of Messrs. the Rev. Thos. Duncan, the Rev. John McLeod, the Rev. D. McNeill, the Rev. John McKinnon of Nova Scotia, and Dr. Mackieson and D. Laird, presented an address, read by the Rev. Mr. Duncan. A committee of the Benevolent Irish Society, of which Mr. James Reddin was president, accompanied by Messrs J. McCarron, assistant vice-president, Martin Hogan, Henry Hughes, John A. McKenna, Patrick Foley, Maurice Blake, Peter Doyle and John Walsh also presented an address. To each of these His Excellency made a fitting reply. The party left Charlottetown in the evening of the 26th July, being escorted to the dock by a torch-light procession; their Excellencies having charmed the people with their urbanity and kindly interest in their pursuits and institutions.\*

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\* *St. John Daily Telegraph*, 22nd August.



On their arrival at Pictou, being anxious to inform himself of every matter connected with the great coal interest of this portion of the Dominion, His Excellency visited the Albion and Acadia coal mines, carefully inspected all the works, and extended his explorations to the bottoms of the mines themselves. Mr. Jesse Hoyt of the Acadia Company, Mr. Hurson of the Albion, and a number of leading gentlemen of Pictou and New Glasgow, accompanied their Excellencies on their tour of inspection.

On the 26th July the party reached Louisburg, and Sydney, Cape Breton, where they were enthusiastically received. Immediately on the arrival of the *Druid*, His Excellency was waited on by the Hon. Mr. Bourinot, the Hon. Mr. Justice Dodd, Mr. McKay, M.P., Rev. Dr. Uniacke, Mr. Davenport Custos and others. His Excellency expressed his great regret that as the original route of his tour did not embrace this part of the country he had not at his command the time which he would like to have devoted to an examination of the coal mines, and the other industries of Cape Breton. He also said he was much pleased with the beautiful aspect and scenery of the Island, and greatly desired to have gone through the St. Peter's Canal, and seen the Bras d'Or Lake, of which he had heard so much. He was particularly desirous to examine the mines of North Sydney, the more especially as such a visit would have afforded him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the people and their pursuits, and of giving him a further insight into the mineral and other wealth with which the Island had been by nature so lavishly endowed; but being expected in Halifax on the 29th July, he was compelled to forego the pleasure and instruction which such a visit would have given him.\*

The party proceeded on their voyage, and on the afternoon of the 29th July, Halifax was reached. Shortly after the *Druid* had cast anchor in the harbor, the distinguished party were visited by his Honor Lieutenant Governor Archibald, Mrs. Archibald and a number of prominent military and other officers. It was determined that the official reception should take place the next day. The landing took

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\* The people so deeply regretted that no full opportunity had been given them of shewing their respect for the representative of their Sovereign, that His Excellency sent a letter to the Hon. Mr. Bourinot, enclosing a fine steel engraving likeness of himself, which he hoped that gentleman would "keep as a memento of the only too short visit he paid to Sydney."

place accordingly at the dockyard. His Excellency was received by the Mayor and Corporation, Admiral Fanshawe in command of the Fleet, then in harbor, Lieutenant Governor Archibald and his lady, Archbishop Conolly, Bishop Binney, and other dignitaries of the Church and State. To the address read by the Mayor, His Excellency replied in a very happy *extempore* speech, thanking the Mayor and citizens for the cordiality of their welcome to himself and Lady Dufferin, and expressing the great pleasure his visit to Nova Scotia and the magnificent harbor of Halifax had afforded him. From all he had seen of the Province since his arrival, in visiting the coal mines of Pictou and Cape Breton, he said he was deeply impressed with the importance of the mineral wealth of the country, and of the industries which he was pleased to find in so forward a state of development.

Their Excellencies were greatly delighted with the magnificent scenery of Cape Breton, the harbor of Louisburg and the eastern coast of Nova Scotia.

Pursuing his settled plan of seeing and learning all he could of the people, institutions, industries, and capabilities of the various Provinces under his rule, His Excellency, most effectively assisted by the Countess of Dufferin, spent a most active life in Halifax and the surrounding country. The bitterness of the anti-confederate feeling had not yet wholly disappeared, and the dominant desire of the Governor General seemed to be to apply balm to the wounded spirits of many most excellent men, whose opposition to Confederation had been inspired by their warmth of attachment to their beautiful Province, and to pour oil on the waters which were still in some degree ruffled by the recollections of past acrimonies. But while thus engaged, His Excellency had been, ever since the rising of Parliament on the 23rd May, exposed to the insinuations of a press which, however, he understood too well to respect or fear. His course on the Pacific Railway matter was being assailed in the most uncourteous terms, though, as yet, he had done or said little or nothing to warrant the suspicions entertained, or professed to be entertained, by this press. Advice had been tendered to him by public prints, in the interests of a violent partisanship, and even threats were levelled at him if he presumed to deviate from the course which these ill-informed and heated disputants chose to mark out for him. His Excellency had left Ottawa under the conviction that as the meeting of Parliament on



the 13th August was agreed to be a mere *pro forma* one, for the sole purpose of receiving the Report of the Committee appointed by the House, his presence would not be necessary, and he had therefore projected an extended visit to the Maritime Provinces. But the disallowance of the Oaths Act,—the refusal of Messrs. Dorion and Blake to act as Royal Commissioners,—the consequent virtual destruction of the Committee,—the publication of the McMullen correspondence and the counter statements, and the confusion which would on these accounts necessarily attend the adjourned meeting of the House, rendered his presence on the occasion imperative. He, therefore, determined to leave Halifax in time to reach Ottawa and open the Session in person.

But before leaving, an opportunity was afforded him of giving expression to some of his views on the duties, responsibilities and powers of a Governor General of Canada. Having been invited to dine with the Halifax Club on the 8th August, he accepted the invitation. Dr. Almon, President of the Club, presided, His Excellency being on his right, and his Honor the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, Mr. Archibald, on his left. Admiral Fanshawe, Sir William Young, the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, and Senator Macpherson were among the invited guests. The toast of the evening was given by the Chief Justice.\*

“In a Province like ours, now a component part of the expanding and vast Dominion, stretching from sea to sea, containing in its bosom the promise of a great future, the germs of a mighty empire moulded upon and attached to British institutions, the Representative of our Queen, I trust, will always be greeted with an enthusiastic and cordial welcome, more especially when as now he brings in his right hand the fair partner of his home, the impersonation of grace and beauty, entering with genuine zest into our amusements and lending new fascinations to the dance.

Since Canada began to assume real importance, we have seen a long, and, I might add, an illustrious line of able and distinguished men filling the high post which is now in the hands of our noble guest. Lord Durham, just before, and Lord Sydenham, at the birth of, the Union of the Canadas, succeeded by Lords Metcalfe, Elgin, Monck and Lisgar, and now by the Earl of Dufferin, form a galaxy of statesmen, shewing the high estimation in which the office of Governor General of this splendid Colony is held by the Mother Country,—and her determination to govern us through the medium of her best and choicest spirits. Greece, the great colonizer of the ancient, as Britain is of the modern, world, used to send

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\* Departing from his usual course, the author has, on account of the exceptional excellence of this speech, reproduced it in full.

out with her colonists a portion of the sacred fire which burned upon her altars, to be ever preserved as a pure and living image of the institutions, the memories, and the beliefs of the Fatherland. But in place of this grosser and more material symbol, the Queen sends us as her representative a mature and experienced statesman, to imitate her virtues, to engage the esteem and win the affections of her subjects on this side of the Atlantic, as she rules the hearts of her own people at home ; and be here, also, the living exemplar of the independence of character, the true nobility of thought, and the delicate and high sense of honor which are the pride and glory of the public men who make England what she is.

The Earl of Dufferin has given to the world a striking picture, while cruising in 'High Latitudes,' finely conceived and wrought out, of the peak of San Mayar piercing the sky, and making itself sublimely visible through the grey and murky atmosphere of those northern regions. He hailed it with delight ; and the adventurous mariner kept his eye steadily fixed on it ; and now, when His Excellency is embarked on a sea of political currents and vicissitudes, where the waters boil and fret below, his parliamentary training and other antecedents assure us that, in discharging the high functions of a Constitutional Governor, there will still be an elevated point, a guiding star, to which his aims will be directed, and which will preserve untarnished the dignity of the Crown and his own personal honor.

No one can retire from a conference with the Earl of Dufferin, when his heart is open, and the true purposes of his administration revealed, without admiration of his far-seeing sagacity, and a firm conviction that he means to do what is just and right. A British nobleman cannot afford to have the slightest smirch on his escutcheon, and we may rest assured that the noble Earl will zealously and successfully guard the purity of his own. I beg to propose as a toast : 'The Earl of Dufferin and his accomplished Countess,—health and happiness to them both.'

To this exceedingly happy address His Excellency replied, in a speech which has ever since been extolled throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion, and is justly considered one of his best efforts. Its manliness and warmth fired the Canadian heart, exhibited as they were at a time when many men situated as he was would have hidden their true opinions under a cloud of platitudes, which might be interpreted to suit any and all parties. The ardent love of Constitutional Government,—the firm determination to keep this as his guiding star,—the expression of his determination to extend an unswerving, unhalting loyalty to the Ministers, whom the voice of the people had designated, as his proper and only advisers, at least until they had been proven unworthy of his confidence, all combined to mark Lord Dufferin as an able and most just ruler. After a few preliminary remarks, he said :

"GENTLEMEN,—If anything were wanting to enhance the honor done me, it would be found in the eloquent and most kind and considerate terms in which the



health of the Countess of Dufferin and myself has been proposed by the Chief Justice. When I first arrived amongst you I was of course a stranger to all but a very few, and, although with her traditional loyalty, your city was prepared to pay every proper mark of respect to the Representative of Her Majesty, you have made us feel that, as our acquaintance improved, a sentiment of personal kindness and good-will has begun to mingle in daily increasing proportions with the official hospitalities with which we have been overwhelmed. (Great cheering.) Of course, these indications of your friendliness and indulgence are very gratifying to my feelings, nor can you be surprised that I should reciprocate your good-will in even a still warmer manner. (Cheers.) I am sure I shall ever look back to my visit here as a most pleasurable reminiscence. Independent of the advantages I have enjoyed of becoming acquainted with the material aspects and characteristics of the chief city of one of the most important Provinces of the Dominion, I have been able to make the personal acquaintance of almost all your eminent citizens, your politicians, your clergy, your judges, and the heads of those various interests and professions which maintain the intellectual vitality and minister to the commercial prosperity of this the capital of Eastern North America. As a consequence, I feel that henceforth I shall be able to examine with a warmer sympathy and a far more intelligent appreciation than heretofore, such problems affecting your welfare as may from time to time be submitted to the consideration of my Government at Ottawa.

And here, gentlemen, I should be disposed to conclude this imperfect expression of my thanks, were I not desirous of conveying to my friend the Chief Justice the great gratification I have derived from the remarks which have dropped from him in regard to my official position as Governor General of this great Dominion. Gentlemen, I am well aware that this is, as it were, a domestic festival, and that nothing could be more inopportune than the slightest allusion to any political topic, but I may be permitted to say this much in reference to what has fallen from the Chief Justice, that, if there is one obligation whose importance I appreciate more than another, as attaching to the functions of my office, it is the absolute and paramount duty of maintaining not merely an outward attitude of perfect impartiality towards the various parties into which the political world of Canada, as of the Mother Country, is divided, but still more of preserving that subtle and inward balance of sympathy, judgment and opinion that should elevate the Representative of your Sovereign above the faintest suspicion of having any other desire, aim, or ambition than to follow the example of his Royal Mistress in the relations which she has constantly maintained towards Her Ministers, Her Parliament and Her people—(tremendous cheering), to remember every hour of the day that he has but one duty and but one office—to administer his government in the interests of the whole Canadian people, and of the Dominion at large. (Great cheering.) Of course, gentlemen, having been but one brief year in the country, my character and my sentiments in these respects can scarcely be known, and there is always a danger during the fervor of those political controversies—which seem to be conducted by the Press of Canada with peculiar animation—(great laughter)—of unauthorized references being made to the Governor General's supposed sentiments, opinions and intentions, which would convey to the uninstructed reader a very erroneous impression of the conduct and the attitude of the Chief of the State.

Gentlemen, I do not make this remark by way of complaint. If there is any person in Canada who has been kindly and considerately dealt with by the Press,—to whom the Press of every political complexion has shown indulgence and goodwill, it is myself; and it is a most natural, and by no means an uncomplimentary circumstance, that the organs of different shades of opinion should persuade themselves that the Governor General must necessarily be of their way of thinking and see through their spectacles (laughter); but what I wish to say once for all, and I do not care how widely this remark is disseminated, is this, that there is no human being who is authorized to make any statement or suggestion as to what my opinions or sentiments may be in respect of any political topic, or who has ever been in a position, or is likely to be in a position, to make anything approaching to a conjecture upon points of this description. It is true my object and my desire is to inform my mind upon every subject affecting the interests of the country by conversation and by discussion with any one who can afford me instruction or information, and it would be very unfortunate for me if this freedom of intercourse with all classes and parties in Canada, from which I derive so much benefit and pleasure, should be trammelled by the dread lest this casual intercourse should become the foundation for inference, comment or conjecture in the Press. No, gentlemen, I understand my duty too well ever to allow my judgment or my sympathies to be surprised into political partizanship. My one thought and desire is the welfare of Canada as a whole; to maintain her honor, to promote her prosperity, to do my duty by her and her entire people, is the sole object of my ambition. When I converse with your public men, it scarcely ever occurs to me to remember to what political party they belong. I only see in them persons devoting themselves, each according to his lights, to the service of his country. My only guiding star in the conduct and maintenance of my official relations with your public men is the Parliament of Canada—(cheers)—in fact, I suppose I am the only person in the Dominion whose faith in the wisdom and in the infallibility of Parliament is never shaken. (Great laughter.) Each of you, gentlemen, only believe in Parliament so long as Parliament votes according to your wishes (cheers) and convictions; I, gentlemen, believe in Parliament, no matter which way it votes (laughter), and to those men alone whom the absolute will of the Confederated Parliament of the Dominion may assign to me as my responsible advisers can I give my confidence. (Cheers.) Whether they are the heads of this party or that must be a matter of indifference to the Governor General. So long as they are maintained by Parliament in their positions, so long is he bound to give them his unreserved confidence, to defer to their advice, and loyally to assist them with his counsels. (Applause.) Whenever in the vicissitudes of party warfare they are replaced by others (laughter) he welcomes their successors with an equally open and loyal regard. Such private friendships as he may have formed he will have a right to retain. (Hear, hear.) As a reasonable being he cannot help having convictions upon the merits of different policies. (Hear.) But these considerations are abstract, speculative, devoid of practical effect on his official relations. (Cheers.) As the head of a Constitutional State, as engaged in the administration of Parliamentary Government, he has no political friends—still less need he have political enemies (great cheering); the possession of either—nay even to be suspected of possessing either—destroys his use-



fulness. (Cheers.) Sometimes, of course, no matter how disconnected his personality may be from what is taking place, his name will get dragged into some controversy, and he may suddenly find himself the subject of criticism by the Press of whatever party may for the moment be out of humor (laughter), but under these circumstances he must console himself with the reflection that these spasmodic castigations (laughter) are as transitory and innocuous (great laughter) as the discipline applied occasionally to their idol by the unsophisticated worshippers of Mumbo Jumbo (immense laughter), when their harvests are short, or a murrain visits their flock. (Cheers.) For, gentlemen, of this I am certain, that, although he may sometimes err in his judgment, or fail in serving you as effectually as he might desire, a Viceroy who honestly seeks to do his duty (cheers), to whom the interests of Canada are as precious and her honor as dear as his own (immense cheering), who steers, unmoved, an even course, indifferent to praise or blame, between the political contentions of the day (cheers), can never appeal in vain to the confidence and generosity of the Canadian people. (Immense applause.)”

The time of their Excellencies in Halifax had been spent in visiting the various public institutions of the City,—in attending a yacht race,—a dinner at the Yacht Club,—drawing room theatricals,—a public pic-nic,—a review and field day,—a grand civic banquet and ball,—a promenade concert,—a cricket match,—a ball on board the Royal Alfred, the Flag Ship of Admiral Fanshawe, and in other gatherings by means of which they had been afforded frequent opportunities of mixing with all classes of the people.

Finding his presence at Ottawa at the opening of the adjourned session, on the 13th August, indispensable, His Excellency, leaving the Countess on board the *Druid* at Halifax, left that city for the seat of Government on the evening of the 9th August by the Steamer *Nestorian*, bound to Montreal. He was attended to the dock by an immense torch-light procession: the prominent places of business in the route of the procession were decorated and illuminated. Dense crowds of people filled the thoroughfares, and greeted the distinguished departing guest with enthusiastic cheers. A military guard of honor received His Excellency on the dock. All the wharves in the vicinity were lined with citizens, who made the welkin ring with their cheers as the *Nestorian* steamed out of the harbor.

His Excellency reached Ottawa on the morning of the eventful 13th day of August. A number of members of the Commons had already arrived. A few hours after the Governor General's arrival, he was attended by the First Minister, Sir John Macdonald, who formally submitted to him the unanimous advice of the Ministers that Parliament should be prorogued. His Excellency considered it

the only proper course to adopt, but he required the assurance that Parliament should again meet within a short time,—six or eight weeks. To this Sir John Macdonald made no objection,—in fact he had himself suggested the same course.

The House was to be convened at 3 p. m. At one o'clock, His Excellency was informed that a deputation of members of Parliament were desirous of waiting on him for the purpose of presenting a memorial against prorogation. They were introduced by Mr. Cartwright, who placed in the hands of His Excellency a memorial signed by ninety-three members of the House, praying that Parliament be not prorogued until the House of Commons "should have had an opportunity of taking such steps as it may deem necessary and expedient with reference to this important matter,"—the investigation into Mr. Huntington's charges. His Excellency declined to accede to this request, first verbally, and afterwards his reply was given in writing.\*

During the morning of the 13th August, four of the members of the Pacific Committee, Messrs. Cameron, Blanchet, Blake and Dorion, had met, and adjourned until the next day,—having done nothing.

At half-past three o'clock, the Speaker took the chair. Mr. Mackenzie immediately rose amid great interruption and confusion, and though constantly interrupted by cries of "Order," "Order," "Privilege," "Privilege," moved the following resolution, seconded by Mr. Holton :

"That the House, during the present Session, ordered an enquiry by a committee of its own into certain grave charges in connection with the granting of the charter and the contract for the construction of the Pacific Railway, which, if true, seriously affect the official honor and integrity of His Excellency's Constitutional Advisers, and the privilege and independence of Parliament: that the investigation thus ordered has, so far, not been proceeded with, owing to circumstances not anticipated when the enquiry was ordered; and that it is the imperative duty of this House, at the earliest moment, to take such steps as will secure a full Parliamentary enquiry: that constitutional usage requires that charges of corruption against Ministers of the Crown should be investigated by Parliament, and that the assumption of that duty by any tribunal created by the Executive would be a flagrant violation of the privileges of this House, and that this House will regard as highly reprehensible any person who may presume to advise His Excellency to prorogue Parliament before it shall have had an opportunity of taking action in the premises, inasmuch as such prorogation would render abortive all the steps taken up to the present time,—would inflict an unprecedented indignity on Parliament, and produce great dissatisfaction in the country."

\* The full text of this memorial and of His Excellency's reply will be found *post* in his despatch to the Earl of Kimberley of 15th August.



A scene of confusion, noise and unseemly conduct now took place, which formed a melancholy commentary on the loud professions of a party which have ever been ready to demand constitutional practice from their opponents, and as ever ready to trample it under foot when it did not run with their momentary desires.

Mr. Speaker rose to quiet the tumult. The House resounded with the repeated cries of "Privilege," "Privilege," "Order," "Order," and he was inaudible except to those near him. He was in fact announcing that the Usher of the Black Rod was at the door with a message from His Excellency. Every one knew that the Governor General was at the moment waiting in the Senate Chamber for the attendance of the Commons, in order to prorogue the House. But Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition, continued :

"No message shall interrupt me. I stand here representing a constituency in this Province, and, I have reason to believe, the opinions of a very large number of people throughout the country. I propose to call the attention of the House to circumstances affecting the independence of Parliament. There is nothing in the circumstances which justifies His Excellency in proroguing Parliament for the purpose of preserving an accused Ministry, and I propose hereafter to proceed with the discussion of this matter to which our attention has been called on previous occasions. I have placed this motion in your hands because I have heard it is the intention to prorogue this House."

At this juncture the Sergeant-at-Arms came forward and announced the attendance of the Usher of the Black Rod at the door of the Commons. Mr. Speaker rose amid loud cries of "Privilege," "Privilege," which continued despite his command to the House to maintain order. The Usher was admitted, but, owing to the hissing and cheering in the House, his message was heard by none except those in his immediate vicinity. After his departure, Mr. Speaker communicated His Excellency's message to the House, and immediately leaving the chair, amidst such a babel of groans, hisses and uproar as was never before witnessed in the Dominion House, he, followed by the members of the Government, the few of their supporters who were present, and the officers of the House, took his way to the Senate Chamber, where the House was prorogued by His Excellency until Monday, the 23rd day of October then next.

Immediately after the prorogation, a meeting of the Opposition members of the House was held in the Railway Committee Room, which may be aptly termed an "Indignation Meeting." Were it not that the principles of Constitutional Government are deeply involved in the proceedings connected with the Pacific Railway charges, no

allusion would here be made to this meeting, but the deliberate utterances of the leaders of a party claiming to be *par excellence* the "Liberal" party of the Dominion, expressed after an hour's quiet discussion with His Excellency,—after hearing from his own lips the unanswerable arguments in favor of prorogation which he subsequently condensed in his written reply to their memorial, and after a discussion of months in the public press, must be taken as their settled opinions on the duties of a Governor General. That these opinions are utterly subversive of Constitutional Government, and if acted upon would degrade the rule of the country to a "personal" one, and render the Executive, to a dangerous extent, independent of his Ministry, and therefore of the people, will doubtless now be admitted by all students of Constitutional history. But it is well the country should be reminded that the very party through whose invaluable agitation Responsible Government was secured by the noble reformers of the Baldwin School are ever ready to cast its principles to the winds when their application does not suit their present needs. The conduct of this party on this occasion, and in the Province of Quebec in 1878, (which will be noticed in its proper place) stamps them as "Liberals" only in an usurped name. Mr. Holton said:

"They knew that the most unheard of indignity had been cast upon Parliament by the Representative of the Crown, advised by his Ministers."

Mr. Mackenzie argued that as ninety-three members had signed the memorial against prorogation, and as several supporters of the Government had privately expressed their disapprobation of His Excellency's course, there was in fact a majority of the House against prorogation, and that the opinion of this majority thus expressed should have been followed by His Excellency. This proposition bears its own refutation with it. He is thus reported:

"He might say that in addition to the ninety-three members who had signed the memorial, some of whom had been supporters of the Government,—he might say that he had been spoken to by some Conservative gentlemen who had told him that they thought it was an improper act on the part of the Government to prorogue Parliament, and that if they did not join with the Opposition in signing the document, it was because they had made a special remonstrance themselves. A number of those gentlemen who had always supported the Government had thought that the contemplated outrage was so great that it was impossible that it could be committed, and it was one which could not possibly be submitted to. The Ministry had therefore a majority against them,—a majority larger than they had ever had in the House.\* \* \* In this instance, to shield members against whom a *prima facie* case had been made out, the privileges of Parliament had been infringed.\* \* \* \* It



would now become them to do nothing which could detract from their position, and at the same time to take such steps to obtain the opinion of the country as would convince His Excellency that he had been most grievously misinformed." \*

Mr. Blake was more guarded. He denounced the act of prorogation, but he made no charge against His Excellency, and thus far he respected the principles of Constitutional Government, while Mr. Mackenzie directly fastened the so-called outrage on His Excellency himself. Mr. Blake said :

"They were met by the question whether the right of Parliament to try such crimes was to be taken away. The Crown had prorogued the House on the advice of Ministers. Them I charge, and them I call upon the country to condemn.\*\*\* I maintain that the course of justice ought not to have been interrupted by the prorogation, and should be resumed at the earliest moment, at which this tribunal re-assembles."

Hon. Mr. Cauchon† said :

"It was known that the privileges of Parliament had been encroached on to-day ; and I will go further and say that the Crown had no right to interfere with the privileges of Parliament. I move the following resolution :

*Resolved*—That the prorogation of Parliament without giving the House of Commons the opportunity of prosecuting the enquiry it had already taken was a gross violation of the privileges and independence of Parliament, and of the rights of the people."

Mr. Mills ‡ entirely concurred in the resolution :

"It seems to me that there had been a departure from the Constitutional system. The Crown was seeking advice from the Ministry in a matter which affected themselves."

Hon. Mr. Cartwright,|| Mr. Burpee,§ Mr. Laflamme,\*\* Hon. Mr. Smith, †† Mr. Huntington, ‡‡ Dr. Forbes, Mr. McDonnell (Inverness), Mr. Cunningham (Marquette), Mr. Coffin,||| the Hon. Mr. Letellier de St. Just,§§ Hon. Mr. Christie,\*\*\* Mr. Goudge, Mr. Fiset, Mr. Rymal, Hon. Mr. Young, Mr. Jetté, and Mr. Anglin††† all spoke in the same strain.

\* Parliamentary Debates, 1873, page 211—Library of Parliament.

† Now Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba.

‡ Now Minister of the Interior.

|| Now Finance Minister.

§ Now Minister of Customs.

\*\* Now Minister of Justice.

†† Now Sir Albert James Smith, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

‡‡ Now Post Master General.

||| Now Receiver General.

§§ Now Speaker of the Senate.

\*\*\* Now Lieut. Governor of Quebec.

††† Now Speaker of the House of Commons.

The Hon. Mr. Smith said :

“It appears to me that the present was just the case in which the Crown was called upon to interpose its prerogative against the advice of the Ministry. The reason given for the exercise of the prerogative to-day had no justification.”

Mr. Christie said :

“I have no doubt that the privileges of Parliament have been trampled on to-day. Mr. Mackenzie has been used in the most arbitrary manner when he had this day risen in his seat in Parliament. I believe in the sense of the resolution before the meeting, and I hope it will not take any notice of the report of the Commission, and I hope that Mr. Huntington will not attend before that Commission to give evidence. The Ministers are incompetent to advise the Governor General, and I think the Governor General was wrong in taking their advice.”

That these declarations are in direct antagonism to the true principles of Constitutional Government is shown so conclusively by His Excellency's own account of the Pacific Railway difficulty given by him in his now historical and remarkably able despatch, No. 197, to the Earl of Kimberley, dated the 15th August, two days after the prorogation, that at the risk of some repetition, it is reproduced in full. No. 197.

CANADA, *August 15, 1873.*

MY LORD,—I have the honor to state, for your Lordship's information, that at half-past three of the afternoon of Wednesday, the 13th instant, I prorogued Parliament.

As this event is likely to be regarded with dissatisfaction by one of the great political parties in this country, and has been already animadverted upon in no measured terms by a portion of the Canadian press, I propose to give your Lordship a full account of the circumstances under which it has taken place.

Although I have already acquainted your Lordship from time to time with everything which has occurred in connection with the grant of the Pacific Railway Charter, as well as with the proceedings in and out of Parliament to which it has given rise, it may be well to preface my intended statement by a brief recapitulation of its previous history.

The scheme of a Canadian line of railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific first acquired a practical character in 1871, when its construction within ten years from that date became one of the conditions on which British Columbia covenanted to enter into Confederation.

The first move towards the realization of the project seems to have been initiated not by a Canadian, but by an Englishman of the name of *Waddington*, who, after broaching his proposals in Toronto and elsewhere, apparently without success, eventually succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of a number of capitalists in Chicago and New York, most of whom, though not all, were interested in the “Northern Pacific Railway,” a United States line connecting at Lyndon with the continental system, which it is intended to carry across the Northernmost States of the Union to a port on the Pacific, and which will consequently run parallel—though at a lower latitude and over a wider arc—with the proposed Canadian line.



A deputation from these gentlemen seem to have visited Ottawa in the autumn of 1871, and to have had an interview with some members of the Canadian Government, by whom they were informed that the time for entering into negotiations for the construction of the railway had not arrived. For several months no other proposition was received by the Government, but it is stated by Sir Francis No. 1. *Hincks*, in a letter of which I append a copy, that, being in Montreal in the month of July of the same year, he met Sir *Hugh Allan*, and, giving him the names of some of the Americans who had made these advances, expressed his regret that a work of such importance should fall into the hands of foreigners. Acting upon this suggestion, Sir *Hugh Allan* turned his attention to the matter, and eventually, in conjunction with these American gentlemen and some Quebec friends of his own, formed a company for the prosecution of the work. But as the Session of 1872 approached, it became evident that the admission of parties connected with the American Pacific to a share in the contract for the Canada Pacific was become unpopular, and, Parliament appearing to share this feeling, it was announced by the Government to Sir *Hugh Allan* that no proposals emanating from an American Company would be entertained.

On this intimation, Sir *Hugh Allan* appears to have addressed himself to the organization of a purely Canadian Company, and gave to the Government the most positive assurances that he had entirely dissociated himself from his American friends.

In the meantime another Company had been formed in Toronto called the "Interoceanic Company," of which Mr. *Macpherson*, a gentleman of very high standing and character, and a Dominion Senator, was chairman.

During the ensuing Session—that is, in the spring of 1872—both the Companies, the "Interoceanic" and "Canada Pacific," as Sir *Hugh's* was now called, obtained Acts of Incorporation, and, at the same time, an Act of Parliament was passed enabling the Government to enter into a contract with one or other of the above-mentioned Companies, or with an amalgamation of the two, or, if they should see fit, to grant a Royal Charter to a new and altogether distinct company, in case an agreement should be found impossible with those already in existence.

The terms which Government was authorized to grant to whatever Company undertook the contract were settled in the last Parliament, and will already have been communicated to your Lordship by my predecessor, Lord *Lisgar*, who, up to this time, was still in office; but it may be convenient to mention that the principal concessions consisted of a grant, under certain conditions, of 50,000,000 acres of land, in alternate blocks along the line, and of a subsidy of \$30,000,000 (say £6,000,000 sterling). Of this sum, the interest of £2,250,000, which, by the transference of the fortification loan to the same account, became eventually £3,800,000, was guaranteed by the Imperial Government.

The session closed on the 14th June. Parliament was dissolved on the 8th July. On the 25th June I arrived in this country, and became personally cognizant of many of the events I now proceed to record.

From the 15th July to the 12th October the elections were being held. As soon as they were concluded, Sir *John Macdonald* returned to Ottawa, and the

Canadian Pacific Railway became a frequent topic of conversation between us. My Government never seem to have favored the idea of giving the contract to either of the rival companies, who were then competing for the preference. In Senator *Macpherson's* company an Ontario interest was very strongly represented. In Sir *Hugh Allan's* a Quebec interest predominated. The contemplated undertaking would evidently tax the resources of the country to the utmost. It would be undesirable, therefore, Sir *John* argued, that any Canadians desirous of putting their shoulders to the wheel should be excluded, and a fusion of the two Companies—as provided for in their incorporation acts, and contemplated by the Act of Parliament—was the object to be attained. Into the intricate and somewhat obscure negotiations which then ensued between Mr. *Macpherson* and Sir *Hugh Allan*, at the instance of my Government, I need not enter. They are sufficiently No. 2. displayed in the Blue Book which I subjoin, and which I have marked for reference. It suffices to say that, notwithstanding Sir *John Macdonald's* efforts to bring the parties to an understanding, the negotiation altogether failed, principally, as it was alleged on the one side, because Sir *Hugh Allan* had not really broken off his connection with the American interest, and, on the other, because Mr. *Macpherson* was not willing to recognize the claims to the chairmanship of Sir *H. Allan*, whose pretensions my Government were disposed to favor, in consideration, as they stated, not only of his influential position in the Province of Quebec, but as having been the first Canadian in the field to associate himself with the enterprise.

In reference to this point, I may observe that, although I have no means of knowing either when or to what extent my Ministers may have pledged themselves to favor Sir *Hugh Allan's* election to the chairmanship, the selection of such a person, the originator of the Oceanic line of communication between Great Britain and Canada, a gentleman who might fairly be regarded as the representative capitalist of the Dominion, and who would be more likely than any other to make an impression upon the English money market, was a choice which, at that time, few seemed disposed to question.

Baffled in their efforts to effect the amalgamation they desired, Sir *John Macdonald* and his colleagues announced their intention of promoting the formation of a new and independent Company, out of whatever elements of strength were to be found throughout the Dominion, and shortly before the meeting of the new Parliament in March, a Board of Directors was constituted, which included not only some of the leading promoters of the two defunct companies, but representative men from each of the Provinces of the Dominion. Of this Board, Sir *Hugh Allan* seems to have been elected Chairman as a matter of course, and to the company it represented the Charter was eventually issued.

In previous despatches I have already described to your Lordship the precautions which were taken to prevent any American interest or foreign capital ever obtaining control over the concern. I am not sufficiently conversant with railway financing to assert, on my own authority, that the restrictions introduced into the Charter, with this view, are sufficient for their purpose. Money, like water, has a very narrow shoulder, and will find its way wherever it is likely to fructify,—but



as far as I can judge, every reasonable precaution seems to have been taken. All the Directors must be British subjects. The President and the majority of the Directors must reside in Canada, and, though the shares are transferable, no transfer can be made for the first six years without the consent of the Government, nor after six years without the consent of the Directors,—the transfers in both cases being registered in the books of the company.

Another subject which seemed constantly to pre-occupy the mind of my Prime Minister at this time was the necessity of preventing any one individual, or any one interest, or combination of interests, whether represented by Sir *Hugh Allan* or another, from acquiring a predominant influence on the directory. Here again I am not sufficiently familiar with the arcana of Board-rooms to know whether the adjustments on which Sir *John* relied were as effectual for the purpose as they appeared to me to be, but I may observe that, although the scrutiny of Parliament was directed under the light of subsequent events to these especial points, neither House has expressed dissatisfaction with the provisions of the Railway Charter, or the *personnel* of the governing body. On the contrary, up to the last moment of the session, on repeated occasions, Parliament continued to manifest its confidence in those who framed the one and constituted the other. If, therefore, as is alleged, a corrupt modification of the Pacific Railway Charter to the advantage of Sir *Hugh Allan* and his American friends, was the consideration for which these personages squandered the enormous sums asserted to have been spent, it would seem that they have scarcely obtained their money's worth,—a result, I should imagine, foreign to the experience of such shrewd men of business.

But though the Parliament of Canada thus unmistakably ratified the Railway policy of my Ministers its verdict on the subject was not destined to pass unchallenged. On the 2nd of April, Mr. *Lucius Seth Huntington*, a distinguished member of the House of Commons, startled his immediate auditory, as well as the whole political world of Canada, by the unexpected introduction of the following motion :

“Hon. Mr. *Huntington* moved, that Mr. *Huntington*, a member of the House, “having stated in his place, that he is credibly informed and believes that he can “establish by satisfactory evidence,—

“That, in anticipation of the legislation of last Session, as to the Pacific Railway, an agreement was made between Sir *Hugh Allan*, acting for himself, and “certain other Canadian promoters, and *G. W. McMullen*, acting for certain “United States capitalists, whereby the latter agreed to furnish all the funds “necessary for the construction of the contemplated Railway, and to give the “former a certain per centage of interest, in consideration of their interest and “position, the scheme agreed on being ostensibly that of a Canadian Company “with Sir *Hugh Allan* at its head,—

“That the Government were aware that negotiations were pending between “these parties,—

“That subsequently, an understanding was come to between the Government “and Sir *Hugh Allan* and Mr. *Abbott*, M.P.,—that Sir *Hugh Allan* and his “friends should advance a large sum of money for the purpose of aiding the “elections of Ministers and their supporters at the ensuing General Election,—and

“that he and his friends should receive the contract for the construction of the  
“Railway,—

“That accordingly Sir *Hugh Allan* did advance a large sum of money for the  
“purpose mentioned, and at the solicitation, and under the pressing instances of  
“Ministers,—

“That part of the moneys expended by Sir *Hugh Allan* in connection with the  
“obtaining of the Act of Incorporation and Charter were paid to him by the said  
“United States capitalists under the agreement with him,—it is

“*Ordered*, That a Committee of seven Members, be appointed to enquire into  
“all the circumstances connected with the negotiations for the construction of the  
“Pacific Railway,—with the legislation of last Session on the subject, and with the  
“granting of the Charter to Sir *Hugh Allan* and others; with power to send for  
“persons, papers and records; and with instructions to report in full the evidence  
“taken before, and all proceedings of said Committee”—which was negatived.

As I have already remarked in a previous despatch, No. 116, May 3rd, the charge thus brought against my Government was very grave, viz. :—that they had trafficked with foreigners in Canada’s most precious interests in order to debauch the constituencies of the Dominion with the gold obtained as the price of their treachery. In making these allegations, however, Mr. *Huntington* did not enforce them by any confirmatory statement or by the production of any *prima facie* proofs of their validity. He merely read his motion and sat down. Neither Sir *John Macdonald* nor any of his colleagues having risen to address the House, a division was taken without debate, which resulted in a majority of 31 for Government in a House of 183.

Notwithstanding this display of their Parliamentary strength,—which I imagine was put forward by way of protest against Mr. *Huntington*’s appeal to his own mere *ipse dixit*—my Government felt that the matter could not thus be disposed of, and accordingly the next day Sir *John Macdonald* gave notice of the following motion which was carried on the ensuing Tuesday, April 8th :—

“On motion of the Right Hon. Sir *John A. Macdonald*, that a select Committee of five members (of which Committee the mover shall not be one) be  
“appointed by this House to enquire into and report upon the several matters  
“contained and stated in a Resolution moved on Wednesday, the 2nd April,  
“instant, by the Hon. Mr. *Huntington*, Member for the County of Shefird,  
“relating to the Canadian Pacific Railway, with power to send for persons, papers  
“and records: to report from time to time, and to report the evidence from time  
“to time, and if need be to sit after the prorogation of Parliament.”

The Members to compose the Committee were then named by the House as follows: Hon. Mr. *Blanchet*, Mr. *Blake*, and Hon. Messrs. *Dorion* (Napierville) *Macdonald* (Pictou) and *Cameron* (Cardwell).

Of the five above mentioned gentlemen, three, viz. :—Mr. *Cameron*, Mr. *Macdonald*, and Mr. *Blanchet*, may be regarded as regular supporters of the administration, and two,—Mr. *Blake* and Mr. *Dorion*, as leading members of the Opposition.

On the debate which took place on this motion, I am informed by my Prime Minister,—and here I must remind your Lordship that I have no other means of



acquainting myself with what takes place in the House, as I am precluded from being present at its proceedings, and the newspaper reports are quite untrustworthy,—that Mr. *Mackenzie*, the leader of the Opposition, as well as Mr. *Blake*, Mr. *Dorion* and Mr. *Foly*, eminent members of the same party, expressed themselves of opinion that the evidence tendered should be on oath, and the former gentleman further suggested, it being doubtful whether the Committee could sit after the House was once prorogued, that a Bill should be introduced expressly enabling it to do so. I shall have occasion subsequently to refer to this latter circumstance. As the necessity for sworn testimony in respect of such grave charges was generally obvious, an Oaths Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on the 18th April,—was passed through the Senate on the 29th, and received the Royal Assent on the 3rd May. The time occupied in getting this measure through Parliament was pronounced unnecessarily long by many members of the Opposition.

Into the motives which induced me to sanction the Oaths Bill, and into its subsequent history, I need not enter, as the former are stated in my despatch of the 3rd May, (No. 116,) and the latter is recorded in your Lordship's communication of June 30th, (No. 198)—but I may observe in passing, that amongst other respects in which my conduct has been criticized, the fact of my having communicated to you by the first opportunity a certified copy of the Oaths Bill has been a very general point of attack. I apprehend it will not be necessary to justify myself to your Lordship in this particular. My law-adviser had called my attention to the possibility of the Bill being illegal. Had perjured testimony been tendered under it, no proceedings could have been taken against the delinquent, and if, under these circumstances, I had wilfully withheld from the Home Government all cognizance of the Act, it would have been a gross dereliction of duty. To those in this country who have questioned my procedure it would be sufficient to reply, that I recognise no authority on this side of the Atlantic competent to instruct the Governor General as to the nature of his correspondence with Her Majesty's Secretary of State.

In the meantime the Committee had met, and on the 5th May had resolved, amongst other things, "That in view of the absence of Sir *George Cartier* and the "Hon. *J. C. Abbott*, and the impossibility of the investigation with which the "Committee is charged being carried on in a proper manner without an opportunity "being afforded these gentlemen of being present and hearing the testimony "adduced, it was advisable the Committee should adjourn until Wednesday, the "2nd day of July, if Parliament should be then in Session,"—a conclusion which appears to have been arrived at in the Committee by a majority of three to two. On the following day these recommendations were adopted by the House of Commons, on a vote of 107 to 76.

The ordinary business of the Session being now nearly concluded, and it having been admitted, I understand, by all parties, that the Committee could not sit after prorogation, it was arranged that the House should adjourn to such a day beyond the 2nd July as would enable the Committee to complete the investigation and to frame their report. The date eventually determined on was the 13th August, which was also settled as the day on which Parliament was to be prorogued.

As the nature of the understanding at the time in respect of this latter event has been warmly controverted, it is necessary that I should here acquaint your Lordship with the facts of the case so far as I am cognizant of them. Early in May,—I forget the exact date,—Sir *John Macdonald* waited upon me in my office, and having communicated to me the arrangements contemplated for the convenience of the Committee, informed me that he wished to take my pleasure as to the date of prorogation, mentioning the 13th August as the one he desired to suggest. Having received my assent to this proposal, he repaired to the House of Commons, and announced from his place as leader of the House and the person responsible for the conduct of public business, that Parliament would be prorogued on the 13th August, stating—as he affirms—in the most distinct terms, that the “re-assembly of Parliament on that day would be *pro forma*,—that no business would be done beyond the reception of the report of the Committee, which could then be printed with the evidence, and go before the country,—that the Members would not be required to return, and that only the Speakers of the two Houses need be in their places.”—The only observation elicited by this announcement proceeded from Mr. *Holton*, an Opposition Member, who remarked “that to do any business there must be a quorum, and that he and a quorum would be there,”—to which Sir *John* informs me he replied, that “if a quorum was necessary a sufficient number of Members would be found in the neighborhood of Ottawa,”—a quorum consisting of the Speaker and nineteen others. It was upon this understanding, Sir *John* assures me, that the House consented to adjourn, and in confirmation of his assertion he has communicated to me the subjoined letter from Mr. *Palmer*, the member for St. John :

“ST. JOHN, August 11, 1873.

“*Sir John Macdonald, Minister of Justice, Ottawa.*

“SIR,—In consequence of statements that I understand have come from some members of the Commons to the effect that there might be an actual Session of Parliament at the adjournment on the 13th, to you, as the leader of the Government, I beg to make the following statement by way of protest.

“I have to remind you that the House of Commons only consented to adjourn to that time on your pledge openly given in the House that no business should be transacted, nor would the attendance of members be required, as there would be enough around Ottawa to make a quorum; that Mr. Speaker would receive the report of the Committee on the *Huntington* charges, so that it might be published, and that then Parliament would be at once prorogued.

“If this promise had not been made, I do not believe the House would have consented to any such adjournment. I certainly would not have given my consent to any adjournment that would have put the country to an expense of a quarter of a million dollars by bringing the Legislature together again.

“At all events, be that as it may, I feel that it would be dishonorable for myself to attempt to do business at an adjournment of the House, at which my colleagues had been told that no business would be done, and that they need not attend, and therefore I must decline to do so; and I protest at any attempt to do business, and I require the Government to fulfil the pledge made to me and to every member of the House, that Parliament would be at once prorogued.



“ While I do this, I do not wish to interfere in any way with the right of the Government to call Parliament together whenever they think the exigencies of the country require it; they must be the judges of that, and be responsible for it; but let that be done in the usual way, that all may understand that it is their duty to attend; and when I, together with all my colleagues, am so called upon, I trust that I shall be found in my place, and I shall then feel that whether or not all my colleagues attend, they will not have been kept away by a pledge that they would not be required, and I could therefore honorably join in doing anything that the House might consider for the interests of the country.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.,

“ A. L. PALMER,

“ Member for the City and County of St. John.”

As far as my opinion is concerned, I am quite clear that it was the desire and expectation of Parliament that prorogation should take place at the time mentioned. Every member must have known that Sir *John's* announcement on the subject was an intimation of the pleasure of the Crown through its official organ in the House, and that the Prime Minister could only have made it after receiving my authority to do so. Formerly, the intentions of the Sovereign on this subject were conveyed to either Chamber by a written message, but though a verbal communication through the First Minister has been now substituted, it does not render this latter mode of communication less formal or official. Had, therefore, the House of Commons desired to prolong the Session beyond the 13th August, its proper course would have been to have communicated its wishes to me by an Address. Though the fact that no motion to this effect was even suggested is sufficiently conclusive, there are other circumstances which indicate, more or less distinctly, the feeling of the House. The motion originally appointing the Committee, and carried on the 8th April, ordered it to sit, “ if need were, after prorogation,” and more than one member of the Opposition urged the propriety of a Bill being introduced to enable it to do so. Clearly, therefore, when this motion was carried and these suggestions made, the majority who passed the one and the individuals who proposed the other must have contemplated the probability of the Report of the Committee being considered, not in the present, but in a subsequent Session of Parliament. Indeed, the mere fact of prorogation being fixed for the 13th August implies this much, for it is not to be presumed that the House would have proceeded to consider the Report, until both it and the evidence upon which it was founded had been printed and distributed to Members,—but to enable this to be done an interval of a few days, after Parliament had re-assembled and had received the report, would manifestly have been required before action could have been taken upon it. If, therefore, Parliament had contemplated considering the Report during the current Session it would have desired a later day to be fixed for prorogation than that on which the mere manuscript copy of the Report was to be laid on its table.

Again, when Mr. Dorion moved in amendment of the motion for the Committee's adjournment to the 2nd July, that, “ inasmuch as the Committee will have “ no power either to enforce the attendance of witnesses or to compel them to give “ testimony without the action of this House, it is essential to the proper conduct

“ of the investigation that it should be prosecuted under circumstances that will admit of the prompt exercise of the authority of the House, it is therefore necessary that the House should sit on the day to which the Committee has leave to adjourn,” the House decided against him by a majority of 101 to 66,—one of the representatives from British Columbia, as I am informed, protesting against Members from the more distant Provinces in the Dominion being required to return to Ottawa so late in the summer as the 2nd July.

But the intention of the House is still further exhibited by the following circumstance: During the Session a Bill was passed increasing the indemnity paid in this country to Members of Parliament for their attendance. Into that Bill a clause was introduced to the following effect: “The said amendments shall apply to the present Session of Parliament, and if either House shall adjourn for more than thirty days such adjournment shall, for the purposes of such act, be equivalent to a prorogation.” This provision was intended by its authors to enable Members to receive their salaries and travelling expenses on the 23rd May, the day on which Parliament adjourned, without having to wait for the 13th August, the day named for prorogation. I may also mention that the same day, *i.e.*, on the 23rd May, I came in State to the Senate Chamber to give my assent to the Bills of the Session; and in view of a Progress I intended to make through the Maritime Provinces during the summer, I provided, before leaving Ottawa, for the prorogation of Parliament by commission, in order to spare myself the labor and fatigue of a journey of 2,400 miles for what I understood would be a mere formality.

From the foregoing narrative your Lordship will probably agree with me in the conclusion that up to the time when the Houses adjourned, it was clearly the wish and the expectation of Parliament that prorogation should take place on the 13th August. And it is most natural that this should have been the case. The commercial business and the agricultural operations of the year have to be crowded into the five short months of summer. Almost every Member of both Houses in this country is actively engaged in business pursuits requiring his personal attendance. To be detained from home at this season implies not only extreme inconvenience but pecuniary loss. Already the lateness of the current Session had bred considerable discontent, and it had been expressly determined by the House that in future the Session should never begin later than the first week of February. The distance from Halifax to Ottawa is something like 1,200 miles, from Victoria in British Columbia it is 4,000 miles. The re-assembly of Parliament in August, for the transaction of business, would have cut up the entire summer, as far as many members were concerned, and would have been more or less inconvenient to all but those who reside within a day or two's journey of Ottawa. The majority in the House of Commons appear to have attached but little significance to Mr. *Huntington's* accusations, for they negatived his motion without even requiring my Ministers to reply to it, and I do not imagine that any one of them contemplated a renewal of the Session on the 13th August. But, though the conduct of the majority who confided in the Government is easily understood, the procedure of the Members of the Opposition is more difficult to explain. They had in their possession, it is to be presumed, what they considered convincing proofs of the corruption of Ministers. The matter had been referred to the adjudication of a committee,



and, according to the theory of the prosecution, could have but one result. Strong in these convictions, they should never have allowed the announcement of Prorogation to have passed unchallenged, but should have resorted to every means known to the Constitution by which such a consummation could have been precluded. Indeed, so obvious was their duty in this respect, that their opponents have attributed to them a deliberate intention of allowing the dispersion of the majority to take place *sub silentio*, with a view to the packing of a House with their own adherents on the day to which it had adjourned, an operation to them exceptionally easy, as the parliamentary strength of the Ministers lies principally in the Maritime and outlying Provinces, while their own is close at home in the central region of Ontario and Quebec. The subsequent publication in the newspapers of the documents now known as the *Allan* and *McMullen* correspondence is pointed to as having been a move in aid of the same unworthy policy, by supplying a sudden and unexpected pretext for insisting on the immediate intervention of Parliament at a time when the Ministerial supporters were dispersed.

I do not, however, myself attach the slightest credit to this injurious insinuation. Although, undoubtedly, party strife is conducted in this country with less reticence and generosity than at home, and although the combatants "strike below the waistcoat" more frequently than could be wished, my personal knowledge of the leaders of the Opposition convinces me that such a design would be quite foreign to their natures. My own opinion is, that, from first to last, they found themselves impeded by the initial mistake in tactics,—as I ventured at the time to consider it,—committed by Mr. *Huntington* in not re-enforcing his motion by the production of some of the documents on which it was founded. Had he done so, Parliament would undoubtedly have listened to him with greater respect, and Mr. *Dorion's* motion might perhaps have been carried; for, though Mr. *Huntington's* case is far from being proved, no one can now deny that, if he was in possession of the *Allan* correspondence at the time he demanded his committee, he had a right to require an investigation of the suspicious circumstances thus brought to his knowledge. The premature disclosure of his hand could not have been the objection, for a sufficiency of "*pièces justificatives*" for his purpose have since been produced. As it was, he could not convince the House of the urgency of the affair, and, discouraged by their repeated defeats, the Opposition, I imagine, gave up all hopes of being able to persuade Parliament to dispute the arrangements of the triumphant minister. Be that as it may, it is certain that the day after the adjournment, most of the members of both Houses dispersed themselves in different directions, some to their homes, some to the States, and some to Europe, without any more intention of returning to Ottawa, on the 13th August than myself.

On the 2nd July Mr. *Cameron's* committee met in Montreal, but in the meantime I had received an intimation from your Lordship that the Oaths Bill had been disallowed by the Queen in Council, and I had made the fact public by Proclamation.

Immediately on receipt of this intelligence, communications had passed between Sir *John Macdonald* and myself as to the course to be pursued. Sir *John* was inclined to issue a Commission to the members of the Committee, but, as he hesitated to do so from an unwillingness to expose the Crown to the rejection of its mandate, I addressed him in the following terms:

“THE CITADEL, QUEBEC, June 28th, 1873.

“I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th. I am sure you are quite right not to allow the Committee to be postponed beyond the time originally fixed for the opening of its proceedings.

“On the part of the Crown, I should have no objection to the offer of the Commission as you propose, and I think you may with perfect propriety act upon the assumption that the members of the Committee will accept the charge confided to them.”

“The Government has stretched its legal conscience and encouraged Parliament, though not without warning, to exceed its legitimate powers in order to facilitate this enquiry. The obstacle now interposed is one with which you have no concern, and beyond your control. You propose to obviate the difficulty by the only means in your power,—but a means both legitimate and effectual. No one can doubt that for the purpose for which the Committee was originally constituted, its conversion into a Commission can make no practical difference. As a Commission it will take evidence, and as a Committee it will report upon that evidence to the House. It would be unreasonable to allege that in discharging this double function, and in acquiring, in addition to the powers delegated to it by Parliament, a technical authority at the hands of the Crown to take evidence on oath, it abates one tittle of its constitutional independence.”

Thus authorized, Sir *John* communicated with Mr. Cameron in the following letter :—

“MONTREAL, July 2nd, 1873.

“Sir,—As the Act which would have enabled the Committee, now sitting in Montreal, of which you are Chairman, to examine witnesses on oath, has been disallowed, as being beyond the competence of the Canadian Parliament, I desire to renew to you as Chairman of the Committee the offer made by me on the part of the Government on the floor of the House of Commons, to issue a Royal Commission addressed to the gentlemen forming the Committee which would confer upon them all the powers given to the Committee by the House of Commons, including the examination of witnesses under oath, and the power to send for persons, papers and records, and containing the same provisions as to the votes of the members of the Committee and yourself as Chairman, as was ordered by the House. The acceptance of this Commission will enable this Committee to proceed with the enquiry, and the examination of witnesses on oath without any important delay. I shall cause a copy of this letter to be sent to each member of your Committee.

“I have the honor to be,

“Your obdt. servant,

“J. A. MACDONALD.

“To Hon. J. H. Cameron, &c., &c.

“P.S.—The Commission will contain a clause enjoining the Commissioners to report to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

“(Signed,) J. A. MACDONALD.”

The majority of the Committee are understood to have been willing to return a favorable reply to this proposal, had their colleagues assented, but neither Mr.



*Dorion* nor Mr. *Blake* considered themselves at liberty to accept the arrangement, and stated their reasons in the following terms:—

“*To the Right Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald.*

“Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst., received this morning, enclosing a copy of a letter addressed by you to the Hon. *J. H. Cameron*, Chairman of the Special Committee of the House of Commons, now sitting in Montreal, in which you state that, as the Act which would have enabled the Committee to examine witnesses under oath had been disallowed, as being beyond the competence of the Canadian Parliament, you desire to renew to him, as Chairman of the Committee, the offer made by you on the part of the Government to issue a Royal Commission, addressed to the gentlemen forming the Committee, which would confer upon them all the power given to the Committee by the House of Commons, including the examination of the witnesses by the Committee; but, as I understand your proposal, it is that the Government should give to the several members of the Committee named by the House of Commons to enquire into the charge made against it a Commission to enquire into the same charges, with power to examine witnesses under oath, and this with a view to carry out the intention of the House, to have this enquiry made under oath. Now I would beg to call to your attention that the Committee was originally named on your own motion, as an ordinary Parliamentary Committee, without reference to any authority to examine witnesses under oath, and that it was only on the suggestion of the Committee subsequently made, that the House and Senate unanimously passed the Oaths Bill, although on more than one occasion you yourself made the suggestion, unheeded by the House, that a Commission might be issued instead of passing an Act to authorize the administering of oaths to the witnesses. This alone seems to me to be conclusive that the House of Commons, whose nominee I am on the Committee, did not intend that the enquiry should be carried on by a Commission appointed by the Executive, and responsible as such only to that Executive. It seems to me, moreover, that the authority which is sought to be conferred on the Committee to examine witnesses under oath cannot be attained by the issue of a Royal Commission, for, although the Commissioners appointed might examine witnesses under oath, it would not be as members of the Committee appointed by the House that they would do so, but as Commissioners, whose decisions and proceedings would be subject to the supervision and control of the Executive, under whom they would hold their appointment, and not of the House. I have always been willing, as a member of the House of Commons, to obey its commands in reference to any Parliamentary duties it might impose upon me; in that view I did not shirk the arduous and unenviable position of a member of this Committee of Enquiry, as being part of the labor and duty to which a member of Parliament is bound to submit; but if, instead of moving for the appointment of a Committee by the House, the Government had proposed to name me on a Commission for the purpose of this enquiry, I would then certainly have declined the proposed Commission. I cannot see why I should now accept it, when it seems to me that the effect of issuing such a Commission would be to supersede the Committee, and more especially in view of the declaration you made immediately before

“the adjournment of the session in reference to Mr. *Blake* and myself, that we  
 “should not have consented to serve on the Committee, that men in our positions  
 “in England would not have done so, and that you could not expect any fair play  
 “at our hands. This alone should be a sufficient reason why I humbly believe I  
 “should not be called upon to accept a Commission from the Government of which  
 “you are the head, after your public declaration, made in my absence, of my un-  
 “fitness to perform what the Commission would impose on me.

“I have the honor, &c.,

(Signed,)      “A. A. DORION.”

“MONTREAL, July 3.

“SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd  
 “inst., enclosing a copy of a letter addressed by you to the Hon. Mr. *Cameron*,  
 “as Chairman of the Pacific Railway Enquiry Committee. I cannot agree in your  
 “statement that the acceptance of a Royal Commission would enable the Com-  
 “mittee to proceed with the enquiry and the examination of witnesses on oath.  
 “The Committee is, I believe, unanimously of opinion that the acceptance of the  
 “Commission would not enable the Committee to make progress, and that the  
 “action of the Commissioners (whether or not they be the same persons as those who  
 “constitute the Committee) would be entirely disconnected from the action of the  
 “Committee. Sharing their opinion, I am called on to consider whether I should  
 “accept the offer made by the Government, of a Royal Commission addressed to  
 “the gentlemen who happen to be members of the Committee, calling on them to  
 “enquire into the matters of charge preferred in the statement of Mr. *Huntington*.  
 “I believe that it would be of evil consequence to create the precedent of a Govern-  
 “ment issuing a Commission of enquiry into matters of a charge against itself,  
 “the Commissioners being, as they are, subject to the direction and control of the  
 “accused. I believe that the acceptance of such a Commission would be opposed  
 “to the sense of the House of Commons, as manifested by its action last session,  
 “and would, under present circumstances, be calculated to prejudice the enquiry  
 “ordered by the House, and to impair the full and efficient exercise of its most  
 “ancient and important powers. The House of Commons does not, I think, ex-  
 “pect that the Crown or any one else, least of all the members of its own Com-  
 “mittee, will interpose between itself and the great enquiry which it has under-  
 “taken. Apart from these and other difficulties, you have yourself interposed a  
 “barrier to my acceptance of your offer. During my absence from the House of  
 “Commons last session, you stated in your place that I had done wrong in not  
 “declining to fulfil the duty of Committeeman, which had been imposed on me by  
 “the House, that English statesmen in my position—which however, you mis-stated  
 “—would have scorned to do as I had done, and that my speeches during the  
 “session showed that your Government could not expect fair play from me on the  
 “enquiry. I shall not condescend to reply to these statements, but I have to say  
 “that although I reluctantly came to the conclusion, that I was not free to decline  
 “to serve the House of which I am a member, I do not think it consistent with  
 “my self-respect to accept the Commission here offered by a Minister who has



“ chosen to so characterize my conduct. I have sent a copy of this letter to Mr. Cameron for his information as Chairman of the Committee.

“ I have, &c.,

“ (Signed,) EDWARD BLAKE.

“ The Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.”

I do not presume to question for a moment the propriety of the course adopted by these gentlemen. As members of the House of Commons, they may have had a more acute appreciation of their Parliamentary obligations than had occurred to my apprehension,—but I trust that your Lordship will not consider that I acted wrongly in thus endeavoring to forward the enquiry by what I considered an opportune expedient.

The Committee being thus precluded from swearing in their witnesses, a motion was made by Mr. *Dorion*, supported by Mr. *Blake*, that they should content themselves with unsworn testimony, but the majority considering themselves debarred from this course by the express instructions of the House upon the point, they determined to adjourn until the 13th August.

This resolution was taken on the 3rd July. The day after there appeared in the *Montreal Herald* a series of letters and telegrams written by Sir *Hugh Allan* to a Mr. *McMullen*, and to a Mr. *Smith* of Chicago, and to some unknown person in the United States in reference to the Canadian Pacific Railway. The day following a long statement on the same subject in the form of an affidavit was issued by Sir *Hugh Allan* in another newspaper. I have already No. 3. and No. 4. had the honor of forwarding to your Lordship both these documents, but I think it well to append them to this despatch for convenience of reference. It is not necessary for my present purpose that I should either analyze or contrast the conflicting assertions observable in these productions. It will be sufficient to note that not only does Sir *Hugh Allan* admit upon oath that the language of his letters is “inaccurate,” but he also denies in the most positive manner the correctness of the inferences sought to be deduced from them. On the whole, as far as I could gather from the tone of the press, and from conversation, these revelations rather improved than otherwise the position of the Ministry. On the one hand, Sir *Hugh Allan's* letters accounted for and justified Mr. *Huntington's* pertinacity, on the other, his affidavit,—or rather, Sir *John Macdonald's* telegram, quoted in the affidavit,—satisfactorily proved that, so far from yielding himself, or allowing his colleague, Sir *George Cartier*, to yield to the pressure put upon him by Sir *Hugh Allan* in the height of the election contest, my Prime Minister had required the immediate and complete cancelling of an arrangement favorable to Sir *Hugh* to which Sir *George* had evinced a willingness to subscribe. In illustration of this point, I subjoin Sir *George Cartier's* letter, as well as Sir *Hugh Allan's* reference to Sir *John Macdonald's* telegram concerning it.

[COPY.]

“ MONTREAL, 30th July, 1872.

“ DEAR SIR HUGH,—

“ I enclose you copies of telegrams received from Sir *John A. Macdonald*; “ and with reference to their contents I would say that, in my opinion, the

“ Governor in Council will approve of the amalgamation of your Company with  
 “ the Interoceanic Company, under the name of the Canadian Pacific Railway  
 “ Company, the Provincial Board of the amalgamated Company to be composed  
 “ of seventeen members, of whom four shall be named from the Province of  
 “ Quebec by the Canada Pacific Railway Company, four from the Province of  
 “ Ontario by the Interoceanic Railway Company, and the remainder by the  
 “ Government ; the amalgamated Company to have the powers specified in the  
 “ tenth section of the Act incorporating the Canada Pacific Railway Company,  
 “ &c., the agreement of amalgamation to be executed between the companies  
 “ within two months from this date.

“ The Canada Pacific Company might take the initiative in procuring the  
 “ amalgamation ; and if the Interoceanic Company should not execute an agree-  
 “ ment of amalgamation upon such terms and within such limited time, I think the  
 “ contemplated arrangements should be made with the Canada Pacific Company  
 “ under its charter.

“ Upon the subscription and payment on account of stock, being made, as  
 “ required by the Act of last session, respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway  
 “ Company, I have no doubt but that the Governor in Council will agree with the  
 “ Company for the construction and working of the Canadian Pacific Railway  
 “ with such branches as shall be agreed upon, and will grant to the Company all  
 “ such subsidies and assistance as they are empowered to do by the Government  
 “ Act. I believe all the advantages which the Government Act empowers the  
 “ Government to confer upon any Company will be required to enable the works  
 “ contemplated to be successfully carried through, and I am convinced that they  
 “ will be accorded to the Company to be formed by amalgamation, or to the  
 “ Canada Pacific Company, as the case may be.

“ I would add that, as I approve of the measures to which I have referred in  
 “ this letter, I shall use my best endeavors to have them carried into effect.

“ Very truly yours,

(Signed,)

“GEO. E. CARTIER.”

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*Extract from Sir H. Allan's affidavit of July 5th.*

“ On the same day that I received the above letter from Sir *George Cartier* I  
 “ informed Sir *John A. Macdonald* of the contents of it, and asked for his  
 “ sanction of the views which it contained. But he declined to concur in the  
 “ terms of Sir *George's* letter, telegraphing to him that he would not agree to them,  
 “ and that he would come down to Montreal and confer with him respecting  
 “ them. Thereupon, I immediately informed Sir *George Cartier* that I should  
 “ consider the letter addressed to me as being withdrawn ; and to my knowledge  
 “ Sir *George* telegraphed Sir *John* that he had seen me, and that as he (Sir *John*)  
 “ objected to Sir *George's* letter, it had been withdrawn. I also telegraphed to  
 “ Sir *John* on the same day (July 31st) to the effect that I had seen Sir *George*  
 “ *Cartier*, and that he (Sir *John*) might return my letter or regard it as waste



“ paper, and that I was satisfied with the telegram of the 26th as expressive of the views of the Government.”

But any reaction in favor of the Government which might have thus set in was more than counterbalanced by the appearance of another series of letters, which I

No. 5. also re-append, and which are now generally known as the *McMullen* correspondence. Amid these productions there have been introduced documents of a very compromising character, the one a letter from Sir *George Cartier* asking for twenty thousand more dollars (\$20,000 = £4,000 sterling), and the other a telegram from Sir *John Macdonald* demanding an additional ten thousand dollars (\$10,000 = £2,000 sterling). These latter I subjoin :—

“ MONTREAL, Aug. 24, 1872.

“ DEAR MR. ABBOTT,—In the absence of Sir *Hugh Allan*, I shall be obliged by your supplying the Central Committee with a further sum of twenty thousand dollars upon the same conditions as the amount written by me at the foot of my letter to Sir *Hugh Allan* of the 30th ultimo.

“ GEORGE E. CARTIER.

“ P.S.—Please also send Sir *John A. Macdonald* ten thousand dollars more on the same terms.”

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“ TORONTO, Aug. 26th, 1872.

“ To the Hon. J. J. C. ABBOTT, St. Anne’s :—

“ (*Immediate, Private.*)

“ I must have another ten thousand ; will be the last time of calling ; do not fail me ; answer to-day.

“ JOHN A. MACDONALD.”

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But for the appearance of the foregoing documents, I doubt whether so great an impression would have been produced on the public mind by the statement of Mr. *McMullen*. I myself have no knowledge of the gentleman, and have no right to impeach his veracity, but it is manifest that many of his assertions are at variance with Sir *Hugh Allan*’s sworn testimony, while others have been contradicted by gentlemen whose credibility it would be difficult to impugn. Even with regard to the documents themselves, it is to be observed that they were neither addressed to Mr. *McMullen* nor to any one with whom he was associated, and that they could scarcely have come into his possession by other than surreptitious means. They do not therefore necessarily connect themselves with those nefarious transactions to which Mr. *McMullen* asserts he was privy. It is further contended by the friends of the Government that the sums mentioned or even referred to were not very large—about £12,000 sterling in all—an amount which would go but a little way to defray the legitimate expenses of the 150 Ontario and Quebec Elections, and that there was nothing to show whether they had been proffered as a subscription or as a temporary loan from a wealthy political partizan. Their sinister significance re-

sulted in a great measure from their factitious juxtaposition with Mr. *McMullen's* narrative. Under these circumstances, though without attaching too much importance to mere conjectural pleas of this kind, I was unwilling to jump to a hasty conclusion on a matter involving both the private and the public honor of my Ministers, and above all things I felt bound not to allow my judgment to be swayed by the current of popular suspicion which this concatenation of documents would naturally produce.

I happened to be at Prince Edward Island when the *McMullen* correspondence reached my hands, whither two of my Ministers—Mr. Tilley, the Minister of Finance, and Dr. Tupper, the Minister of Customs—had also come for the purpose of settling certain details consequent on the recent confederation of the Island. I immediately sent for these gentlemen, and the strenuous assurances I received from each of them confirmed my hope that matters might be satisfactorily explained. But, however that might be, I knew that our original programme for the indefinite prorogation of Parliament could no longer be adhered to, and that my presence at Ottawa on the 13th August was imperative. Understanding, however, that preparations were in progress for our public reception at Halifax, I thought it better to proceed thither, and to make no announcement of my subsequent intentions until the last moment. At the same time I wrote to Sir *John*, and intimated to him that the position of affairs had changed since we parted—that a recess for the usual period was no longer possible, and that it was necessary Parliament should be provided with as early an opportunity as circumstances permitted of pronouncing upon the points at issue between himself and his assailants.

On reaching Halifax, on the 29th July, I found the popular excitement all over the Dominion was intense, and that my supposed views, sympathies and intentions, were becoming not merely the subject of conjecture, but of assertion and comment in the rival newspapers,—the Government press stating, as if upon authority, that my course would be so and so,—announcements which were met by the Opposition prints with strong admonitory or rather minatory articles. As, at this time, I had by no means made up my mind as to the proper course to be pursued, and felt that no decision was possible until I had seen my Ministers, I determined to take an early opportunity of deprecating the introduction of the Governor General's name into such a controversy. An occasion soon presented itself, and I have the honor to subjoin an extract from a newspaper report of a speech I made at a dinner given to me by the Halifax Club :—

\* \* \* \* \*

“ And here, gentlemen, I should be disposed to conclude this imperfect expression of my thanks, were I not desirous of conveying to my friend, the Chief Justice, the great gratification I have derived from the remarks which have dropped from him in regard to my official position as Governor General of this great Dominion. Gentlemen, I am well aware that this is, as it were, a domestic festival, and that nothing could be more inopportune than the slightest allusion to any political topic, but I may be permitted to say this much in reference to what has fallen from the Chief Justice, that, if there is one obligation whose importance I appreciate more than another, as attaching to the functions of my office, it is the absolute and paramount duty of maintaining not merely an outward attitude of perfect impartiality toward the various parties



“ into which the political world of Canada as well as of the Mother Country is  
“ divided, but still more of preserving that more subtle and inward balance of  
“ sympathy, judgment, and opinion which should elevate the representative of  
“ your Sovereign above the faintest suspicion of having any other desire, aim, or  
“ ambition than to follow the example of his Royal Mistress in the relation she has  
“ constantly maintained towards her Ministers, her Parliament, and her people  
“ (tremendous applause) ; to remember every hour of the day that he has but one  
“ duty and but one object—to administer his Government in the interests of the  
“ whole Canadian people, and of the Dominion at large. (Great cheering.) Of  
“ course, gentlemen, having been but one brief year in the country, my character and  
“ my sentiments in these respects can scarcely be known, and there is always a  
“ danger during the fervor of these political controversies, which seem to be con-  
“ ducted by the press of Canada with peculiar liveliness and animation—(great  
“ laughter)—of unauthorized references being made to the Governor General’s  
“ supposed sentiments, opinions, and intentions, which would convey to the unin-  
“ structed reader a very erroneous impression of the conduct and the attitude of  
“ the chief of the State. Gentlemen, I do not make this remark by way of com-  
“ plaint. If there is any person in Canada who has been kindly and considerately  
“ dealt with by the press, to whom the press of every political complexion has  
“ shown indulgence and good will, it is myself, and it is most natural and by no  
“ means an uncomplimentary circumstance, that the organs of different shades of  
“ opinion should persuade themselves that the Governor General must necessarily  
“ be of their way of thinking, and see through their spectacles. (Laughter.) But  
“ what I wish to say once for all, and I do not care how widely this remark is  
“ disseminated, is this—that there is no human being who is authorized to make  
“ any statement or suggestion as to what my opinion or sentiments may be in re-  
“ spect of any political topic, or who has ever been in a position, or is likely to be  
“ in a position, to make anything approaching to a conjecture upon points of this  
“ description. It is true, my object and my desire is to inform my mind upon  
“ every subject affecting the interests of the country, by conversation and by dis-  
“ cussion with any one who can afford me instruction or information ; and it would  
“ be very unfortunate for me if this freedom of intercourse with all classes and  
“ parties in Canada, from which I derive so much benefit and pleasure, should be  
“ trammelled by the dread lest this casual intercourse should become the foun-  
“ dation for inference, comment or conjecture in the press. No, gentlemen, I un-  
“ derstand my duty too well ever to allow my judgment or my sympathies to be  
“ surprised into political partizanship. My one thought and desire is the welfare  
“ of Canada as a whole. To maintain her honor, to promote her prosperity, to do  
“ my duty by her and her entire people, is the sole object of my ambition. When  
“ I converse with your public men, it scarcely ever occurs to me to remember to  
“ what political party they belong. I only see in them persons devoting them-  
“ selves, each according to his lights, to the service of his country. My only guid-  
“ ing star in the conduct and maintenance of my official relations with your public  
“ men is the Parliament of Canada. (Cheers.) In fact, I suppose I am the only  
“ person in the Dominion whose faith in the wisdom and the infallibility of Parlia-  
“ ment is never shaken. (Great laughter.) Each of you, gentlemen, only believe

“ in Parliament so long as Parliament acts according to your wishes—(cheers and  
“ laughter)—and convictions. I, gentlemen, believe in Parliament no matter which  
“ way it votes—(laughter)—and to those men alone whom the deliberate will of the  
“ confederated Parliament of the Dominion may assign to me as my responsible ad-  
“ visers can I give my confidence. (Cheers.) Whether they are the heads of this party  
“ or of that party must be a matter of indifference to the Governor General. (Cheers.)  
“ So long as they are maintained by Parliament in their position, so long is he bound  
“ to give them his unreserved confidence, to defer to their advice, and loyally to  
“ assist them with his counsels. (Applause.) Whenever, in the vicissitudes of  
“ party warfare, they are replaced by others—(laughter)—he welcomes their  
“ successors with an equally open and loyal regard. (Cheers.) Such private  
“ friendships as he may have formed he may have a right to retain. (Hear, hear.)  
“ As a reasonable being he cannot help having convictions upon the merits of  
“ different policies—(hear)—but these considerations are abstract, speculative and  
“ devoid of practical effect on his official relations. (Cheers.) As the head of a  
“ constitutional State, as engaged in the administration of Parliamentary Govern-  
“ ment, he has no political friends; still less need he have political enemies.  
“ (Great cheering.) The possession, or even to be suspected of possessing either,  
“ destroys his usefulness. (Loud cheers.) Sometimes, of course, no matter how  
“ disconnected he personally may be with what is taking place, his name will get  
“ dragged into some controversy, and he may suddenly find himself the subject of  
“ hostile criticism by the press of whatever party may for the moment be out of  
“ power. (Laughter.) But, under these circumstances, he must console himself  
“ with the reflection that these spasmodic castigations—(laughter)—are as transi-  
“ tory and innocuous—(great laughter)—as the discipline applied occasionally to  
“ their idols by the unsophisticated worshippers of Mumbo Jumbo—(immense  
“ laughter)—when their harvests are short or a murrain visits their flocks.  
“ (Cheers.) For, gentlemen, of this I am certain: although he may sometimes  
“ err in his judgment, or fail in serving you as effectually as he might desire, a  
“ Viceroy who honestly seeks to do his duty—(cheers)—to whom the interests of  
“ Canada are as precious and her honor as dear as his own—(immense cheering)—  
“ who steers unmoved an even course indifferent to praise or blame, between the  
“ political contentions of the day—(cheers)—can never appeal in vain to the con-  
“ fidence and generosity of the Canadian people. (Immense applause.)”

But though keeping my final decision in suspense, my mind was much occupied, as your Lordship may imagine, with the consideration of the various courses open to me. On one point I was quite clear—namely, that it would not be right for me to countenance the settlement of the serious issues raised between my Ministers and their opponents—involving, as they did, the personal honor of the most eminent men in Canada, the fate of my Ministry, and the public credit of the country—except at the hands of a full Parliament, in which the distant provinces of the Dominion were as well represented as those of Ontario and Quebec.

As I have already described to your Lordship in the earlier part of this despatch, before Parliament adjourned on the 23rd May, I had caused it to be announced to both Houses that Prorogation would take place on the 13th August. This arrangement, I have no hesitation in saying, was agreeable to what were then



the views of the majority both in the Senate and in the House of Commons. On the faith of this pledge, many gentlemen were gone to so great a distance that it was physically impossible for them to be recalled, and it so happened, from causes to which I have already referred, that by far the larger proportion of these absentees were supporters of the Government. All the members from British Columbia, except Sir *F. Hincks*, were on the wrong side of the Rocky Mountains. Some Ministerialists were in Europe, as I was informed, others in the States, and even to those in the Maritime Provinces, a return to Ottawa, though not physically impossible, as it was to their colleagues, would prove a great inconvenience at such a season. On the other hand, I learnt that the Opposition were mustering their full force, an operation for which they possessed certain geographical facilities. Were, therefore, the House of Commons to meet for the transaction of public business, it was evident that important votes might be passed, and decisions taken, contrary to the real sense of the country, and that my Ministers might justly complain that they were being unfairly treated, and their fate determined by a packed Parliament.

But, apart from these practical considerations, a grave question of principle seemed to me involved. The Imperial Officer representing the Crown in the Dominion is the natural protector of the federal rights of its various Provinces, as secured under an Imperial Act. The sanctity of the rights of any one of these Provinces is not affected by the number of its representatives or the amount of its population. In this view it is especially necessary that, in a country of such enormous distances, ample notice should be given of the times and seasons when Parliament is to sit. But if it be once admitted that the official "fixtures" which regulate the opening or closing of a Session and the conduct of public business, are to be capriciously tampered with, and changed at so short a notice as to preclude the distant representatives from being present, it is evident much wrong and inconvenience would result, and the door be opened to a great deal of trickery at the hands of an unscrupulous Minister.

The foregoing considerations pointed pretty distinctly to prorogation as an inevitable necessity of the situation. Only one other alternative indeed either suggested itself then or has occurred to me since, and that was another adjournment of the House to such a date as would suit the convenience of the absentees. At first I confess this course appeared to me fairly practicable, but further reflection disclosed difficulties I had not at once seen. In the first place, this was an arrangement which I had not the power of enforcing, and I was confronted by the obvious reflection, that if the Government made a motion to that effect, it might be defeated or meet with an amendment tantamount to a vote of want of confidence at the hands of the majority in presence, and I should then find myself landed in the very position which I was quite satisfied ought to be avoided. Even if the opponents of the Government were to refrain from taking so unfair an advantage of their numerical superiority, it was evident that in view of the adjournment preliminary issues would crop up of vital importance relative to the fresh instructions to be given to the Committee; for instance, whether the evidence was to be sworn or unsworn, and, if the former, how the oath was to be administered,—all of which would necessarily be decided in a manner unduly adverse to the Government, and in the absence of those who had an undoubted right to make their voices

heard on the occasion. I was so anxious, nevertheless, to find some way of avoiding a course which I foresaw would be denounced, however unjustly, as an undue exercise of the Queen's Prerogative, that I thought it desirable to make a suggestion in this sense to Sir *John Macdonald*, offering at the same time to become the channel of communication by which an understanding between him and his opponents might be arrived at. Sir *John's* reply was very much in the sense I had anticipated. He insisted upon the injustice of his Government being given over bound hand and foot to the tender mercies of their opponents in the absence of his supporters, whom he had dismissed to their homes with my sanction, and with the acquiescence of Parliament. He called my attention to the fact, that the Opposition organs, far from hinting at any compromise, were insisting on the fact that a quorum of Parliament could do anything that Parliament itself could do, and were evincing by unmistakeable signs that they would show no quarter:—that both Messrs. *Blake* and *Dorion* had endeavored to persuade the Committee to content themselves with unsworn evidence, and that if Parliament met for business they would be in a position to pass an instruction to the Committee to that effect,—that no man would be willing to risk his life, still less his honor, in the hands of witnesses released from the consequences of perjury,—and finally, that he would not feel himself safe in entering into any arrangements dependent upon the *bond fides* of those with whom I had suggested he should treat.

Unfortunately, in this country party animosity is intense, and the organs of each side denounce the public men opposed to them in terms of far greater vigor than those to which we are accustomed in England. The quarrel at this moment is exceptionally bitter. The one party openly accuse the other of personal dishonor, while these regard their opponents as unscrupulous conspirators. As a consequence, a mistrust of each other's fair dealing,—which I cannot believe to be justified on either hand,—has been engendered, which would render the rôle of mediator under any circumstances extremely difficult. As it was, the former part of Sir *John's* representations, if not the latter, coincided too closely with what had occurred to my own mind to enable me to deny its cogency. There being, however, no further time for correspondence, I left Halifax on Saturday night, the 9th August, and arrived in Ottawa on the morning of Wednesday the 13th. Had I been at liberty to have done so, I should have preferred starting sooner, but the town of Halifax had organized a series of popular demonstrations in our honor for Saturday afternoon, and it would have occasioned great dissatisfaction had I absented myself.

Before continuing my narrative, there is one incident connected with my stay at Halifax which perhaps ought to find mention here. Mr. *Huntington* sent me a sealed packet covered by an official communication to my Secretary, which, as I understood from the gentleman who brought it, as well as from Mr. *Huntington's* letter, contained copies of the incriminatory documents in his possession. As the matters to which the papers referred had become the subject of a public investigation before a House of Commons Committee, and as I was still uncertain what turn affairs might take, I did not consider it would be proper for me to take personal cognizance of these papers. I therefore returned the packet unopened to Mr. *Huntington*.

The 13th August was not only the day appointed for prorogation, but it was



also the day to which the Committee of enquiry had adjourned, but, as far as I can gather from the subjoined report of what occurred, it came together to very little purpose. Indeed its whole procedure on this occasion is difficult of comprehension, in consequence, I suppose, of the meagreness of the only report of what passed, which I have been able to obtain. In the first place only four out of the five Members were present, and eventually another, Mr. *Dorion*, withdrew in the middle of a discussion, leaving what are considered the Government Members in a majority. One of these, Mr. *Blanchet*, then proposed that they should report their proceedings to the House. Mr. *Blake*, in amendment of this suggestion, moved the adjournment of the Committee, which was carried,—the result being that when the House met at three o'clock, as had been arranged six weeks before, for the very purpose of receiving the Committee's report, no report of any sort or description was forthcoming. The following is the account of the proceedings referred to :—

“ OTTAWA, Aug. 13.

“ The Pacific Committee met at 11.30. Present : Messrs. *Cameron*, *Blanchet*,  
“ *Blake*, *Dorion*.

“ At the request of Mr. *Blake*, the resolution passed by the Committee at last  
“ meeting—that the Committee cannot proceed without further instructions from  
“ the House, was read.

“ Mr. *Blake* moved that the said resolution be rescinded.

“ Yeas—*Blake*, *Dorion*.

“ Nays—*Cameron*, *Blanchet*.

“ Resolution lost.

“ After some conversation as to the Committee making a report to the House,

“ The CHAIRMAN said if Mr. *Dorion* and Mr. *Blake* were not in favor of mak-  
“ ing a report, and withdrew because they thought no report should be made, the  
“ majority of the Committee would not make any report.

“ Mr. *Dorion* said he wanted a report to be made, but did not concur with the  
majority.

“ The CHAIRMAN—All we propose to do is simply to report our proceedings  
“ to the House. If you don't like that report, we need not make any at all.

“ Mr. *Dorion*—If I move any amendment, I would stop the report from being  
“ made.

“ The CHAIRMAN—It is impossible for me to tell the result of merely reporting  
“ our proceedings to the House. But if you don't think any report of our proceed-  
“ ings should be made, I have no objection that it be so resolved. My own im-  
“ pression is that as we reported all our former proceedings to the House, there  
“ is no objection to our also reporting those which have taken place since the last  
“ meeting of the House.

“ Mr. *Dorion* said he would not interfere with such a step.

“ The CHAIRMAN—Then I suppose it is so resolved, and we have completed  
“ our business ?

“ Mr. *Blake*—No, there is a quorum present, and any amendment is in order.  
“ I move that the House be asked to give such instructions to the Committee as  
“ will enable them to proceed with the enquiry.

“ Mr. *Dorion* here withdrew from the room, and the motion was carried unanimously by Messrs. *Cameron*, *Blanchet* and *Blake*.

“ Mr. *Blake* inquired of the Chairman—Do you propose to give the House communication of this resolution?

“ The CHAIRMAN—Not unless you move it to be done.

“ Mr. *Blake*—Do you propose to communicate any of the previous proceedings?

“ The CHAIRMAN—I do not.

“ Mr. *Blanchet*—I think we should report our proceedings. I move that the proceedings of the Committee since 17th May last be reported to the House.

“ Mr. *Blake*—I move an amendment that the Committee adjourn till eleven o'clock to-morrow.

“ Carried.

“ Yeas—*Blake*, *Cameron*.

“ Nays—*Blanchet*.

“ The Committee then adjourned.”

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A few hours after my arrival in Ottawa, Sir *John Macdonald* called upon me by appointment, and formally submitted the unanimous advice of my Ministers, that Parliament should be prorogued according to the announcement made by my authority in both Houses previous to its adjournment. After some conversation, in which we went over the whole ground, and again examined the suggestion contained in my letter relative to an adjournment, I finally announced to him that, on a due consideration of all the circumstances of the case, the prorogation of Parliament seemed to me inevitable,—that I did not feel myself justified in withdrawing my confidence from Ministers, or in concluding that Parliament had done so, and that, therefore, I was prepared to be guided by the counsels of himself and his colleagues,—but that I must formally insist on one condition as the price of my assent to prorogation, viz. :—that Parliament should be again convoked within as short a period as was consistent with the reasonable convenience of Members, and that I considered six or eight weeks was as long an interval as should intervene before the House re-assembled. Sir *John Macdonald* did not offer any objection to this proposition—indeed he had already volunteered a suggestion to a similar effect,—and it was agreed that I should meet my Council at two o'clock, in order that it might be ratified in the presence of all my Ministers.

At one o'clock, however, I was unexpectedly informed that a deputation of Members of Parliament was desirous of waiting upon me with a memorial against prorogation. I had not received the slightest intimation of the intention of these gentlemen, yet, although I felt the propriety of such a step upon their part was very questionable, I concluded to receive them.

In the meantime I had repaired to the Council Chamber, as agreed upon, where my Ministers jointly re-submitted the advice they had commissioned Sir *John Macdonald* to convey on their behalf in the morning. I made the same reply to them as to my Prime Minister, and the re-assembly of Parliament within the time specified was agreed upon. It was, however, suggested that if ten weeks were named as the limit instead of eight, it would be possible to get the preparation of



the Estimates sufficiently advanced to roll two Sessions into one, and dispense with the usual Spring Session. Although I was scarcely in a position to know how far this proposal was practicable or would be acceptable to Parliament, it would evidently prove such a saving of expense to the country and of fatigue and inconvenience to Members, many of whom would otherwise scarcely have time to return to their homes at all, between an autumn and the usual Session, that I consented to the additional fortnight upon the specific understanding, however, that if in the interval anything should occur which, in my opinion, required Parliament to meet sooner, an expression of my wishes to that effect would be at once acted upon without comment or discussion.

These matters being settled, I returned to where the deputation of remonstrant Members was waiting for me. They were introduced by their Chairman, Mr. *Cartwright*, a gentleman for whom I have a great esteem. In presenting the Memorial, Mr. *Cartwright* stated that it had been signed by ninety-two members of Parliament, and that another gentleman had intimated his willingness to have his signature attached to it. I found, however, on examining the document that three of the ninety-two signatures had been affixed by deputy, though, of course, with the full authority of their owners. I note the circumstance, however, as I shall have occasion to refer to it hereafter.

As my interview with my Council had occupied some little time, it had not been possible for me either to study or to write my reply to the Memorial. I was therefore forced to make Mr. *Cartwright* and his friends an extempore answer, which was afterwards reduced to writing as nearly as possible in the terms actually used. This document, together with the Members' Remonstrance, I subjoin for your Lordship's information.

*Memorial.*

“ The undersigned, Members of the House of Commons of Canada, desire respectfully to approach your Excellency, and humbly to represent that more than four months have already elapsed since the Honorable Mr. *Huntington* made, from his place in the House, grave charges of corruption against your Excellency's constitutional advisers in reference to the Pacific Railway contract ; that although the House has appointed a Committee to enquire into the said charges, the proceedings of this Committee have, on various grounds, been postponed, and the enquiry has not yet taken place ; that the honor of the country imperatively requires that no further delay should take place in the investigation of charges of so grave a character, and which it is the duty and undoubted right and privilege of the Commons to prosecute.

“ The undersigned are deeply impressed with the conviction that any attempt to postpone this enquiry, or to remove it from the jurisdiction of the Commons, would create the most intense dissatisfaction ; and they, therefore, pray your Excellency not to prorogue Parliament until the House of Commons shall have an opportunity of taking such steps as it may deem necessary and expedient with reference to this important matter.

“ The number of names signed to this document is ninety, within ten of one-half the House. They are as follows :—

“ OPPOSITION.—Anglin, Archibald, Bain, Bechard, Bergin, Blain, Blake,

“ Bodwell, Bourassa, Bowman, Boyer, Brouse, Buell, Burpee (Sunbury), Cameron  
 “ Huron), Cartwright, Casey, Casgrain, Cauchon, Charlton,\* Church, Cockburn  
 “ (Muskoka), Cook, Cutler, Delorme, St. George, Dorion, Dorion, Edgar, Ferris  
 “ Findlay, Fiset, Fleming, Fournier, Galbraith, Geoffrin, Gibson, Gillies, Goudge,  
 “ Hagar, Harvey, Higginbotham, Holton, Horton, Huntington, Jetté, Laflamme,  
 “ Landerkin, McDonald Glengarry), McKenzie, Mercier, Metcalf, Mills, Oliver,  
 “ Paquet, Paterson, Pearson, Pelletier, Pickard, Poser, Prévost, Richard, Rich-  
 “ ards,\* Ross, Ross, Ross, Ross, Rymal, Smith (Peel), Snyder, Stirton, Tas-  
 “ chereau, Thompson, Thomson,\* Tremblay, Trow, White (Halton), Wilkes,  
 “ Wood, Young, Young.

“ MINISTERIALISTS.—Burpee (St. John), Coffin, Cunningham, Forbes, Glass,  
 “ Macdonell (Inverness), Ray, Schultz, Scriver, Shibley, D. A. Smith (Selkirk),  
 “ A. J. Smith (Westmoreland).”†

Reply.

“ GENTLEMEN,—It is quite unnecessary for me to assure you that any represen-  
 “ tations emanating from persons possessing the right to speak on public affairs with  
 “ such authority as yourselves will always be considered by me with the greatest  
 “ respect, even had not circumstances already compelled me to give my most  
 “ anxious thought to the matters to which you are now desirous of calling my  
 “ attention.

“ You say, in your memorandum, that four months have elapsed since the  
 “ Hon. Mr. *Huntington* preferred grave charges of corruption against my present  
 “ advisers, in reference to the Pacific Railway contract, and that although the  
 “ House has appointed a Committee to enquire into these charges, the proceedings  
 “ of this Committee have on various grounds been postponed, and the enquiry has  
 “ not yet taken place.

“ Gentlemen, no person can regret more deeply than I do these unfortunate  
 “ delays, the more so as they seem to have given rise to the impression that they  
 “ have been unnecessarily interposed by the action of the Executive.

“ It may be premature at this moment to enter into a history of the disallowance  
 “ by the Imperial Government of the Oaths Bill, but this much, at all events, it is  
 “ but fair to every one that I should state, viz. : that immediately after I had assented  
 “ to that Act, I transmitted a certified copy of it to the Secretary of State, in ac-  
 “ cordance with the instructions by which I am bound on such occasions. That,  
 “ leaning myself to the opinion (an opinion founded on the precedent afforded by  
 “ the Act of the Canadian Parliament, which empowers the Senate to examine  
 “ witnesses on oath), that the Act was not *ultra vires*, I accompanied it by a full  
 “ exposition of the arguments which could be urged in its support ; but on the  
 “ point being referred by the Secretary of State for the professional opinion of the  
 “ Law Officers of the Crown, it was pronounced inconsistent with the Act of Con-

\* The names thus noted were signed by proxy.

† The above classification is founded on the votes taken on Mr. *Huntington's* motion. One or two gentlemen, however, classed with the Opposition might be more properly set down as “Independent.”



“federation. The postponement therefore of the enquiry, so far as it has arisen out of this circumstance, has resulted wholly by the operation of law, and has been beyond the control of any one concerned.

“You then proceed to urge me, on grounds which are very fairly and forcibly stated, to decline the advice which has been unanimously tendered to me by my responsible Ministers, and to refuse to prorogue Parliament; in other words you require me to dismiss them from my counsels; for, gentlemen, you must be aware that this would be the necessary result of my assenting to your recommendation.

“Upon what grounds would I be justified in taking so grave a step?

“What guarantee can you afford me that the Parliament of the Dominion would endorse such an act of personal interference on my part?

“You, yourselves, gentlemen, do not form an actual moiety of the House of Commons, and I have no means, therefore, of ascertaining that the majority of that body subscribe to the opinion you have enounced.

“Again, to what should I have to appeal in justification of my conduct?

“It is true grave charges have been preferred against these gentlemen; charges which I admit require the most searching investigation; but as you, yourselves, remark in your memorandum, the truth of these accusations still remains untested.

“One of the authors of this correspondence, which has made so painful an impression upon the public, has admitted that many of his statements were hasty and inaccurate; and has denied on oath the correctness of the deductions drawn from them.

“Various assertions contained in the narrative of the other have been positively contradicted.

“Is the Governor General, upon the strength of such evidence as this, to drive from his presence gentlemen who for years have filled the highest offices of State, and in whom, during the recent Session, Parliament has repeatedly declared its continued confidence? It is true, certain documents of grave significance have lately been published in the newspapers in connection with these matters in regard to which the fullest explanation must be given, but no proof has yet been adduced which necessarily connects them with the culpable transactions of which it is asserted they formed a part, however questionable they may appear, as placed in juxtaposition with the correspondence to which they have been appended by the person who has possessed himself of them.

“Under these circumstances, what right has the Governor General, on his personal responsibility, to proclaim to Canada—nay, not only to Canada, but to America and Europe, as such a proceeding on his part must necessarily do, that he believes his Ministers guilty of the crimes alleged against them? Were it possible at the present time to make a call of the House, and place myself in direct communication with the Parliament of the Dominion, my present embarrassment would disappear, but this is a physical impossibility. I am assured by my Prime Minister, and the Report of the proceedings at the time bears out his statements, that when Parliament adjourned it was announced by him, as the Leader of the House, that the meeting on the 13th August would be immediately followed by prorogation; that no substantive objection was taken to this

“announcement ; and that, as a consequence, a considerable portion of your fellow  
 “Members are dispersed in various directions. I should therefore only deceive  
 “myself were I to regard the present Assembly as a full Parliament.

“Since the adjournment, indeed, circumstances have occurred which render  
 “your proximate re-assembly highly desirable, but in this country there are physical  
 “circumstances which necessarily interpose a considerable lapse of time before the  
 “representatives of the various Provinces comprising the confederated Parliament  
 “of Canada can assemble, separated as some of them are by thousands of miles  
 “from the capital of the Dominion.

“In regulating the times and seasons when Parliament is to be called together,  
 “the Executive is bound not only to consider the reasonable convenience of these  
 “gentlemen but also to protect the federal rights of the Provinces which they  
 “represent, and under these circumstances I have concluded, on the advice of my  
 “Ministers (and even if I differed from them as to the policy of such a course,  
 “which I do not, it is a point upon which I should not hesitate to accept their  
 “recommendation) to issue a Royal Commission of enquiry to three gentlemen of  
 “such legal standing, character and authority as will command the confidence of  
 “the public, by virtue of the powers conferred upon me by the Act 31 Vic., cap.  
 “38. On the other hand, I have determined in proroguing Parliament to announce  
 “to the Members of both Houses my intention of assembling them immediately  
 “after the Commission in question shall have concluded its labors. By these  
 “means an opportunity will be afforded for the preliminary expurgation of these  
 “unhappy matters before a tribunal competent to take evidence on oath ; ample  
 “opportunities will be given to the Members of the more distant Provinces to  
 “make their preparations, in view of an Autumnal Session ; and within two months  
 “or ten weeks from this date a full Parliament of Canada will take supreme and  
 “final cognizance of the case now pending between my Ministers and their  
 “accusers.

“Gentlemen, the situation we have been discussing is one of great anxiety and  
 “embarrassment, but I cannot but hope that on a calm retrospect of the various  
 “considerations to be kept in view, you will come to the conclusion that in deter-  
 “mining to be guided by the advice of my Ministers, on the present occasion—in  
 “other words, in declining to act as though the charges which have been advanced  
 “against them were already proven, and in adhering to arrangements upon the  
 “faith of which many of your colleagues are absent from their places, I have  
 “adopted the course most in accordance with the maxims of Constitutional Govern-  
 “ment, and with what is due to those whom the Parliament of Canada has recom-  
 “mended to my confidence.”

After the Members had retired, it had become time for me to proceed to the  
 Senate Chamber, and about half-past three o'clock the Speaker appeared at the  
 Bar, and Parliament was prorogued. Considerable excitement, I am informed,  
 prevailed in the House of Commons, and cries of “Privilege” were uttered, when  
 Black Rod made his appearance ; but as far as I can learn, nothing was done or  
 said incompatible with the dignity and self-respect of that assembly. Only the  
 Ministerialists present, about thirty-five in number, accompanied the Speaker to  
 the Senate Chamber. The Opposition, amongst whom, on this occasion, I suppose



must be included thirteen of the ordinary supporters of my Government who had signed the Memorial, remained behind in their places. Upwards of seventy Members in a House of two hundred must have been absent—all of whom, with the exception of three, were claimed by Government as their adherents.

In the evening, what is popularly known as an "indignation" meeting was held, under the presidency of Mr. *Mackenzie*. I have appended to this No. 6. despatch a report of its proceedings.

I have thus recounted, in as faithful language as I can command, the various circumstances connected with the recent Prorogation. In doing so, your Lordship will perceive that I have not attempted to discuss, still less to defend, the action of my Ministers on any of the occasions referred to, except so far as the justification of their conduct follows as a corollary to the vindication of the attitude I myself have assumed. The propriety of their procedure is a matter which they will have to settle with the Canadian Parliament. My contestation would be, that the fact of their being hereafter proved innocent or guilty of the accusations alleged against them, or of having acted judiciously or the reverse, is a result which can have no relation to my share in these transactions, and that, given the circumstances in which I found myself, I have acted in the highest interests of the Parliament and of the people of Canada. In the same way, if from time to time I have argued against any of the views maintained by the Opposition, it has only been as contending against their implied condemnation of what I myself have done or said.

Were I to be put upon my defence, my best justification would be found in a review of whatever other courses may be considered to have been possible, but this enquiry has been pretty well exhausted in the course of the preceding statement. The alternatives I have seen suggested by those who are disposed to criticize my conduct are indeed very few. The morning after the news of the prorogation had reached Toronto, but before my pledge in regard to an Autumn Session was known, the *Globe*—a recognized organ of the Opposition, and one of the ablest conducted papers in Canada—in lamenting the prospects of a recess which was to last to February of next year, observed that "a prorogation for two or three weeks" would have been a proper course. As I had actually anticipated, the pith of these suggestions (for the question of a few extra weeks, I apprehend, could not have become any grave cause of complaint) I naturally might have expected to have been complimented on my action; but although this paper and all the other Opposition journals in Canada have, with a few exceptions, shown great forbearance to me personally—considering the excitement which prevailed and the forcible language in which leading articles are written—I am afraid I must admit to your Lordship that its subsequent allusions to my procedure have not been eulogistic.

But if a short prorogation was wrong, what were the alternatives? An adjournment. But an adjournment is an act of the House, and cannot be compelled by the Executive. The leader of the House had already rejected the suggestion, and not the slightest intimation had ever reached me that such an expedient would be agreeable to the Opposition. On the contrary, their last word within an hour of the time the House was to meet, as conveyed to me by the ninety-two Members, amongst whom were Mr. *Mackenzie* and Mr. *Blake*, was—"Let us meet and proceed to business as though we were a fully constituted assembly, representing the collective will of the people."

But it has been suggested that I should, on the one hand, have compelled the acquiescence of Sir *John Macdonald* in an adjournment by refusing to prorogue, while on the other, Mr. *Mackenzie* ought to have been driven into the arrangement under a threat of prorogation.

Now I am quite ready to admit, that one of the functions of a Governor General is to moderate the animosities of party warfare, to hold the balance even between the contending parties, to see that the machinery of the Constitution is not unfairly strained for party purposes, to intervene with his Counsels at opportune moments, and when desired by his Ministers to become the channel of communication with their opponents, or even though uninvited, to offer himself as negotiator in a difficulty. But the rôle marked out for me above is very different from this. I certainly should not have considered it consistent with my personal honor to have approached my Prime Minister with a threat I had no intention of executing, even had I seen less clearly than I did the objections to the course proposed, while, except at his instance, I should have been still less justified in opening communications with the Opposition. But as I have already explained the mere negotiation of an adjournment would not have advanced matters in any degree, unless the issues relative to the future proceedings of the Committee could have been settled at the same time ; but the divergencies of opinion upon these points were irreconcilable, and could never have been satisfactorily dealt with except by the House in full Session.

If, then, my choice lay—which seems to be admitted—between a short prorogation and a barren adjournment for a similar period, I do not think it can be disputed that the former was the preferable of the two.

Of course it was always open to me to have dismissed my Ministers, and have to take my chance of Parliament approving my conduct, but I did not feel myself warranted in hazarding such a step on the data before me. Indeed, the rashness and injustice of the proceeding would probably have roused such a feeling of dissatisfaction in the minds of what I have no reason to know may not prove the majority of the constituencies that there would have been a great chance—if Sir *John* and his friends came at all decently out of the affair—of their being borne back into office on the shoulders of the people. If wholly exculpated, your Lordship can imagine what my position would become in presence of the reaction that would have ensued. At all events, as I told the remonstrant members in my reply, I was not prepared, by publicly withdrawing my confidence from my Ministers, to proclaim to Canada, to America, and to Europe that I believed untried men guilty of such atrocious crimes as those imputed to them. It is, however, not necessary to debate this line of conduct, as no responsible person in this country has ventured to recommend it.

But though not directly suggesting the dismissal of my Ministers, it has been very generally contended that I should have considered them under a ban, and should have ceased to act on their advice, though still retaining them in office. The establishment of a relationship of this kind between the Crown and its Ministers would be a novel fact in Constitutional history, and might have proved difficult of execution. I was to go to my Council and say to them, “ Gentlemen, you state “ that in your opinion the Crown has pledged itself to Parliament to prorogue on



“ a certain day : you assert as a matter of fact that, relying on this pledge, sixty or  
 “ seventy members are not in their places, and that to allow the House to proceed  
 “ to business in their absence would be a gross impropriety to which you would  
 “ not consent, and that in view of this circumstance as my constitutional advisers,  
 “ placed about me by the will of Parliament, you unanimously advise me to pro-  
 “ rogue. Well, gentlemen, when Parliament last voted, you possessed a command-  
 “ ing majority : whether you have lost the confidence of Parliament or not I can-  
 “ not tell. You say you have not. Others say you have. Your political oppo-  
 “ nents have brought grave accusations against you. You are therefore under a  
 “ ban. You have forfeited my confidence. I do not intend to take your advice,  
 “ except on mere questions of administration, but—Pray retain your places.” To  
 “ which, of course, these gentlemen would have replied :—“ We are highly sensible  
 “ of your Excellency’s forbearance, perhaps you will favor us with a list of sub-  
 “ jects on which you will accept our recommendation, as well as an *index expur-*  
 “ *gatorius* of those which are tabooed. The arrangement will lighten our respon-  
 “ sibilities, our salaries will remain the same, and our honor”—I cannot exactly  
 conjecture how the sentence would have concluded. But the suggestion that my  
 refusal to take their advice on prorogation would not have been tantamount to a  
 dismissal of them, is too untenable to need refutation.

Before, however, closing this head of the discussion it may be well to examine  
 the grounds on which it is alleged I ought to have withdrawn my confidence from  
 Sir *John Macdonald* and his colleagues.

In order to answer this question, we must inquire what I had to go upon?  
 There were Mr. *Huntington’s* statements as displayed in his motion,—but these  
 statements were not statements of facts, but of conclusions drawn from facts within  
 Mr. *Huntington’s* knowledge perhaps, but not within mine, and offered no safe  
 foothold. Next, there were Sir *Hugh Allan’s* statements,—but upon which was I  
 to found myself,—upon those in Sir *Hugh’s* letters, in which he admits there was  
 a good deal of “ inaccurate ” language, or upon those in his affidavit? If upon the  
 latter, could I have pronounced the Government guilty? Then there were Mr.  
*McMullen’s* statements,—but these have been much questioned, and many of them  
 have been contradicted. I do not think the people of Canada would be willing to  
 allow the reputation of any of their representative men to be staked upon evidence  
 of this nature. Lastly, there were Sir *George Cartier’s* letter, and Sir *John Mac-*  
*donald’s* telegram. In respect to these documents, I would merely observe that  
 suspicious as they might appear, no man would have been justified in acting upon  
 any conclusion in regard to them, until it had been shown with what transactions  
 they were connected. There is as yet no evidence to prove that the sums referred  
 to were consideration moneys for the Pacific Railway charter ; and Sir *Hugh Allan*  
 states upon his oath that they were not, as will be seen from the subjoined extract  
 from his affidavit :—

“ In these and similar ways I expended sums of money approaching in amount  
 “ those mentioned in those letters, as I conceive I had a perfect right to do ; but  
 “ I did not state in those letters, nor is it the fact, that any portion of those sums  
 “ of money were paid to the members of the Government, or were received by  
 “ them or on their behalf directly as a consideration in any form for any advan-  
 “ tage to me in connection with the Pacific Railway contract.”

On the other hand, what were the countervailing facts within my knowledge? The theory of the prosecution is "that the terms of the charter were corruptly "modified to the advantage of Sir *Hugh Allan* and his American confederates." Has the bargain been carried out? Certainly not as far as the Americans are concerned. Their complaint is that they have taken nothing by their motion. I was myself a witness of the pains taken to exclude them when the charter was being framed. Have Sir *Hugh Allan* and his friends been gratified with that control over the concern to attain which Mr. *McMullen* asserts he bribed my Ministers? This is a fact less easy to elucidate, but I myself believe that he has not. At moments when Sir *John Macdonald* could not have been playing a part he gave me repeated indications of his desire to prevent Sir *Hugh* from obtaining any commanding influence on the direction. That direction was framed with a view to a proper representation upon it of every Province in Canada, regard being had to the wealth and population of each. It numbers amongst its members gentlemen who had been on the direction of the late Interoceanic Company, and it includes the names of men whom every one would acknowledge would never willingly associate themselves with any dishonorable enterprise. It is difficult to believe that these personages are either the willing or unconscious tools of Sir *H. Allan*. Hence, we must arrive at the inference that, at all events, if the crime was imagined, it can scarcely have been consummated. This would not in the least excuse its authors, but if a thing has not been done, the fact affords *prima facie* grounds for believing that it was not intended to be done. Lastly, I have received the most solemn assurances from my Ministers, both individually and collectively, on their word as men of honor, and on their fealty to the Crown as my sworn Councillors, that they are absolutely innocent of the things laid to their charge.

On a balance of the foregoing considerations, can any one say that I should have been justified in deliberately violating my first duty as a constitutional ruler on a premature assumption of the guilt of these gentlemen?

But a still more important question remains behind. Had I any means of knowing that my Ministers had forfeited the confidence of the House of Commons, —for, of course, if this were the case, any inward impressions of my own would cease to be elements of the problem?

What were the facts upon which I could rely? During the whole of the preceding Session the Government had marched from victory to victory, as will be seen by the subjoined record of votes taken on test divisions:—

7th March, majority for Government	16
18th do do do	25
2nd April, do do	31*
17th do do do	26
7th May, do do	31
8th do do do	33
12th do do do	24
16th do do do	35

They had left off with a majority of 35 at their command. The ordinary pre-

\* Mr. Huntington's motion.



sumption would be that their supporters still adhered to them. Had anything occurred to invalidate this conclusion? The publication of the documents I have referred to? Judging from the process of thought in my own mind, which compelled me to suspend my verdict, I could not bring myself to believe that Parliament had jumped to any premature conclusion. But I had one other indication to assist me. Ninety-two Members of Parliament declared themselves opposed to the views of Ministers on prorogation. Where were the other one hundred and seven, and what were their opinions? Of the thirty-five or forty who were in their places, not one took steps to make me aware that they had ceased to support the Government. Their names were conspicuously absent from the Memorial. The sixty or sixty-five members who were away cannot complain if I have interpreted their absence as an indication that they endorsed the policy of Government, so far at least as prorogation was concerned. That the Memorialists were so many and no more was in itself significant, for it gave the measure of the effort made and the maximum result. They were not even a moiety of the House. They were a minority, and therefore not in a position to acquaint me with the wishes of the majority, or to speak in behalf of Parliament at all. So acutely was the force of this fact felt that within a very few days after prorogation, it was industriously circulated by all the Opposition newspapers, that in refusing to acquiesce in the suggestions of the signatories of this Memorial, I had flown in the face of a "majority" of the House of Commons. It is said that hypocrisy is the homage paid by vice to virtue. The pertinacity with which this mis-statement has been propagated, I cannot but regard as a homage to the strength of my position. But, not content with this, some papers have even gone further, and stated positively that other gentlemen, friends of the Government, waited upon me the same day and held language similar to the remonstrants—an assertion for which there is not the slightest foundation, for on that day, up to three o'clock, with the exception of the Speaker, the remonstrant members themselves, and my Ministers, I had neither spoken to nor heard from a single Member of Parliament.

But it has been subsequently argued, that inasmuch as no division ever took place in a perfectly full house, ninety-two signatures implied a practical majority,—as though my appreciation of what should constitute a majority is to be regulated by my estimate of the cogency of the respective whips. If, however, we are to count noses with such particularity, let us see how the case stands. I admit that the numerical strength of a house is always in excess of its voting power. There will always be accidental vacancies. But the ranks of each side are equally liable to be thinned by casualties. What was the voting power represented by this Memorial? It is true, on the word of the Chairman, I took 93 as the number of persons on whose behalf he spoke, but the actual signatures at the time I had to decide on my course were only 92. Of these, three were affixed by proxy, reducing the momentary voting strength of the body represented to 89; for it is to be presumed that, unless detained from Ottawa, the remaining gentlemen would have signed with their own hands. Now, if we double 89 we get a house of 178, and no later than last Session 183 names appeared on a division list,—so that the 89 remonstrants represented only a minority of the House even on this principle of reckoning. But during the whole of last Session, Government had a large

majority, a condition of affairs which superinduces a laxity of attendance. Had the two parties been more evenly balanced, had victory depended on only a few votes, the muster of members would have been inevitably stronger, and the maximum division list of 183 undoubtedly exceeded.

But I am not prepared to admit that a Governor General would be justified in taking so serious a step as was then urged upon me, on the strength of a memorial signed even by a majority of Members of Parliament. Except so far as bringing a certain amount of pressure to bear upon him for a momentary purpose, a document of this nature is quite inconsequent. It would prove so much waste paper in the presence of a different mandate from the constituencies of many of these gentlemen, and when the time for voting arrived the Governor who relied upon it might very well find a considerable proportion of its signatories on the wrong side of the division list, with a dozen plausible excuses for their having played him false. Indeed within a couple of hours after the deputation had left my presence, I was assured on trustworthy authority that some of these very persons had openly stated that in signing the Memorial they by no means intended to signify that they withdrew their support from Government.

It is further to be remembered that, although I was in Ottawa at six in the morning, I heard nothing of this Memorial until 1 o'clock, that three was the hour at which Parliament met, that the gentlemen bringing it must have known that its presentation and perusal must have occupied some time, and that I was bound to communicate it to my Ministers,—yet it was upon the strength of a document of this nature, presented in this fashion, when my Speech from the Throne was in the hands of the printers and the guard of honor under arms, that I was expected to take a step which under such circumstances must have inevitably led to a change of Government, and possibly a general election.

I have one further point to mention, and I have done. It is a favorite theory at this moment with many persons, that when once grave charges of this nature have been preferred against the Ministry they become *ipso facto* unfit to counsel the Crown. The practical application of this principle would prove very inconvenient, and would leave not only the Governor General, but every Lieutenant Governor in the Dominion, very thinly provided with responsible advisers, for as far as I have been able to seize the spirit of political controversy in Canada, there is scarcely an eminent man in the country on either side whose character or integrity has not been, at one time or another, the subject of reckless attack by his opponents in the press. Even your Lordship and Mr. Gladstone have not escaped, for it has been more than insinuated that the Imperial Government have been 'got at' by Sir *John Macdonald*, and that the law officers of Her Majesty were instructed to condemn the Oaths Bill contrary to their legal convictions.

In conclusion, I desired to call your Lordship's attention to the fact, that in this despatch I have made no allusion to the Royal Commission, which I have just issued under the advice of my Ministers.

My desire is to keep the transactions relating to the prorogation of Parliament, and to the issue of the Commission, entirely distinct. These two events are quite disconnected and independent. The reasons which induced me to agree to the prorogation of Parliament had to be considered without reference to the effect of



prorogation on the Committee, or, at least, they appeared sufficiently cogent to overpower any countervailing arguments founded on the necessity of keeping the Committee alive. However much I might have desired to do so, I could not have treated Parliament as a pregnant woman, and prolonged its existence for the sake of the lesser life attached to it. If I have satisfied your Lordship that prorogation under the circumstances was the proper course, the extinction of the Committee was an ill effect with which I had no concern. It is necessary to keep this consideration very clearly before our eyes, otherwise a confusion of ideas will ensue, prejudicial to a correct judgment of the case. The extinction of the Committee is being denounced as the worst feature in the transaction by persons who are ready to admit that prorogation was perhaps a necessity, and they insensibly transfer their dissatisfaction with the result to the circumstance which occasioned it. The same class of minds probably conjecture that the destruction of the Committee was the main inducement with my Government for insisting on prorogation, but with speculations of this kind I have nothing to do. I prorogued Parliament for what I considered not only full and sufficient, but imperative reason. The subordinate consequences incident to the transaction do not, therefore, come under review.

There is one further point it may be well to remember. I see it is asserted that the Government purposely kept its sixty Members away. Of course I have no means of knowing how far this may have been the case. It is probable that having concluded that the session could not be prolonged, my Ministers may have notified their followers to that effect, but it is an indisputable fact, that the absence of a considerable proportion was unavoidable.

In another despatch I propose to address your Lordship on the subject of the Commission.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

(Signed,) DUFFERIN.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley,

Esq., Esq., Esq.

This despatch shews that Lord Dufferin better understood the Constitutional form of government which our early reformers, headed by Robert Baldwin, so long and so untiringly strove to secure than the political descendants of that sterling man, who would have scorned, under any temptation, to violate its principles. It is a notable circumstance that the only two attacks sustained by Constitutional Government in Canada, since the Confederation of the Provinces, have been made by the Liberal party,—first, in the case now under consideration, and second, in the person of the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, Mr. Letellier de St. Just, in the early part of this year (1878). If any thing were needed to show the absolute necessity of administering our Colonial Government through a statesman from Britain it would be furnished by the history of these two transactions.

The Governor General, as was to be expected, now became the object of bitter animadversion. The Opposition press exhausted the vocabularies of abuse, but its violence was so extreme as to shock all just-minded people, and thus its attacks were deprived of most of their force. Its statements were so grossly untrue,—its views of Constitutional Government so crude and incorrect, and its virulence so unjustifiable, that its utterances may be passed by as unworthy of note ; and when we examine the arguments of the cooler men and the more educated minds, which have been placed before the public, on this much debated subject, we find even them so disfigured by mis-statements, and so marred by illogical reasoning, that we rise from the task, convinced that Lord Dufferin's position, as taken by himself in his answer to the ninety-two memorialists and in his despatch to the Earl of Kimberley, was the correct one ; and that he, in his dealings with the *embroglio*, has done the cause of Constitutional Government good service, in the proper application of its principles, and the enlightened working of its rules of practice.

The House was prorogued on the 13th August. On the 14th a Royal Commission was issued under the Canadian Act, 31 Vic., Cap. 38, to the Hon. Charles Dewey Day, of Montreal, late one of the Judges of the Superior Court ; the Hon. A. Polette, of Three Rivers, one of the Judges of the Superior Court ; and James Robert Gowan, of Barrie, County Court Judge of the County of Simcoe, in the Province of Ontario, authorizing them to enquire into the various matters connected with the issue of the Pacific Railway Charter.

It will be borne in mind that Mr. Mackenzie's motion of the 13th August declared that :

“Constitutional usage requires that charges of corruption against Ministers of the Crown should be investigated by Parliament, and that the assumption of that duty by any tribunal created by the Executive would be a flagrant violation of the privileges of this House.”

This was, of course, directed against the anticipated issue of a Royal Commission, which the leader of the Opposition, supported by all of his followers, with the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Blake—whose adherence to the doctrine of Mr. Mackenzie does not seem to have been close—took pains beforehand to denounce. But the point of Constitutional law involved is by no means clear in Mr. Mackenzie's favor ; on the contrary, it seems to be pretty clear against him.

In discussing Colonial Constitutional law, it must be kept constantly in view that a Governor General, unlike Her Majesty, has two



characters : he is the head of the Executive of the Dominion, and thus far his position is similar to that of Her Majesty in Britain,—but he is, besides, an Imperial officer, charged with the duty of guarding Imperial interests, as contra-distinguished from Colonial ones. In this particular case this duty was emphasized by the fact that the Home Government had passed an Act to guarantee a large loan to be raised for the purpose of assisting the Pacific Railway enterprise. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the issue of the Royal Commission was *per se* an improper interference with the privileges of Parliament,—for it is not denied that the moment the House had become “seized” of the matter by the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee, any interference with that proceeding would have been irregular—yet it by no means follows that the Governor General, in his character of guardian of Imperial interests, was debarred from enquiry. It might—and there is nothing unreasonable in supposing such a case—it might happen that a dishonest or factious Ministry, supported by a dishonest or factious majority in the House, was pursuing a dishonorable course affecting Imperial interests. To protect these interests is the duty of the representative here of the Crown, but to appeal to his Ministry would, in the case supposed, be useless. Would there be no escape from so anomalous a position? The duty of the Governor General was to facilitate the Parliamentary enquiry, which he did to the utmost extent of his ability, by insisting on an early and extra session of the House ; his duty to the Imperial authorities was to institute an enquiry at the earliest moment,—and this he did by means of the Royal Commission. It is vain and unfair to argue that he should not have prorogued. Had he permitted the House, as constituted on the 13th August, to take the matter into its control, he would have been playing into the hands of an unscrupulous minority of the whole House, who well knew that a great many of the supporters of the Ministry, trusting to the understanding arrived at before they left Ottawa on the 23rd May, were not in attendance. Adjourn the House he could not, for that is the act of the House itself ; and as the Session was at the moment composed of a majority of the Opposition, who had evidently gathered in strength, hoping to take the Ministry at a disadvantage,—to leave this majority to proceed according to their pleasure would have been to break faith, or rather permit them, too willing as they were, to break faith with the other members, who were, many of them, thousands of miles distant. The only course, therefore, open to the Governor General was to prorogue, with

the pledge of a speedy Session, and issue a Royal Commission. By this strictly constitutional proceeding he obtained an enquiry into the conduct of his Ministers, whom he could not on the simplest principles of justice dismiss on mere suspicion, — and he avoided all interference with the privileges of Parliament, since an enquiry on the part of the House could be ordered when it next met. The Commission was declared to be issued under the authority of the Act of Canada, 31 Victoria, chapter 38 (1868) intituled, “An Act Respecting Inquiries Concerning Public Matters,” which provides that :

“Whenever the Governor in Council deems it expedient to cause enquiry to be made into and concerning any matter connected with the good government of Canada, or the conduct of any part of the public business thereof, and such enquiry is not regulated by any special law, the Governor may, by the Commission in the case, confer the power to examine witnesses on oath,” &c.

It was urged that this Act gave power to the “Governor in Council” only to issue the Commission, but, be that as it may, Sir John Macdonald urged the issue from the commencement, and the fact that it was really issued as an act of the Dominion Government in no way detracted from its value as a means of obtaining information, under oath,—from Sir John Macdonald’s frankness in offering it, nor from His Excellency’s sincere desire to obtain the fullest information as to the conduct of the members of his Government at the earliest moment, and in the most thorough manner possible.

On the 18th August His Excellency sent to the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Kimberley, the following despatch :

No. 198.

CANADA, Aug. 18, 1873.

MY LORD,—In my previous despatch of the 15th August, I had the honor of informing your Lordship of the circumstances under which Parliament was prorogued on the 13th.

As a consequence of that event, the Pacific Railway Committee of Enquiry became extinct, and, as I have already mentioned, an interval of eight or ten weeks was to elapse before the re-assembly of Parliament. A question consequently arose as to whether, during this short recess, anything could be done to forward the hitherto abortive inquiry touching the Pacific Railway Charter.

When I was at Prince Edward Island, and in communication with my two Ministers, Messrs. *Tilley* and *Tupper*,—shortly after the publication of the *McMullen* correspondence,—I had intimated to them that, should the Committee of the House of Commons find itself unable to prosecute the investigation, the truth must be got at somehow,—and that perhaps an inquiry conducted before three judges of the land might prove a satisfactory issue out of the difficulty. In making this suggestion I was actuated by a double motive. In the first place, I was deeply



distressed at the embarrassing relations which existed between my Ministers and myself. These gentlemen were being assailed by irresponsible newspaper correspondents with accusations of the most injurious description. Documents which, perhaps, in themselves proved nothing, had been brought into an alleged connection with a narrative that invested them with a very sinister signification. The Parliamentary Committee that had undertaken to discover the truth appeared to be paralyzed, and the accused were thus shut out from all means of vindicating their characters. Yet it was to these persons I was bound to recur for advice in all matters affecting the administration of public affairs. Again, as an Imperial officer, it was my duty to watch with especial care over Imperial interests. The allegation current against my Ministers and others, was that they had fraudulently dealt with certain monetary trusts, voted indeed by the Parliament of Canada, but guaranteed, to a considerable extent, by the Imperial Government. This being so, I was evidently bound, apart from any action of the Canadian House of Commons, whose powers of scrutiny seemed for the present of small avail, to obtain satisfaction in regard to these matters by any constitutional methods within my reach. Indeed from this point of view it was not the Ministry of the day,—who are but an evanescent Committee of Parliament,—but the Parliament of Canada itself that was responsible to Great Britain in respect of any malversation which might have occurred—as having confided the disposal of these interests to improper agents.

At the same time, as long as the Parliamentary Committee was in existence, even though it had ceased to act, the resort to any other instrument of investigation was not desirable. Beyond, therefore, the casual suggestion to which I have referred, nothing further was volunteered by me in this sense. When, however, the prorogation of Parliament being decided upon, and the Committee of the House of Commons being about consequently to become extinct, my Government undertook, on its own responsibility, to advise the issue of a Commission to three Judges of character, standing, and acknowledged integrity, I had no difficulty in acquiescing in their recommendation.

I have now, therefore, to inform your Lordship that on the 14th August I signed a Commission at the instance of my responsible advisers, and by virtue of the powers vested in the Governor General by the Canadian Act of the 31 Vic., Cap. 38, to the Honorable Judge Day, the Honorable Judge Polette and Judge Gowan, authorizing them to inquire into the various matters connected with the issue of the Pacific Railway Charter. A copy of this Commission I have the honor to append.

On referring to it, your Lordship will observe that the purview of the Commission is very wide and inquisitorial, and that there is nothing to restrict its reception of anything that may appear to deserve the name of evidence. The professional antecedents of these gentlemen are set forth in the accompanying document, which has been prepared for me by my Ministers. Only one of them is personally known to me, viz. : Judge Day, who, as Chancellor of the McGill University, received me on my visit to that Institution. Since that we have improved our acquaintance, and I have no hesitation in stating, both from what I know and have learnt, that I have every confidence in Judge Day's high sense of honor, capacity, and firmness.

I have also considered it my duty to satisfy myself as to the qualifications of the two other gentlemen with whom he is associated, and I am in a position to

inform your Lordship that they are generally regarded as persons of unblemished integrity, sound judgment, and professional ability, while the length of time all three have been removed from politics frees them from the suspicion of political partizanship.

Notwithstanding the creditable antecedents of these personages, they have been sharply assailed by the Opposition press, for which the praises of the Ministerial organs is scarcely an adequate consolation. Perhaps, however, it may not be amiss that I should append two or three articles from newspapers bitterly opposed to the Government, who, nevertheless, are compelled to bear a scant and niggard testimony to the high qualities of these gentlemen.

Under ordinary circumstances, I should have thought it sufficient to have terminated my despatch at this point, but as matters now stand, it is necessary that I should describe to your Lordship the chief features of the controversy to which the issue of this Commission has given rise.

The objections urged against it seem to be three in number.

1st. That the present investigation is not of the kind contemplated by the Act.

This point is so entirely a question of legal interpretation that I can only be guided in regard to it by my law officer.

2nd. That the issue of the Commission is an invasion of the privilege of Parliament; that Parliament being seized of the matter, no other authority has a right to concern itself in the investigation.

I apprehend that this view cannot be sustained. The powers with which the Commission is vested being legal, and granted by Parliament without limitation, it is difficult to believe that their exercise can be held an interference with the privileges of Parliament. It is not a criminal suit, but a simple inquiry that has been instituted by the House of Commons at the instance of my Ministers. Moreover, Parliament has ceased to conduct this inquiry. The Crown possesses no absolute guarantee that it will be renewed, or that, when renewed, it will be effectual. If Ministers fall on a vote of want of confidence on the address, it might prove the interest of so many persons to let the matter drop, that the Committee may not be re-appointed. Unless conducted under oath, the investigation will certainly prove ineffectual; and I am advised that it is doubtful whether any device exists by which a mere Committee of the House of Commons can be enabled to swear its witnesses. If, therefore, an immediate investigation will promote the "good Government of Canada," to quote the words of the Act, I do not apprehend that Parliament can denounce the Commission as a breach of privilege. The House of Commons may declare the issue of the Commission to be inopportune and inadvisable, and may visit with its displeasure the Ministers who counselled its appointment, but it can have no *locus standi* as against the Crown itself.

Moreover, it must be remembered that the Commission can in no way intercept or supersede the jurisdiction of the House of Commons. It will be quite competent for Parliament to ignore the fact of its having existed. Its influence on the present situation will entirely depend on the way in which it discharges its functions. If the public is convinced that it has elucidated the truth—no matter with what result—its position will be unassailable—if it fails to do so, it will not require the action of Parliament to proclaim its *déchéance*.



There is yet another way of looking at the matter. Few people will deny that individually I have the right to require an explanation from my Ministers in regard to these transactions. But it is evident that in respect of so complicated a business I have neither the time, nor the knowledge, nor the professional acuteness necessary to unravel the tangled web of incriminatory matter presented to me. If, then, I possess the legal power, and if, by undertaking to answer for the Act, my Ministers endow me with the constitutional power, can Parliament complain if I take advantage of these circumstances to subject my Ministers, through the Commission that represents me, to such an interrogatory as I may deem advisable, or if I order the collection of such other evidence as may be forthcoming, and is calculated to throw light upon the business?

Nor has Mr. *Huntington* himself any grounds to dispute my right to take cognizance of this affair. While the Parliamentary Committee was still in existence, he approached me officially and directly with communications incriminating sworn members of my Privy Council. It is true I returned him the documents he forwarded, and declined to take personal cognizance of a matter then before a Committee of the House of Commons, but I retain his covering letter, and it is scarcely competent for him,—the Committee having ceased to exist,—to decline the jurisdiction of the Commission so far as it is concerned with what he himself brought to my notice. By his own act he has invited my intervention, and submitted the matter to the direct cognizance of the Crown.

Thirdly. The "*personnel*" of the Commission is complained of as partial to the Government, and as having been chosen by the accused. Into the personal question I need not enter further than I have done. That the Commissioners should have been named by the Government is an accident inevitable to the anomalous situation of affairs; but when we consider the character and antecedents of these gentlemen, that they sit in open court, that their powers of inquiry are unlimited, that they will act under the eyes of unsparing critics, that any appearance of flinching on their part will only stimulate the desire both in and out of Parliament for further inquiry, and that in such an event a review of the case by the House of Commons is extremely probable, I do not think that any practical objection can be taken to them on this account.

I should have much preferred that Sir *John's* previous offer to the House of Commons' Committee should have been renewed, for although this Committee cannot be pronounced free from those characteristics which adhere to all Parliamentary Committees on such occasions, it might possibly possess greater vigor of visceration than a Commission, though its ultimate verdict might not prove unanimous. It would, moreover, have been able to command the appearance of Mr. *Huntington* as a willing prosecutor. That gentleman, as I understand, intends to question the jurisdiction of Judge Day and his colleagues. Of course, the Ministerialists asseverate that he fears being brought to book, that having thoroughly prejudiced the public mind through the agency of Mr. *McMullen's* letters he would willingly let the Government lie as long as possible under the odium of a vague charge which accurate inquiry would dispose of; but this seems a groundless aspersion. Mr. *Huntington* may be, and indeed I trust, and so far believe, is mistaken. He may have "got hold of the wrong end of the stick," and have been too quick in

drawing inferences ; it may be doubtful if he is well advised in declining to appear, if that should be his determination, but that after all he has said and done he should have misgivings as to his case is not credible, and such an injurious supposition is unjustifiable. But the difficulties in the way of making a second offer to Messrs. *Blake* and *Dorion* appeared insuperable, for both these gentlemen declining Sir *John's* former proposal to make them Commissioners grounded themselves not only on the necessity of obtaining the House's sanction to their change of status, an objection which, though somewhat subtle, was perhaps, sustainable, but furthermore asserted that as Commissioners their independence would be destroyed. Mr. *Blake*, moreover, had stated that on personal grounds he could not consent to act on a Commission appointed under the advice of Sir *John Macdonald*. As there was no reason to suppose that these gentlemen had changed their minds in these respects, it did not appear advisable to re-approach them on the subject.

Under these circumstances it was evident,—if the interval that must elapse before the re-assembly of Parliament was to be utilized,—that any inquiry which might be possible must be confided to fresh hands.

That my Ministers should desire an opportunity of making themselves heard can be well understood. The language used on their behalf is something of this sort :—“For months past we have been the objects of the vilest calumnies. Our most confidential documents have been purloined by an informer, and dishonestly connected with a narrative which is itself untrue. Hitherto we have had no opportunity of rebutting these accusations. The instrument appointed by the House of Commons to do justice between us and our traducers has proved powerless for that object. Considering with whom we have to deal, we require the evidence against us to be substantiated by an oath. We are not willing to place our honor at the mercy of our accusers unless protected against perjury. We ourselves are anxious to be heard upon our oaths. We doubt whether a Committee of the House of Commons can acquire the power of swearing in its witnesses without an Imperial Act. We think it but fair before Parliament re-assembles that we should have an opportunity of answering fully, point by point, the injurious allegations brought against us. This cannot be done by mere statements. We desire therefore to subject ourselves to as searching an interrogatory as a skilled tribunal or our most bitter opponents can apply. Unless we have this opportunity we shall meet Parliament at a disadvantage. Our enemies have possessed themselves of the ear of the public for months. We have had no opportunities of counteracting these influences. Let at least our story be heard before a premature decision is snatched from Parliament, saturated as it may have become with these calumnies. We do not wish to escape from the scrutiny of the House of Commons. We know we could not do so,—did we so desire,—but since its action is for a time suspended, do not condemn us to remain, during the interval, under the opprobrium of such accusations.”

It is not my province to examine the force of this pleading. I merely report it for your Lordship's information ; but no one can fail to see that my Ministers are fairly entitled, so far as the law allows them, to do whatever in them lies to dissipate the impression occasioned by the enforced silence entailed upon them by the inaction of the late Parliamentary Committee.



I have now concluded my narrative of the two important occurrences in which I have found myself so unexpectedly engaged. My anxieties have been very great, and my position most embarrassing. If I have erred in the conduct of these affairs, I feel I can count upon your Lordship's indulgence to put a favorable construction on my intentions. Trained in the liberal school of politics under the auspices of a great champion of Parliamentary rights, my political instincts would revolt against any undue exercise of the Crown's Prerogative. Yet it is of this I find myself accused. I trust, however, that reflection will dissipate such impressions, and that the people of Canada will ultimately feel that it is for their permanent interest that a Governor General should unflinchingly maintain the principle of Ministerial responsibility, and that it is better he should be too tardy in relinquishing this palladium of colonial liberty, than too rash in resorting to acts of personal interference.

Considering how eager has been the controversy, I cannot hope to escape criticism, but any irritation thus engendered will perhaps be softened by the reflection that, coming to this country full of faith in its people and its destinies, I was naturally slow to believe that widespread public and personal corruption should exist among its most eminent public men. If it should turn out that I have been deceived in my estimate of Canadian purity, the error is one which Canada may afford to pardon. If, as I trust will be the case, the integrity of her chief statesmen is vindicated, I shall be well content if the fact of "my not having despaired of the Republic" is forgotten in the general satisfaction such a result will produce.

Be that as it may, there is one circumstance which we can regard with unmitigated satisfaction. The alleged revelations which have taken place have profoundly moved the whole population. Apart from the section of society "within politics" whose feeling may be stimulated by other considerations, every citizen in the country, no matter how indifferent to public affairs, has been dismayed and humiliated by the thought that such things as are alleged to have taken place by Mr. *McMullen* and Mr. *Huntington* should be possible. This is a re-assuring sign, and even should it be found, which God forbid, that the Government has been unworthy of the trust confided to it, the indignation and the searchings of heart that will ensue throughout the land will go far to cleanse the public life of Canada for many a year to come.

I must apologize for the length of this and my previous despatch, but in recording these transactions, I felt that I was contributing to a page of the History of Canada.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) DUFFERIN.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley,

&c., &c., &c.

Dates may be anticipated here, by introducing the expression of the opinions of the Imperial Ministry on these despatches.

DOWNING STREET, 9th October, 1873.

MY LORD,—I have received and laid before the Queen your Lordship's despatches, No. 197 of the 15th August, and No. 198 of the 18th August, giving

an account of the circumstances connected with the recent prorogation of the Dominion Parliament, and the issue of a commission to enquire into the charges brought forward by Mr. Huntington. Her Majesty's Government have read these clear and able statements with much interest. It is not their duty to express any opinion upon the particular measures adopted on the advice of your responsible Ministers, but they fully approve your having acted in these matters in accordance with constitutional usage.

I have, &c.,

KIMBERLEY.

GOVERNOR GENERAL,

The RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, &c.

The *London Times*, a journal which has so frequently expressed opinions offensive to all intelligent and loyal Canadians, and views of colonial policy antagonistic to the prosperity of Canada, is yet an authority of respectable weight when it confines itself to questions of purely constitutional law. That paper, speaking without full information, at first condemned the proceedings of Lord Dufferin, but subsequently, when they could be interpreted by the light of the accurate statement of facts which his despatches and the evidence taken before the Commission contained, it veered round, and concludes a very fair review of the case, in its issue of the 6th November, with these words:

“But, whatever may be the issue, the vindication of Lord Dufferin is complete. The page of the History of Canada which he modestly apologizes for writing may record events discreditable to the public men of the Dominion, but it contains nothing that does not reflect honor on the representative of the British Crown.”

His Excellency left Ottawa immediately after prorogation, *en route* for St. John, N.B., where he was to rejoin Lady Dufferin, and proceed on his progress through the Provinces.

His Excellency arrived at St. John, on the 19th August, where he met Lady Dufferin, who had just come from Halifax and Annapolis. They were both received with unusual demonstrations of joy.\*

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\* The following notice, cut from a local paper, is a truthful picture of the reception of His Excellency in the chief city of New Brunswick: “Those in Ontario who were curious to know how His Excellency would be received on his return from Ottawa, those especially who predicted that the people would follow their own disreputable example of abusing him, must be interested in knowing that the demonstration in St. John has surpassed any previous demonstration in honor of a Governor General ever given in this city; that it has been a popular demonstration in every sense, a demonstration without the aid of civic appropriation, regular troops, or official pomp of any kind; and that the meanness shown by the



As usual the days of their stay were days of universal holiday-making, and the recent occurrences at Ottawa had so elevated His Excellency in the estimation of all well-balanced minds that the citizens of St. John did their utmost to prove their respect and attachment. A drawing room reception, ball, regatta, torch-light procession, public holiday and addresses were the order of the time. In his reply to an address presented by the children of the Common Schools of St. John, His Excellency truly said :

“Education is a subject to which I have devoted a great deal of my time, and in which I am deeply interested. During my tour through the various parts of the Dominion, I have felt it my duty to pay especial attention to a subject so vital to the interests of Canada, and wherever I have gone I have had the satisfaction of observing that the education of the children is among the foremost subjects which pre-occupy the attention of my fellow citizens. \* \* \* I will conclude by saying that among the many glorious sights which it has been my good fortune to witness since I crossed the Atlantic, there is none which has been so gratifying to the feelings of myself and of the Countess of Dufferin as that which is here exhibited. Gentlemen, I see before me, standing in the brightness of their youth and beauty, the smiling representatives of the seven Provinces which constitute this Dominion ;—and, if I may be permitted to close my observations with a prayer, it is that as their prototypes now stand side by side in sisterly union, and in the brightness of their youthful loveliness, so may these glorious Provinces ever remain united by the ties of domestic affection and the bond of a common loyalty, and boast to themselves to future ages as the mothers of a race as energetic, brave, and loyal as that to which their fair representatives before us belong.”

On Saturday, 23rd August, the party left St. John for Fredericton, the capital of New Brunswick. This visit had an excellent effect in cooling the heat of anti-confederate feeling which had distinguished New Brunswick, and the outburst of popular feeling which the admirable qualities of both His Excellency and the Countess of Dufferin evoked from the people of St. John was a conclusive proof that the embers of the anti-confederate fires were fast turning to ashes.

The visit to Fredericton was a constant ovation. On their way to the city the party was met by two steamers, chartered by John

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local echoes of the Ontario papers that attack His Excellency has had the effect of making demonstrative, respect and loyal feelings that would otherwise have been indulged in dignified silence after the fashion of this commercial and unsentimental mart.” Another local journal says : “Yesterday will long be remembered by the people who live around the mouth of the St. John. It was one of the greatest, pleasantest, and most universal holidays which has ever been celebrated here. Scarcely any Royal—certainly no previous Vice-royal visit, evoked so much enthusiasm.”

Pickard, Esq., M.P., containing the ladies and children of the capital. On their arrival they were met by the Mayor and Aldermen and the Reception Committee. In the evening a reception was held at the Exhibition Building, where an address was presented, followed by a promenade concert, the school children singing the National Anthem. A torch-light procession closed the proceedings of the first day. On Monday a pic-nic was given by the Local Government, and in the evening Government House grounds were illuminated.

Monday was spent in visiting Mr. Gibson's village of Nashwaak, and in an excursion over the Rivière du Loup Railway. Among the excursionists were the President of the road, Alex. Gibson, Esq.; Julius Inches, Secretary; Sheriff Temple, C. H. Fairweather, the Hon. T. R. Jones, John Boyd, Esq., W. H. Harrison, Esq., several members of the Senate, House of Commons, Local Government and Legislature, and many others. On their return the party enjoyed a pic-nic at Merrithew's farm, fifteen miles from Fredericton, and among the guests, besides their Excellencies and *suite*, were the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Wilmot, Mrs. Wilmot, Mrs. King, Mrs. Adams, Miss Mary Dever, and General Warner, the United States Consul.

On Tuesday, the 26th August, the party left St. John for Woodstock. They were escorted out of the city by a large number of ladies and gentlemen, among whom were Lieutenant Governor Wilmot, Mrs. Wilmot, Miss Black, Mr. and Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Shuttleworth, Cols. Saunders and Otty, Hon. Messrs. Thomas R. Jones, Fraser, Young, Kelly, Stevenson, Willis, and Crawford, Sheriff Temple, Julius Inches, and W. W. Street.

Woodstock was reached in the evening, the party having been met on the road about four miles from the town by the Hon. C. Perley, Mr. Connell, Col. Inches and Col. Baird. Their reception was very enthusiastic. In fact the tour of His Excellency through the Provinces was an unintermitting ovation, and it was quite evident that the visit and soothing words of His Excellency were working a charm over the remnants of the anti-confederate party. An address by the Mayor and Councillors, reception by Her Excellency, and a torch-light procession consumed the period of the short visit to Woodstock, whence their Excellencies departed for Grand Falls.

This ended the visit to the Maritime Provinces, and their Excellencies reached Quebec on the 5th September.

It will be remembered that the Province of Prince Edward Island entered Confederation on the 1st July of this year. The first elec-



tions for the Dominion House were concluded on the 17th September. This island, with a population of about 95,000, sends six members to the House of Commons. Of these six, five were generally supposed to be supporters of Sir John Macdonald's Ministry, headed by Mr. Laird\* ; they were Messrs. J. C. Pope and James Yeo for Prince County ; Laird and Sinclair for Queen's County ; and Davis and A. C. Macdonald for King's County.

Newfoundland still held out against Confederation, but it was hoped by many that the general elections for her Assembly, to be held in November of this year, would perhaps return a House disposed to enter into negotiations with the Dominion with a view to union ; but the hope was delusive. The truth seems to be that there is no Confederate party in that Island,—both of the political parties seem opposed to it, and no especial effort has been made either by the Imperial or the Dominion Government to induce her to join the Confederacy. She has so far remained contentedly out of it. The chief line of demarcation between the parties of the Province seems to be a religious one. Unfortunately, the old feud between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism forms the basis of their parliamentary struggle, and in a population of 150,000, of which 60,000 are adherents of the Roman Catholic faith, it is not surprising to find that the most unhealthy of all disputes, religious ones, predominate in the Island.

In October, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, of which Sir Hugh Allan was the President, finding it impossible to make satisfactory monetary arrangements in England, formally surrendered their charter to the Dominion Government.

Their Excellencies having spent most of their time since their return from the Maritime Provinces in Quebec, left that city for Montreal *en route* for Ottawa on the 15th October. They had delighted the people of Quebec by their hospitalities, and their departure was signalized by a great display. They arrived at Montreal on the morning of the 16th, and after visiting the Villa Maria Convent left for Ottawa on the following morning, where they arrived in the afternoon of the same day.

Parliament was opened on the 23rd October. The Speech from the Throne declared that His Excellency had caused Parliament to be summoned at the earliest moment after the receipt of the report of

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\* Now Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories.

the Pacific Railway Commission. It promised a bill for the amendment of the laws relating to the representation of the people in Parliament ; it informed the Houses that the charter given to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had been surrendered ; and expressed the hope that steps would be taken to secure the early commencement and vigorous prosecution of the work, "and thus carry out in good faith the arrangement made with the Province of British Columbia" ; and it invited the attention of the Legislature to the establishment of a general Court of Appeals.

The attention of the House was called to the report of the Railway Commission by Sir John Macdonald, who immediately after the delivery of the Speech from the Throne brought down messages from His Excellency, severally transmitting the following documents : Papers relative to the disallowance of the Oaths Act ; papers relative to the prorogation of Parliament on the 13th August ; and papers relative to the issue of the Royal Commission. Of these the only one necessary to re-produce is the Report of the Commissioners, which was as follows :

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—The undersigned Commissioners, appointed by Royal Commission addressed to them under the Great Seal of Canada, bearing date the fourteenth day of August, A.D., 1873.

HAVE THE HONOR TO REPORT,—

1. That they met at Ottawa on the eighteenth day of August last, for the purpose of making preparations for the discharge of the duties imposed upon them by the Commission.

2. The course of proceedings was then settled, and the fourth day of September last was appointed for entering upon the examination of witnesses.

3. The Commissioners, on undertaking the enquiry they were enjoined to make, had hoped that the entire conduct of it would not have been left in their hands, that the Hon. Mr. Huntington, or some one who believed that the charges specified in the Commission could be established by evidence, would have conducted the enquiry before them ; and they had resolved in such event, not only to accept such aid in the investigation, but to allow to the promoter at least the same latitude in the mode of proceeding as the recognised officers in courts of justice are allowed in ordinary judicial investigations, and also to give to the members of the Government a like latitude for defence. This course appeared to the Commissioners to be just, and in accordance with what they believed to be your Excellency's wishes and expectations.

4. In the prosecution of their work the Commissioners have called before them such persons as they had reason to believe could give any information on the subject of it, or otherwise facilitate the investigation, and especially the Hon. Mr. Huntington, to whom a letter, annexed to this Report, was addressed on the 21st August last past, requesting him to furnish to the Commission a list of such witnesses



as he might wish to examine, and to proceed on the day named with evidence in the premises.

5. A letter was also addressed to the Hon. the Secretary of State, giving notice of the day appointed for proceeding; a copy of which is also annexed.

6. In the interval, between the first day of meeting and the day so appointed, summonses were duly served upon Mr. Huntington and others, to appear and give evidence.

7. On the 4th day of September the Commissioners met, and, after the publication of the Commission, the witnesses cited for that day were called.

8. Mr. Huntington failed to appear.

9. The evidence of the Hon. Henry Starnes was taken, and a sealed packet, placed in his possession by Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. George W. McMullen, was produced and deposited with the Commissioners.

10. The sealed packet was opened, with the consent of Mr. Starnes and Sir Hugh Allan, and the several papers it contained were put in proof.

11. The Commissioners then examined the other witnesses in attendance, and afterwards, on successive days, proceeded to the examination of those whose names are on the list styled "List of Witnesses to be examined," hereto annexed.

12. Of the thirty-three gentlemen, whose names are on that list, twenty-nine have been examined.

13. Two of these, Mr. George W. McMullen and the Hon. A. B. Foster, failed to appear, although duly summoned; the former through a special messenger sent to Chicago for that purpose.

14. The other two, Mr. Henry Nathan and Mr. Donald A. Smith, are resident, the former in British Columbia, and the latter in Manitoba. The distance and consequent delay in securing their attendance, and the large outlay it would cause, rendered it inexpedient, in the judgment of the Commissioners, to call them to give evidence.

15. In addition to those whose names are on the above-mentioned list, the Commissioners have called and examined Mr. Daniel Y. McMullen, Sir Hugh Allan, the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, and the Hon. Mr. Ouimet.

16. Most of these witnesses were cross-examined on behalf of the Government by Sir John A. Macdonald, or other members of it.

17. Mr. Charles M. Smith, of Chicago, was summoned by the Commissioners, but did not appear.

18. Evidence has also been given by Mr. Frederick C. Martin and Mr. Thomas White, whose names were furnished by members of the Government, and Mr. George Norris, Jr., and Mr. J. A. Perkins, whose names were also so furnished, were cited to appear, but made default.

19. The Commissioners, on the 23rd day of September, while still in the course of their examinations, requested, by public announcement, all persons possessing any information on the subject of the enquiry to appear and give evidence before them.

20. No evidence has been offered in answer to this announcement.

21. The Commission closed its sittings for taking evidence on the first day of

October, instant. These sittings were public and open ; and accommodation was provided for reporters of the public press.

22. The Commissioners have endeavored, in obedience to requirements of the Commission, to obtain from the witnesses all the evidence pertinent to the subject matter of the enquiry which they were able to give.

23. This evidence is contained in depositions, thirty-six in number, and in certain documents, all of which are annexed to this Report, and specified respectively in the accompanying List and Schedule.

24. If the evidence be considered redundant, it has arisen from the nature and circumstances of the enquiry, which rendered it inexpedient to limit its range by the technical rules of evidence observed in the ordinary tribunals.

25. With respect to that portion of the Commission which leaves to the discretion of the Commissioners the expression of their opinions upon the evidence, they have determined not to avail themselves of the liberty so given.

26. They had arrived at that conclusion before they were informed of your Excellency's views on the subject, and they feel confirmed and justified in it, by a communication received before their labors commenced, to which your Excellency kindly permits them to allude, relating to one or two points on which they thought it their duty to consult your Excellency before entering upon the execution of their task.

27. In that communication your Excellency was pleased to express the opinion that the functions of the Commissioners were rather inquisitorial than judicial, and that the execution of them should not be such as in any way to prejudice whatever proceedings Parliament might desire to take when it re-assembled in October.

28. The Commissioners coinciding with your Excellency in the view that the terms of the Commission do not require them to pronounce judicially on the evidence, consider that their duty will have been fully discharged when they shall have forwarded to the Secretary of State the accompanying depositions and documents with this report, in triplicate, as required by their instructions—unless a report of their opinion on the result of the evidence should be especially required.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

(Signed,) CHARLES DEWEY DAY, *Chairman.*

A. POLETTE, *Commissioner.*

JAMES ROBERT GOWAN, *Commissioner.*

ROYAL COMMISSION ROOMS,

Ottawa, October 17, 1873.

The debate on the Address was, of course, confined almost exclusively to the Pacific Railway matter. The battle raged for several days, and it was one of unparalleled severity. The contest arose on the amendment moved by Mr. Mackenzie, seconded by Mr. Coffin, that the following be added to the second paragraph of the Address :

“And that we have to acquaint His Excellency that by their course in reference to the investigation of the charges preferred by Mr. Huntington in his place in this House, and under the facts disclosed in the evidence laid before us, His Excellency's advisers have invited the severest censure of the House.”



Mr. Witton, one of the members for the City of Hamilton, on the 27th October, moved the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, seconded by Mr. Baby. Mr. Mackenzie moved the amendment just cited, and the debate was continued with great warmth and ability on both sides until the 5th November, when the Ministry resigned. Mr. Mackenzie was followed by Dr. Tupper (1); and the House was addressed during the debate in the following order: by Sir Francis Hincks (2); the Hon. James McDonald, of Pictou; Mr. Glass (3); Mr. Baker (4); Mr. Young (5); E. B. Wood (6); Mr. Palmer (7); Mr. Cartwright (8); Mr. Mackay (9); Mr. Kirkpatrick (10); Mr. McDonnell (11); Dr. Grant (12); Mr. Cunningham (13); Mr. Thompson (14); Mr. Joly (15); Mr. Coffin (16); Mr. Wallace (17); Hon. Mr. Tilley (18); Mr. Laflamme (19); Mr. Carter (20); Mr. Burpee (21); Mr. Domville (22); Mr. Pickard (23); Mr. Ouimet (24); Mr. Prévost (25); Mr. Mathieu (26); Mr. Huntington (27); Mr. White (28); Mr. Bodwell (29); Mr. W. McK. Wright (30); Mr. Mills (31); Sir John Macdonald (32); Mr. Blake (33); Mr. J. Hillyard Cameron (34); Mr. Laird (35); Mr. D. A. Smith (36); Mr. Pope (37); Mr. Dodge (38); Mr. Davies (39).

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| <p>(1) Minister of Customs, and member for Cumberland, N.S.</p> <p>(2) Member for Vancouver, B.C.</p> <p>(3) Member for the City of London—Opposition.</p> <p>(4) Member for Missisquoi—Opp.</p> <p>(5) Member for Waterloo.</p> <p>(6) Member for Brant, N.R., now Chief Justice of Manitoba—Opposition.</p> <p>(7) Member for St. John, N.B.—Ministerialist.</p> <p>(8) Member for Lennox, Ont., now Minister of Finance—Opposition.</p> <p>(9) Member for Cape Breton—Opp.</p> <p>(10) Member for Frontenac—Minister'l't.</p> <p>(11) Member for Inverness, N.S.—Opp.</p> <p>(12) Member for Russell, Ont—Minister.</p> <p>(13) Member for Marquette, Man.—Opp.</p> <p>(14) Member for Cariboo, B.C.—Minst.</p> <p>(15) Member for Lotbinière—Opposition</p> <p>(16) Member for Shelburne, N.S., now Receiver-General—Opposition.</p> <p>(17) Member for Norfolk, Ont.—Opp.</p> | <p>(18) Minister of Finance, Member for St. John, N.B., late Lieut. Governor of New Brunswick.</p> <p>(19) Member for Jacques-Cartier, Quebec—Opposition—Now Minister of Justice.</p> <p>(20) Member for Brome—Ministerialist.</p> <p>(21) Member for St. John, N.B.—Opposition—Now Minister of Customs.</p> <p>(22) Member for Kings, N.B.—Minstr't.</p> <p>(23) Member for York, N.B.—Opp.</p> <p>(24) Member for Laval, Q.—Minister'l't.</p> <p>(25) Member for Two Mountains—Opp.</p> <p>(26) Member for Richelieu—Minister'l't.</p> <p>(27) Member for Shefford, Q.—Opposition—Now Post-Master General.</p> <p>(28) Member for E. Hastings—Minist'l't</p> <p>(29) Member for Oxford, S.R.—Opp.</p> <p>(30) Member for Pontiac, Q.—Ministr'l't.</p> <p>(31) Member for Bothwell, Ont.—Opp.—Now Minister of the Interior.</p> <p>(32) Member for Kingston—Premier of Canada.</p> |
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The House adjourned at 1.30 a.m. of 5th November, and on its opening at 3.30 p.m. of the same day, Sir John Macdonald announced that :

“The advisers of the Crown, until yesterday, until last night, believed that they had a support in this House with which they could not only meet any vote of want of confidence, and would not only support any vote of confidence, but would enable them to carry on satisfactorily and creditably the affairs of the Government. They have from certain speeches made in this House, and from certain communications more or less formal, outside of this House, reason to believe that they have not at th’s moment a good working majority, and the consequence was that I felt it my duty to-day to go to His Excellency the Governor General, and to respectfully tender him the resignation of the present Government ; and I have his authority, and I may repeat now what I stated two days ago, that no statement could be made by a Minister connected with any action of the Crown without the direct assent and consent of the Crown. I have it, therefore, in charge from His Excellency to state that he has accepted the resignation of the present Administration, and I have his authority to state that he has sent for Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition, to form a Government.”

On Friday, the 7th November, Mr. Holton announced to the House that Mr. Mackenzie had executed the commission entrusted to him by His Excellency the Governor General, and he submitted the names of the members of the new Administration as follows: Mr. Mackenzie, Minister of Public Works ; Mr. Dorion, Minister of Justice ; Mr. Blake, a member of the Privy Council without a Department ; Mr. A. J. Smith, Minister of Marine and Fisheries ; Mr. Letellier de St. Just, Minister of Agriculture ; Mr. Cartwright, Minister of Finance ; Mr. Laird, Minister of the Interior ; Mr. Christie, Secretary of State ; Mr. Burpee, Minister of Customs ; Mr. McDonell, Post Master General ; Mr. Coffin, Receiver General ; Mr. Fournier, Minister of Inland Revenue ; Mr. Ross, Minister of Militia and Defence ; and Mr. R. W. Scott, a member of the Privy Council without a portfolio,—leaving the Presidency of the Privy Council yet to be filled.

At 4 o’clock, His Excellency prorogued Parliament.

Thus ended the most exciting Session of Parliament since Confederation. A leader, confessedly the most able statesman Canada had

(33) Member for South Bruce—Opp.

(34) Member for Cardwell, since deceased—Ministerialist.

(35) Member for Belfast, P.E.I.—Opp.—Now Lieut. Governor of N.W. Territories.

(36) Member for Selkirk, Manitoba.

(37) Member for Queen’s, P.E.I.—Ministerialist.

(38) Member for North York—Minist’l’t.

(39) Member for King’s, P.E.I.—Opp.



yet produced, supported by a powerful party of warm admirers,—one who had been for a quarter of a century a member of every Conservative Government in the old Province, and of the new Dominion of Canada,—who had rendered the Imperial Government most signal and valuable services in its negotiations with the United States,—who had been the ruling spirit by which the noble work of Confederation had been consummated,—a chief by whose astuteness and adaptability to the reasonable wishes of the Provinces, Nova Scotia had been quieted, and New Brunswick satisfied; and by whose skillful hand the beautiful Province of Prince Edward Island and the magnificent territory of British Columbia had been added to the great Dominion,—a gentleman whom Her Majesty had signally honored,—a Minister who had dispensed the enormous patronage of the Crown for almost half an ordinary lifetime without his most bitter political opponent daring to charge him with personal dishonesty,—one who had by his admirable social qualities secured the esteem of all classes, creeds, and races,—who counted his personal enemies on his fingers, his personal friends as the sands of the seashore,—one who had entered public life a comparatively rich man, but now laid down the seals of office, a poor one,—a Minister who had raised thousands to posts of honor and wealth, and had taken no thought for his own old age: this man was compelled to bend to the verdict of the people of Canada, when they reluctantly declared him guilty of an act as to which much may be said in extenuation,—in justification—nothing.

As the great debate proceeded it became more and more evident that it would be impossible, successfully, to resist Mr. Mackenzie's amendment. It is creditable to the people of Canada that they were determined, at whatever sacrifice, to declare to the world that the corruption of the country which had culminated in this transaction would not be condoned by them; and it was as creditable to the Conservative members of the House that they refused to join in the justification of the proceedings so justly arraigned before Parliament. No vote was taken. The Conservative party were desirous of examining all the evidence, of listening to all that could be said by the promoters of the charges, and of considering all the points made in defence, or extenuation. When the debate had exhausted all these means of forming an accurate opinion, the friends of Sir John, seeing that it would be useless to go to a division, advised the resignation of the Ministry, which was accordingly placed in the hands of His Excellency.

They said that though the precise charges made by Mr. Huntington had not been established, yet enough of impropriety had been brought out by the evidence taken under the Commission to overwhelm the Government. Mr. Huntington had charged that a corrupt agreement had been made. No such agreement was proved. But it had been established that a very large sum of money had been advanced by Sir Hugh Allan to some of the Ministers for the well understood purpose of influencing the elections. This was enough. It was vain to argue that Sir Hugh had received no promise that his interests or wishes even should be in the slightest degree consulted by the Ministry in their dealings with the Pacific Railway; vain to urge that Sir Hugh had, in common with hundreds of others, advanced moneys to forward Conservative interests in the elections, and that this in no way compromised the Ministry, or gave him any right to look for favor in the railway matter; vain to point to the well-established fact that Sir John Macdonald was personally inimical to Sir Hugh's pretensions, and that he took especial care so to frame the charter as to make it very difficult at least, if not impossible, that Sir Hugh should be able to obtain a dominant influence in the management; vain to insist on the undisputed point that personally Sir John Macdonald had derived, and never desired to derive any benefit to himself; still the broad fact remained that a man seeking most important personal advantages from a Ministry who had the power to bestow or refuse them, did advance sums of money to an extent unparalleled in the history of the country for the purpose of enabling that Ministry—the possessors of this great power—to secure their continuance in office. This fact in every court of conscience or honor would be sufficient to stamp the act as one which must soil the purity of any Administration. It was said that Sir Hugh Allan had no right to look for reward:—that not justify the act,—for he, most unquestionably, advanced moneys expecting his reward, and the Ministry must have been aware that he made the advances under this expectation.

But though there is no justification, there is much to be said by way of extenuation. The vice of bribery is one inseparable from all representative institutions. This vice was created in Canada neither by the Conservative nor the Liberal party. It came in with Representative Government, and forms an evil, but an inseparable element in its composition. It had grown with the growth of the country. Both parties had fostered it; both resorted to it; both were guilty of it; and if the Conservative party indulged in it to a greater extent than their opponents—which is very doubtful—the Liberals were guilty to an



extent less than the Conservatives, simply because their means were less. The depth of their sins was measured only by the depth of their purses. The result of the contested election cases brought before the Courts during the subsequent years clearly proves that the Liberal cry of "purity" was a hypocrisy and a sham,—for their seats in the House fell before the judgments of the Courts like grain before the reaper,—and this too in face of the strongest legislation against bribery and corrupt practices, and in face of their own loud-mouthed professions of purity. The vice had penetrated even to the fireside of the well-to-do farmer, and after contaminating the needy populations of large towns had invaded the precincts of a class of people who could not plead poverty in excuse for their crime. The practice had grown up in each party, of organizing election associations, charged, among other duties, with that of raising a fund for election purposes. The ramifications of these organizations were enormous, they extended into every hamlet of the Dominion, and every supporter of his party was expected to contribute to this fund according to his means. It was never publicly announced, but every one knew that great portions of the moneys collected by these organizations were used for improper purposes, and the impropriety had come to be looked upon as almost venial. Thousands of partisans contributed their hundreds of dollars,—Sir Hugh Allan, being an exceptionally rich man, contributed his hundreds of thousands. The difference between the humble laborer who contributed his dollar, and the millionaire who contributed his third of a million was simply one of degree, and the practice seemed an authorization for universal corruption. In receiving money, therefore, from Sir Hugh it may fairly be urged in extenuation by Sir John that nothing unusual had been done, and that, at all events, it did not lie in the mouth of the Liberals to condemn with such loud cries of abhorrence a practice which they themselves had been pursuing for years with increasing vigilance and extent, and into the depths of whose foulness they were themselves at the very moment perhaps more deeply plunged than the men whom they were now hounding to death. It was chiefly this consideration which has preserved for Sir John Macdonald the sympathy and support of his party. They felt that he had fallen a victim—not to his own impurity—for no one charged him with any personal dishonor, but to the impurity of a system for the establishment and growth of which both parties were equally responsible,—and when they found the attacks of the Liberals accompanied by the most hypocritical professions

of honesty and purity, which every one knew to be hollow, the great Conservative party, while bowing to the judgment of the country, yet instantly declared their undiminished confidence in Sir John Macdonald, and nobly determined to stand by him in this his great day of trial. Meetings were held, declaring this determination, and the Conservatives quietly retired from the government of the country, content, under the leadership of Sir John Macdonald, to wait until public opinion, never cruel, should again call him, after a proper expiation, to the helm of state.\*

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\* The text was written in July—this note on 20th September, 1878. At the nomination for Kingston on the 10th September, Sir John made the following explanation:—

“With reference to the Pacific Scandal, if the thing had to be done over again I would not make the same mistake. In England where they had a higher political morality the elections were managed by the Carleton Club for the Conservatives, and the Reform Club for the Liberals. In Canada there was nothing of the kind, and when subscriptions came in to aid in elections they were sent to the leader of the party. I received money, and I am sorry I did, for we should avoid the very appearance of evil. I, however, distributed the money I received all over the country,—and not one cent went to Kingston. So conscious am I of mistakes being made in this respect, that when I went to Toronto the first thing done was to start the U. E. Club, which has received and distributed the subscriptions.”

The readers of Canadian journals will remember with what severity Mr. Goldwin Smith in 1873 arraigned Sir John Macdonald for his participation in the “scandal.” This writer is conspicuous for the vigor of his style and for his independence of character, and his letter quoted below is referred to as expressive of the almost universal feeling which, forming a leading constituent in the storm of public dissatisfaction, which swept the Mackenzie Ministry out of existence on the memorable 17th September, 1878, restored Sir John Macdonald to the high position which had been wrested from him on the 5th November, 1873. On the 16th September, 1878, Mr. Smith thus writes to a Toronto journal:

“SIR,—I perceive that Mr. Brown has been imputing to me, through his organ, some sinister and dishonest motive for avowing my conviction that, in our present circumstances, our best chance of obtaining a Government on a broad basis and a respite from the dangerous excesses of party strife, is the restoration to power of Sir John Macdonald.


“Imputations of sinister and dishonest motives I will leave to find their own level, which will not be higher than their source. But I will confess that, to my mind, an additional reason for desiring the restoration of Sir John Macdonald is that he alone, as matters now stand, can save the country and the public service from being dominated, for years to come, by the narrow and vindictive mind of a man who never, in the whole course of his long public life, has been generous or even just to an opponent.

“Yours faithfully,

“GOLDWIN SMITH.”



Mr. Smith in a speech at Brockton, West York, a few days before the general elections of 17th September, spoke of Sir John and the Pacific Railway matter. He is thus reported: He (Mr. Smith) could fairly claim to be an independent politician—an independent man—for he had never associated himself with either party. But as an independent man he had only one object, and that was that this country of ours should be well governed. (Applause.) He owed no allegiance to any party; he owed no allegiance to Sir John Macdonald, to Mr. George Brown, to Mr. Mackenzie, or to any other party leader. He owed allegiance to no one but our common country, and he had no object in view but the good of the whole people, and especially that section of the people who lived by the sweat of their brow, and who, in consequence of misgovernment, are oppressed most cruelly. That led him to his reasons—and he did not say that every one agreed with him—for wishing, on the whole, that Sir John Macdonald might be restored to power. (Applause.) Politics here, unfortunately, were not in a very satisfactory state. He did not wish to paint them blacker than they were, or to say any word of discouragement; but he must say that it was impossible to take up the papers on either side without seeing that there were in existence evils and dangers which arose from the excessive party spirit and the bitterness of the divisions among us. He ascribed the party spirit and the corruption with which both sides charged each other—and, unfortunately, with some truth—to the desire either to hold power, or to drive from power those who hold it. The Pacific Scandal, for instance, which was continually dinned into the ears of the people, notwithstanding that it was a thing of the past—what was it? He did not want to extenuate it. But what was it that led Sir John Macdonald to call for money from Sir Hugh Allan to be expended in the elections? It was the desperate struggle for power that was going on, and the keen fight with the then opposition. Sir John Macdonald took no money for himself. If he (Mr. Smith) believed for one moment that one cent of illicit gain went to Sir John Macdonald, he would not think of saying one word in favor of one of his supporters. Sir John did, as he (Mr. Smith) stated at the time, and as he now frankly said, wrong; but what he did he did under the pressure of a great party struggle, and in consequence of the excessive party spirit which existed. There were countries in which party was necessary. Look, for example, at France. There was a great question there as to the form of government; half the people wanted a monarchy and half a republic. They must be divided into parties, and there must be a struggle between them. So, in England, when there was a struggle between the Crown and the people, there were necessarily parties; and even now, while there were such questions to be settled as the existence of the Established Church, the question of the aristocracy, etc., the people must be divided into parties. But it seemed to him that in Canada party questions were settled. Canada had Responsible Government, the Clergy Reserves were abolished, the question of Representation by Population was settled. In fact the great questions were out of the way, and he saw no reason why party divisions should be maintained. At Confederation Sir John Macdonald formed a Government—a very pure Government—but the opposition to it broke it up. And now that both sides had had a trial, it was impossible to see any great difference between the morality of the two sides. It is not likely



that there would be, so long as both parties had the same object, namely, to get the opposite party out and to get in themselves. On either side evidences were to be found of the same party spirit, He would not fix the blame of this upon anybody, but he would say that the blame was attachable to party spirit and not to persons, as was the case with the Pacific Scandal. He would not go into the steel rail question or the Anglin contract, because, really he did not like to touch anything so doubtful. But about the Big Push letter there was no doubt. Its authenticity had been admitted in a Court of Justice, and he would just remark in reference to it that it showed the same spirit as was shown in the telegram sent by Sir John Macdonald to Sir Hugh Allan. There could be no doubt that in both cases money was called for the purpose of influencing the elections. He did not think there was much difference between calling upon the president of a railway company and the president of a bank for aid, but he would rather that the president of the bank should not be called upon, because in the banks was the very sinew and vitality of our banking system.

The General Elections of 17th September, 1878, stand unparalleled in the history of British North America. They will be fully referred to in their proper place, but it may here be observed that one ingredient in the popular feeling which then passed over Canada like a tidal wave was a kindly sympathy for Sir John Macdonald. The people felt that he had been sufficiently punished for offences of which he was guilty to an extent even less than his pharasaical accusers, and they seized the first opportunity of declaring their restored confidence in his integrity, and their never-shaken trust in his ability. He suffered with dignity, and in patience, the penalty which his assailants should have shared with him; and his nobility of character, so strikingly exhibited while the cloud was passing over him, has restored him to the supreme power of the State with the universal respect and the undiminished love of his countrymen.



## CHAPTER VI.

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THE retiring Ministry appointed on the 5th November, the day of their resignation, Mr. John Crawford, then a member for West Toronto, to the Lieutenant Governorship of Ontario, and the Hon.

S. L. Tilley, to that of New Brunswick. These appointments, though open to remark, were not interfered with by Mr. Mackenzie's Government.

Writs for the re-election of those of the new Ministry who were to hold seats in the House of Commons were immediately issued. It is noticeable that no new policy was indicated. Mr. Mackenzie was extremely reticent in his nomination speech at Sarnia, and the meagre information as to the proposed policy of the Government was given by Mr. Dorion, the Minister of Justice, who said in his speech to his constituents when seeking re-election, "The Government will build the Pacific Railway, enlarge the canals, leave the New Brunswick school question with the Imperial Privy Council as agreed to by the Council of the Catholic Bishops, and if it be proved that Riel and his party were promised an amnesty, it would be a great point in favor of Riel," and he added: "In the main the general policy of the new Government is the same as that of the old."

Their Excellencies now began the inauguration of a system of gatherings by which they would be constantly brought into immediate and personal acquaintance not only with the residents of Ottawa and its vicinity, but with strangers whom business or pleasure might bring to the Capital. His Excellency had during the summer built a curling rink, which was opened on the 1st December with due *éclat* by a party of gentlemen, among whom were the new Premier, Mr. Mackenzie, the President of the Ottawa St. Andrew's Society, and the President and members of the Ottawa Curling Club. Their Excellencies during the last month of the year attended a dramatic performance in the Skating Rink in aid of the Protestant Hospital,—an entertainment in Gowan's Hall, in aid of Christ Church, and on the day before Christmas the examination of the public schools, when they distributed the prizes,—His Excellency distributing the gold medals to the boys, and the Countess of Dufferin performing the same pleasing duty to the girls. Lord Dufferin addressed the large assemblage in one of those happy speeches on education for which he has become so well known. Rideau Hall was visited by hundreds on New Year's day.

The members of the new Ministry were all re-elected, but early in January, it began to be whispered that a general election was at hand. The Government were probably encouraged by the result of their own elections, and by the expression of the public sentiment



in their favor, to think that a general election would strengthen them in the House. They were naturally disinclined to trust to a House which on its assemblage was largely composed of Conservatives, and though the Pacific Railway matter had disintegrated the party, so far at least as that question was concerned, it was not probable that they would give allegiance to the new Ministry on other questions. It was therefore determined to have a new House. On the 7th January the writs were issued, returnable on the 22nd of the month.

The reticence of Mr. Mackenzie as to his policy was now, of course, broken. He was obliged to speak out, and it was authoritatively announced that the attention of the new Administration would be devoted especially to the construction of the Pacific Railway, the improvement of the Law of Insolvency, the establishment of a Court of Appeal for the Dominion, the enlargement of the canals, the introduction of vote by ballot, and the passage of Acts for the more effectual prevention of bribery and corruption at elections. The question of "free trade" and "protection" began at this period to attract attention. "Incidental protection" had been advocated since 1857, and as time progressed, it will be seen that the perplexing subject became each year more prominent in the discussion of public affairs.

The deep interest taken by His Excellency in the education of the people was shewn by a plan matured by him in the early part of 1874. This was to establish a system of awarding medals as prizes to be competed for in the chief colleges and schools. The idea was extended to schools of physical strength and skill such as rifle associations, cricket clubs, skating tournaments, curling clubs, quoit clubs, yacht clubs, rowing clubs, artillery practice, and swimming races,—and special prizes were awarded for saving life from drowning, - for the best essay on artillery material, and for the encouragement of farming among the Icelanders.

With this view he caused the following circulars to be sent :

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,

OTTAWA, *January 24, 1874.*

SIR,—With the view of encouraging education, His Excellency the Governor General is desirous of presenting annually, during the time he remains in Canada, prizes to some of the principal universities and schools in the Dominion. He

proposes to give gold and silver medals to be competed for at the universities, and silver and bronze medals at the more important schools.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

H. C. FLETCHER,

*Governor General's Secretary.*

HIS HONOR THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF ONTARIO.

QUEBEC.

NOVA SCOTIA.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

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GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,

OTTAWA, *January 24, 1874.*

SIR,—With the view of encouraging education, His Excellency the Governor General is desirous of presenting annually, during the time he remains in Canada, silver and bronze medals to be competed for at the principal educational establishments in the Province of

\* \* \* \* \*

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

H. C. FLETCHER,

*Governor General's Secretary.*

HIS HONOR THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF MANITOBA.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

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GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,

OTTAWA, *January 30, 1874.*

SIR,—I have the honor to forward to you a circular letter containing the conditions of a proposed competition for medals to be given by His Excellency the Governor General, and to request that you will inform me whether the club which you represent will take part in the competition.

As it is contemplated that all properly constituted clubs should have the option of competing, and as there are some which are not in connection with the Royal Caledonian Club, and whose addresses it is difficult to obtain, I have taken the liberty of forwarding you a dozen copies of the circular letter, in the hope that you will kindly transmit them to the Secretaries of any such clubs as may have been formed in your neighborhood.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

H. C. FLETCHER,

*Governor General's Secretary.*

TO THE SECRETARIES OF THE CURLING CLUBS OF THE DOMINION.



GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,

OTTAWA, *March 31, 1874.*

SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin to inform you that, with the view of encouraging education, he is desirous of presenting annually, during the time he remains in Canada, a gold and silver medal, to be competed for under such conditions as may appear best suited to the requirements of the case.

Perhaps at your convenience you would be good enough to favor me with any suggestions which may occur to you as to the conditions on which these annual prizes should be given, and the branches of education to which they might most properly be awarded.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

H. C. FLETCHER,

*Governor General's Secretary.*

THE REV. DR. MCCAUL, LL.D., UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

THE VERY REV. T. E. HAMEL, LAVAL UNIVERSITY.

W. C. BAYNES, B.A., MCGILL UNIVERSITY.

THE PRINCIPAL OF DALHOUSIE COLLEGE, NOVA SCOTIA.

THE PRESIDENT OF UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK, FREDERICTON.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,

OTTAWA, *March 31, 1874.*

SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin to inform you that, with the view of encouraging education, he is desirous of presenting annually, during the time he remains in Canada, a silver medal to be competed for under such conditions as may appear best suited to the requirements of the case.

Perhaps at your convenience you would be good enough to favor me with any suggestions which may occur to you as to the conditions on which this annual prize should be given, and the branches of education to which it might most properly be awarded.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

H. C. FLETCHER,

*Governor General's Secretary.*

TO THE SECRETARIES AND PRINCIPALS OF 37 EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN  
THE SEVERAL PROVINCES OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

[Circular.]

His Excellency the Governor General, Earl of Dufferin, taking a lively interest in the game of Curling, has decided to give annually, during the time he remains in Canada, a gold medal, to be played for by all the regularly organized Curling Clubs of the Dominion who desire to enter into the competition.

The game to be played in competing for this medal to be that described in the rules of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club as for local medal competitions, but with the special provision that eight are to form the number of players in each

Club, and the length of rink be that in general use in the Dominion, namely 42 yards from hack to tee. The Club which scores the greatest aggregate number of shots to be the winner of the medal.

The President or the Vice-President and Secretary will be charged with the duty of having the ice properly marked out, and seeing that the game is played according to the said rules, and the scores correctly kept. On the completion of the game they will make up a statement showing the particulars, and sign and transmit the same to the undersigned on or before the 10th day of March next, for the information of His Excellency.

His Excellency will also give a silver medal to be played for by all the members of the winning club who choose to compete for it in accordance with the rules above referred to, or as may be agreed upon by the members of the said club, and on completion of this match a statement thereof to be made up, and transmitted, as required in the Club match, as soon as circumstances will permit.

H. C. FLETCHER,

*Governor General's Secretary.*

Government House, Ottawa, Jan. 30, 1874.

The result of this generosity of His Excellency is shewn in Appendix A, which contains a list of the subjects for which medals have been awarded, and the names of the successful candidates.

One of the first steps taken by Mr. Mackenzie, as head of the new Ministry, was to attempt to secure additional party strength in the Senate. He was in a hopeless minority in that Chamber, and he, therefore, promptly sought the intervention of the Imperial authorities to fortify himself in the Upper House.

The power to appoint to the Senate is, by the 26th Section of the "British North America Act, 1867," conferred on Her Majesty on the recommendation of the Governor General, and Mr. Mackenzie evidently supposed that this recommendation would meet with instant approval. The brevity of his request indicates this, for he gives no specific reason why Her Majesty should thus interfere. The following are the words of his application as embodied in his official report to the Privy Council of the Dominion :

"The undersigned begs leave to report that under the 26th Section of the British North America Act, 1867, on the recommendation of the Governor General, Her Majesty may direct that three or six Senators be added to the Senate.

That in his opinion it is desirable, in the public interests, that six additional Senators should be named under that provision.

The undersigned therefore recommends that Her Majesty be requested by His Excellency the Governor General to direct that six members be added to the Senate in accordance with the provisions of 'The British North America Act, 1867.'

(Signed,)

A. MACKENZIE."



To this request the Earl of Kimberley, in a despatch to the Governor General, dated 18th February, 1874, replies in these words :

“I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 34, of the 26th January, enclosing copy of an approved report of a Committee of the Privy Council, recommending that six members be added to the Senate, in accordance with a memorandum by Mr. Mackenzie of the 22nd December, 1873.

After careful examination of the question, which is one of considerable importance, I am satisfied that the intention of the framers of the 26th Section of ‘The British North America Act, 1867,’ was that this power should be vested in Her Majesty in order to provide a means of bringing the Senate into accord with the House of Commons in the event of an actual collision of opinion between the two Houses.

You will readily understand that Her Majesty could not be advised to take the responsibility of interfering with the constitution of the Senate, except upon an occasion when it had been made apparent that a difference had arisen between the two Houses of so serious and permanent a character that the Government could not be carried on without her intervention, and when it could be shown that the limited creation of Senators allowed by the Act would apply an adequate remedy.

This view is, I may observe, strongly confirmed by the provisions of the 27th Section, which show that the addition to the Senate is to be reduced to its usual number as soon as possible after the necessity for the exercise of the special power has passed away.

It follows from what I have said that I am not prepared to advise Her Majesty to direct the proposed addition to the Senate.”

The wisdom of withdrawing from the Dominion Government the power of increasing the members of the Senate is here strikingly exhibited. Mr. Mackenzie obtained power in November, 1873 ; he had not met the House, and no opposition had consequently been shown by the Senate ; and yet, on mere suspicion that his measures would be thwarted by an adverse majority in that Chamber, he instantly asks for a new supply of Senators. The constitutional history of England would have taught him that the power of increasing party strength in the Lords is never exercised excepting under the most urgent necessity, and in cases where without such an exercise revolution would probably ensue. Had Mr. Mackenzie’s request been granted, a precedent would have been formed for a practice which would have degraded the Senate, and utterly destroyed its character as a judicial portion of parliamentary machinery.

On the 2nd February their Excellencies visited Montreal, and on the 5th His Excellency, accompanied by Colonel Fletcher, visited the High School. The Preparatory School, under the direction of Professor Robins, was first inspected, and the system of teaching pursued was examined.

Dr. Dawson, Rev. Dr. Jenkins, Professor MacVicar, Rev. Canon Bancroft, Mr. Lunn, and other gentlemen, were in attendance, and accompanied the Governor in his visit to the different class rooms where the scholars were examined by their teachers, in Latin, mental arithmetic, and other subjects. The passages and rooms had been neatly decorated for the occasion.

The party next proceeded to the High School proper, under the management of Professor Howe, assisted by a numerous staff of teachers. The cadets, under the command of Captain Barnjum and Lieut. Adams, were drawn up in the drill room on the ground floor, which was first visited. They presented an excellent appearance. In one of the class rooms on this floor His Excellency remained to hear an exercise in Euclid, and having observed the different arrangements of the school as regards accommodation, the party ascended to the rooms of the Governors of the school.

Rev. Dr. Jenkins then briefly expressed the gratification which the students felt at His Excellency's visit, after which Mr. Macpherson, one of the students, stepped forward and read the following address in the Latin language :—

*Viro Excellenti Comitique Nobili Dufferin, Victoria Regina in Regno Canadensi Vicario, &c., Salutem Dicimus.*

PACE TUA EXCELLENTISSIME :

Pergratum nobis fecisti, quod scholam nostram Regiam adventu tuo hodie honorasti. Lætitia autem qua fruimur non illa simplex est quam secum ferre solet cura optimatum benigna in eos qui humilioris loci sunt et ordinis, sed etiam lætamur te præsentem videntes qui, in Scholis et Academiis Britannicis, artes quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, ipse excoluisti, itaque ad bene æstimanda studia nostra et labores idoneus.

Hæc Canada adolescentula, in commercii, negotiis et in opificiis multum jam profecit, sed periculum est ne in republica Literarum, et artium honestarum gloria deficiat illa quam obtinet Britannia mater.

Quod ne fiat, sed ut prorsus sit Canada matre pulchra filia pulchrior, opus est gratia et cura altrice procerum Scholis et Academiis nostris. Quas te primo ab adventu in has oras studiose fovere scimus, itaque tibi ex animo gratulamur, atque Deum precamur ut tibi et conjugii tuæ amabili pulchræque salutem det.

Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota ;

Sis felix, nostrumque leves, vir clare, laborem.

CAROLUS RITCHIE,  
DAVID B. MACPHERSON.

Pro discipulis Scholæ Regiæ, Monte Regali, Die 5 Feb., 1874.



To this His Excellency made the following reply :

Vir doctissime, vos præceptores celebres, et vos hujus præclaræ Scholæ Canadensis alumni, me fortunâ nescio quâ permagnâ coram vobis hac in aulâ hoc die versatum invenio.

Itaque me quum gratum, illustrissimi, tum humilem sententiis vestris fecistis. Humilem, quippe qui literarum in studiis aliquâ ex parte versatus dumtaxat perfectæ cumulatæque scientiæ limina attigisse videar, cujus arcana explorasse mihi negatum est. Gratum autem, quippe qui, in hac clarâ imperii nostri provinciâ munere regali ac officio regio fungens, illa voluntatis et fidei pignora accipio, non tam in meipsum expressa ac provocata, quam in Reginam ; cujus regnum, ut ita dicam, in meâ personâ est exhibendum atque sustinendum.

Quæ quum ita sint, amici, omnia quæ bona, omnia quæ culta, omnia quæ honesta, vos reperite, corripite, hac adolescentiæ horâ occupate. Hinc verâ virtute, verâ sapientiâ, verâ fortunâ imbuti, non solum vobismet ipsis sed etiam patriæ tam vestræ quam meæ præsidium et decus floreatis.

During their visit to Montreal their Excellencies were constantly engaged in such pursuits as enabled them to mix freely with the people, and the Governor General took especial pleasure in visiting and encouraging educational institutions. Throughout his whole rule in Canada he imposed this care on himself as a special duty, and the beneficial influence thus excited is incalculable. On the 5th of the month, in addition to the visit to the High School, their Excellencies attended a Flower Show. This novel entertainment in Montreal during the cold winter month of February was given for the purpose of raising funds to furnish a "Guests" room in a College for the instruction of female teachers in Constantinople, and the sum realized was very large.

On the 9th February, Her Excellency held a reception at the St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal, which was numerously attended. They inspected the Fire Brigade on the following day ; and on the next they were present at the races and games in the Victoria Rink.

On the 26th March, the first Session of the third Parliament of the Dominion was opened by His Excellency the Governor General. The Hon. Timothy Warren Anglin was elected Speaker of the Commons on the motion of the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Dorion. The Opposition was not strong enough to warrant any amendment. On the 27th His Excellency delivered the Speech from the Throne. Measures were promised, having reference to the representation of the people in Parliament, embracing the system then prevailing in Great Britain and in most other countries enjoying Constitutional Government of taking votes by ballot, and to the estab-

lishment of a General Court of Appeal. It was also promised that measures would be submitted for the amendment of the laws relating to Controverted Elections, the Militia and Insolvency. It was announced that the enactment of 1872 respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway having failed to secure the prosecution of that enterprise, Parliament would be called upon to consider what plan would best and most speedily provide the means of transcontinental communication with British Columbia. His Excellency informed the Houses that the question of compensation due to the Dominion for the fishery privileges conceded to the United States by the Treaty of Washington had given rise to a renewal of negotiations tending to widen reciprocal trade relations with that country, and that at the instance of the Dominion Ministry, the Imperial authorities had given directions to the British Minister to discuss the whole subject with the Administration at Washington, and had associated with him for that purpose a Canadian Commissioner.\*

On the 30th of this month, the notorious Louis Riel stealthily presented himself to Mr. Patrick, the Clerk of the House, in his private office, and took the oaths as member for Provencher, Province of Manitoba. This act evoked such a strong feeling of indignation against the slayer of Scott † that he was obliged to go into hiding, and shortly after left the country, without offering to take his seat. He was formally expelled from the House of Commons on the 16th April.

The citizens of Ottawa had been for some time preparing a ball for their Excellencies. Unusual exertions were made to render it worthy of their distinguished guests, and the success was a marked one, for none equal to it had been given since the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860. It was felt that this compliment to the Earl and Countess of Dufferin was well deserved, for they had both proved in a thousand ways their desire to please the people among whom they were living. Advantage was taken of the Session, to secure the attendance of the leading men and representative women of the Dominion—all eager to pay their respects to their Excellencies. An Executive Committee of citizens had been formed, consisting of His Worship the Mayor, Mr. Featherston, Chairman; the Hon. Jas. Skead, W. G. Perley, Lieut. Col. Aumond, J.

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\* Hon. George Brown, called to the Senate on 16th December, 1873.

† Scott was shot 4th March, 1870.



Sweetland, M.D., Ald. Rowe, D. S. Eastwood, Charles Magee, Lieut. Col. Macpherson, Capt. Tilton, A. V. Noel, Lieut. Col. Ross, T. McGarity, Capt. Bowie, E. C. Barber, W. Chesterton, Major Macdonald, Capt. W. H. Lee, and of W. Mackay Wright and R. E. Kimber, Secretaries.

The beautiful Senate Chamber was used for the occasion. The opening quadrille was composed of the following set :

His Excellency. . . . .	Mrs. Featherston.
Hon. M. Letellier de St. Just.	Mrs. Mackenzie.
Hon. D. A. Macdonald. . .	Mrs. Anglin.
Hon. Mr. Mitchell. . . . .	Mrs. Currier.
Hon. Mr. Huntington. . . .	Miss Macdonald.
Mr. Hamilton, A.D.C. . . . .	Miss Featherston.
Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.	Lady Harriet Fletcher.
Hon. Mr. Scott. . . . .	Mdme. St. Jean.
Hon. Mr. Anglin. . . . .	Miss Skead.
Capt. Ward, A.D.C. . . . .	Miss Letellier de St. Just.
Lieut. Col. Fletcher. . . . .	Mrs. Perley.
Mr. Perley. . . . .	Lady Macdonald.
His Worship the Mayor. . .	Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin.

The very large attendance was a fitting tribute to the success of the social policy pursued by their Excellencies. During all the time of their residence in Ottawa there was a constant succession of "At homes," private theatricals, concerts, skating and tobogganing parties, curling matches, sleighing parties, intermixed with balls and state dinners. This most unusual geniality drew forth the universal remark that "the right royal hospitalities of Rideau Hall, under the present *régime*, are in marked contrast with years gone by, and lead to the hope that Lord and Lady Dufferin will long remain amongst us."

The Session closed on the 26th May, after a sitting of two months. It was in no way important. But little was done. The Government passed an Election measure providing for voting by ballot. The Militia Act provided for the establishment of a Military College on the system adopted at West Point.\* The Insolvency Bill was brought down, but was not proceeded with. Nothing was done as to the Court of Appeal.

\* The College was opened at Kingston.

It will be remembered that in the Speech from the Throne on the opening of Parliament it was stated that steps were being taken to arrange a new Reciprocity Treaty with the Government of the United States, and that a Canadian Commissioner had been appointed to act with the British Minister at Washington in promoting such a Treaty. Mr. George Brown was called to the Senate on the 16th December, 1873. On the 23rd February, 1874, the following Report of a Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, was made :

“ The Committee of Council have had under consideration a memorandum, dated 23rd February, 1874, from the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, reporting that he considers the present a most favorable opportunity for a renewal of negotiations for a Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States of America, by which the claim for compensation as regards the Fisheries might be settled without the reference provided for by Article XXII of the Treaty of Washington,\* and therefore recommending that the Imperial Government be requested to authorize the British Minister at Washington to enter into negotiations on that subject with the Government of the United States.”

His Excellency the Governor General on the next day despatched this Order of Council to the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Carnarvon, and added :

“ My present advisers are very anxious to take advantage of the opportunity which seems about to present itself of re-establishing a Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States of America. I imagine that the course they contemplate will be generally approved throughout the country, and they assure me that it will meet with the approbation of Parliament.”

On the 5th March the Colonial Minister writes to Lord Dufferin that the Earl of Derby had addressed a despatch to the Minister at Washington, instructing him to take immediate steps for entering into negotiations with the United States Government, with a view to the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and he adds :

“ Upon learning the strong desire of your Ministers that a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty should be sought for, Her Majesty's Government, though they had been fully prepared to abide by, and were in no way apprehensive of the results of, the reference contemplated by the provisions of that Treaty, did not hesitate to accede to that desire ; and it will be seen, from the tenor of the instructions addressed to Sir E. Thornton, that full effect was at once given to what were understood to be the wishes of your Government.”

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\* This is the reference to arbitration. It was held in Halifax in 1877, and ended in an award in favor of Canada of \$5,500,000.



In acknowledging the receipt of this despatch, His Excellency, on the 17th March, said :

“ I have been requested by Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues in the Administration to convey to your Lordship their sense of the consideration which has been shown to their representations by Her Majesty's Government in this matter. I have further to inform your Lordship that it is perfectly understood by the Dominion Government that Her Majesty's Government, in consenting to authorize the substitution of a Reciprocity Treaty in lieu of the money payment secured to Canada in respect of her fishery claims, under the article of the Treaty of Washington, have done so at the express instance and solicitation of the Canadian Government.”

On the 14th March, the Earl of Derby had informed Sir Edward Thornton that the Canadian Government had recommended Senator George Brown for the appointment of Commissioner to be associated with him in negotiating the proposed Reciprocity Treaty, and that Her Majesty's Government had concurred in the recommendation.

Having received his appointment from the Foreign Office, appointing him to be “ Joint Plenipotentiary with Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, for the purpose of negotiating and concluding a Treaty with the United States, relating to Fisheries, Commerce and Navigation,” Mr. Brown, and Sir Edward Thornton, on the 28th April, sent to Mr. Fish, the American Minister, an elaborate memorandum on the commercial relations, past and present, of the British North American Provinces with the United States. This document was in effect a written argument in favor of another Reciprocity Treaty, and it contained a list of articles which it was proposed should be admitted free into the United States, the Dominion and Newfoundland.

On the 17th June, Sir Edward Thornton writes to the Earl of Derby that after a great many conferences which Mr. Brown and he had held with Mr. Fish, they had at length agreed upon a draft Treaty which Mr. Fish had promised to send to the Senate on the next day, with a view to elicit an opinion from that body whether it would be expedient to sign a Treaty on the basis of the stipulations proposed in the draft.

On the 23rd June, the British Ambassador writes to the Earl of Derby, that the draft Treaty was taken into consideration by the Senate on the preceding day in secret session ; that neither he nor Mr. Brown had been able to learn the precise decision which had been come to ; but they understood the Senate, being of the

opinion that the time was too short to go into a thorough examination of so important a question, had decided that its consideration should be postponed till the session of Congress to be held in the following December.

Mr. Fish, for some reason, saw fit to deviate from the usual course of business by sending the draft to the Senate before it had been approved of by the President. The American Secretary of State doubtless proved his want of sympathy with the movement by this deviation.

On the 19th February, 1875, Lord Dufferin sent to the Earl of Carnarvon a copy of an approved order of the Privy Council of the Dominion, which stated that, in consequence of the Senate of the United States having decided that it was not expedient to ratify the Treaty of Reciprocity agreed to by Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries, it was now deemed desirable "that no time should be lost in proceeding under the Treaty of Washington to ascertain the compensation due to Canada for the concession of the Fishery rights to citizens of the United States."

The arbitration proceedings under the 22nd article of the Treaty of Washington had been delayed pending the result of the negotiations conducted by Sir Edward Thornton and Mr. Brown, but as those had failed, the Dominion Government now pressed for a speedy continuation of the arbitration. The \$5,500,000 award was the result in 1877.

Mr. Brown obtained neither credit to himself nor benefit to the country by his efforts. The arguments of the joint plenipotentiaries fell flat on the American ear, for they were based on the fallacy that because their statistics proved that the balance of trade was in favor of the United States, the balance of benefit also was; in other words, that trade is always a gain to the seller, and a loss to the buyer. They shewed that during the sixteen years' duration of the Reciprocity Treaty there was a "gross cash balance in favor of the United States of \$20,454,520. But the balance was in fact much larger than this. During the first ten years of the Treaty, the transactions between the countries shewed a clear balance in favor of the United States of \$62,013,545." The American Government could not understand why Canada should desire the renewal of a Treaty which had been so damaging to herself, and so advantageous to her rival. The truth seems to be that the Americans never seriously intended to enter



into such a new Treaty as would have been considered desirable by Canada, and whether the plenipotentiaries pleaded their cause with judgment or not, the result was a foregone conclusion.

It was unwise to solicit from the United States a measure which by our own shewing was one from which they would derive more advantage than ourselves, and we emphasized our error by offering to give up the valuable fishery claim, which has since been shown to be worth five and a half millions for twelve years, for such a measure. Our plenipotentiary went further; he proved, whether intentionally or not is of little consequence, that Canada had thriven without a Reciprocity Treaty. Why then press the Americans for a new measure. If our statements were correct, our neighbors knew, or would soon ascertain, that their interests lay in a treaty with us, and Canada would have held a much stronger position in the discussions on such a treaty, when she shewed that she was quite able to assert her independence. One cannot rise from an examination of the proceeding without the conviction that it was a crude and ill-advised attempt. It will be seen that the Imperial Government had no hand in urging it. The British Ministers were too astute to place themselves in a false position, and the part they took was purely technical. They permitted the names of the Imperial authorities to be used, but merely and solely because the Canadian Government desired it. It is sufficiently obvious that the movement was taken to gratify Mr. Brown's ambition to figure as a treaty maker, without duly considering the inopportuneness of the attempt, or the inefficiency of the chief plenipotentiary.

The New Brunswick school question had been causing bitterness between the Protestants and Roman Catholics of that Province ever since the passage of an Act on the 17th May, 1871; and it had been used by the Liberal party in the Dominion House as a means of directing the opposition of the Roman Catholics against Sir John Macdonald and his Ministry, because he held the opinion, as the Minister of Justice and the legal adviser of the Governor General, that the Local Legislature had power to pass the School Act of which the Roman Catholics complained, and being of this opinion he declined to interfere with the question either as head of the Government or as Minister of Justice. The history of this question, relieved of all extrinsic matter, is brief and plain.

New Brunswick was one of the four Provinces which formed the

Dominion when Confederation was established on 1st July, 1867. Her population then was about 285,000, of whom about 96,000 were Roman Catholics.

Under the School Law of the Province in force at the time of Confederation, and up to the passage of a local Act of Parliament on the 17th May, 1871, Roman Catholics were enabled, whenever their numbers were sufficiently large, to establish schools, where they taught what they pleased; and they were not compelled to contribute by any system of taxation to the support of Protestant or any other schools. In May, 1871, a new School Act was passed by the Local Parliament withdrawing these privileges, providing for the support of public schools by a general taxation, and making no distinction of persons or creeds. While the Bill was before the Legislature the Roman Catholics did their utmost, by petitions and other legitimate means, to induce the Legislature at least to grant them the same liberty enjoyed by the Protestant minority in the Province of Quebec and the Roman Catholic minority in Ontario, who were permitted to establish separate schools. By this system the supporter of a separate school is relieved from the burden of contributing to the support of any school other than that of his own faith, and his school tax is paid over to the separate school authorities. This proposition was lost in the House on an equal division. The new Act provided that there should be a compulsory rating and assessment for the support of schools in every county in the Province in a fiscal proportion to the number of the inhabitants, and that no part of the money so raised, or of any money appropriated by the Provincial Government for educational purposes, should be given to any school in which the education was religious. It was urged, with great force, in a petition to His Excellency the Governor General in January, 1872, by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, clergy and laity of this Province, that:

“If this Act be allowed to go into operation, your petitioners will be compelled to contribute to the support of a school system of which they conscientiously disapprove. And if they would not expose their children to what they regard as the most serious and alarming dangers, they must maintain other schools at their own expense, thus paying twice, while others pay but once; or when their numbers or means will not enable them to establish and maintain schools to which they can with safety send their children, they will be compelled to allow them to grow up in ignorance.”

The petition prayed that the Governor General would disallow the



Act. This prayer, supported by the powerful and zealous body who declared the Act to be, "a most serious infringement upon the rights of your petitioners," brought up the question of jurisdiction. If the power to legislate on the education of the people still remained in the Provincial Legislature the Governor General had no authority to interfere,—but if "The British North America Act, 1867"—the Act of Confederation—had transferred the power to the Dominion Parliament, His Excellency was properly appealed to, and his Ministry would be compelled to advise him either to disallow the Act, or decline to act. The introduction of such a fire-brand into the Dominion House was to be prevented by the Government, if possible.

His Excellency in due course referred the petition to the legal adviser of the Crown, the Minister of Justice—then Sir John Macdonald. His report of the 20th January, 1872, thus dealt with the difficulty :

Numerous petitions to His Excellency the Governor General from the Roman Catholics of New Brunswick, most respectably signed, have been received, praying that the Act, Chapter 21, intituled "An Act relating to Common Schools," be disallowed.

The grounds upon which the prayer is based are :—

I. That the Act will destroy or greatly diminish the educational privileges which Catholics enjoyed at the time of the passing of the British North America Act, and subsequently.

II. That the pecuniary grants hitherto made to the graded schools have been taken away, although to those grants Catholics may, in most cases, be fairly regarded as having a prescriptive right.

Now, the Provincial Legislatures have exclusive powers to make laws in relation to education, subject to the provisions of the 93rd clause of the British North America Act. These provisions apply exclusively to the denominational, separate or dissentient schools ; they do not in any way affect or lessen the power of such Provincial Legislatures to pass laws respecting the general education system of the Province.

The Act complained of is an Act relating to common schools, and the Acts repealed by it apply to parish, grammar, superior and common schools. As reference is made in them to separate, dissentient or denominational schools, and the undersigned does not, on examination, find that any statute of the Province exists, establishing such special schools,

It may be that the Act in question may operate unfavorably on the Catholics, or on other religious denominations, and if so, it is for such religious bodies to appeal to the Provincial Legislature, which has the sole power to grant redress.

As, therefore, the Act applies to the whole school system of New Brunswick, and is not specially applicable to denominational schools, the Governor General has, in the opinion of the undersigned, no right to intervene.

As to the second objection respecting pecuniary grants, these must, of course, be under the annual supervision of the Legislature, which has the sole power to deal with the public funds, unless, by special enactment, those grants have been conferred for a specified period by an Act of the Legislature.

In such case the grant might be considered in the nature of a contract, and the repeal might be held to be a breach of that contract.

The undersigned does not find that any such statutory contract has been made. Under the circumstances, he is therefore of opinion that no other course is open to the Governor General than to allow the Act to go into operation.

Matters remained in this position until the meeting of Parliament in April, 1872. On the 20th May Mr. Costigan moved in substance, that His Excellency should disallow the School Act of 1871. The Hon. Mr. Grey, the Hon. Mr. Chauveau, Mr. Colby, Mr. Dorion and Mr. Mackenzie each moved an amendment, and after a sharp debate, which extended over four days, it was resolved that the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, and, if possible, the opinion of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, should be obtained as to the right of the New Brunswick Legislature to make such changes in the School Law as deprived the Roman Catholics of the privileges they enjoyed at the time of the Union, in respect of religious education in the common schools, with the view of ascertaining whether the case comes within the terms of the 4th sub-section of the 93rd clause of the British North America Act, 1867.

In accordance with this resolution the case was submitted to the Law Officers of the Crown,—the Attorney General and Solicitor General, and on the 29th November, 1872, these gentlemen—Sir J. D. Coleridge and Sir G. Jessel—reported to the Earl of Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary :

“That we agree substantially with the opinion expressed by the Minister of Justice of the Dominion :—so far as appears from the papers before us, whatever may have been the practical working of annual education grants in the Province of New Brunswick, the Roman Catholics of that Province had no such rights, privileges or schools as are the subjects of enactment in the British North America Act, 1867, section 93, sub-section *et seq.*

“It is, of course, quite possible that the new Statute of the Province may work, in practice, unfavorably to this or that denomination therein, and therefore to the Roman Catholics, but we do not think that such a state of things is enough to bring into operation the restraining powers, or the powers of appeal to the Governor



General in Council, and the powers of remedial legislation in the Parliament of the Dominion contained in the 93rd Section. We agree, therefore, in the practical conclusion arrived at by Sir John A. Macdonald."

Subsequent to this opinion, on the 23rd December, 1872, the Executive Council of New Brunswick submitted to the Colonial Secretary an elaborate argument against Sir John Macdonald's opinion, which was also referred to the Attorney General and Solicitor General, with instructions to report whether, on considering that document, they saw any reason to change their opinion. On the 12th February, they replied :

"We see no reason to alter or modify the opinion which has been already submitted to your Lordship on this subject."

This settled the question so far as the Law Officers were concerned ; but it will be remembered, that by the resolution of the Dominion House of May, 1872, it was directed that, "if possible, the opinion of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council shall be obtained." With this view the whole case was submitted to the Lord President of the Council, and on the 13th December, 1872, that officer directed the reply to be given, that :

"It appears to His Lordship that, as the power of confirming or disallowing Provincial Acts is vested by the Statute in the Governor General of the Dominion of Canada, acting under the advice of his Constitutional advisers, there is nothing in this case which gives to Her Majesty in Council any jurisdiction over this question, though it is conceivable that the effect and validity of the Act may at some future time be brought before Her Majesty as an appeal from the Canadian Courts of Justice.

"This being the fact, His Lordship is of the opinion that Her Majesty cannot, with propriety, be advised to refer to a Committee of Council in England a question which Her Majesty in Council has at present no authority to determine, and on which the opinion of the Privy Council would not be binding on the parties in the Dominion of Canada."

It will thus be seen that the only mode of obtaining the judgment of the highest Court of the Empire, the Privy Council in England, was by way of appeal from that of some court in the Dominion.

But in the meantime this course had been adopted by the Catholics. The question was raised in a suit of Auguste Renaud and others, and in Hilary Term, 1873, the Supreme Court of New Brunswick decided that the Provincial Act of 1871 was within

the competence of the Local Legislature, and that it could not be interfered with either by the Dominion Parliament or the Dominion Government.

The case was, therefore, again for the third time submitted to the Law Officers in England, with the addition of this judgment, but with the addition also of further opinions and arguments from the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. John,—and on the 7th April, 1873, they thus reported :

“ We have re-considered this case with special reference to the further papers now sent, and we see no reason to alter or modify the opinion which we have already submitted to your Lordship on the subject.”

No steps were taken to bring the case before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, though the Ministry of Sir John Macdonald were willing to furnish funds for the purpose, and on the 18th May, 1874, Mr. Costigan, who had managed the Catholic case in the Commons, asked leave to withdraw his proposed motion for an address to Her Majesty on the subject of the Common Schools Act of 1871, and praying for an amendment of the British North America Act, 1867. He said he believed it to be inexpedient at present to press the matter further. It afforded him pleasure honorably to withdraw his motion, and he believed he did so with the approval of his constituents.

The New Brunswick Elections for the Local House came on immediately afterward, and the school question was the chief subject of debate between the rival parties. The result was a decisive negative of the demand of the Roman Catholics. Thus ended, for the time, a perplexing matter,—one which materially assisted Sir John Macdonald in strengthening his reputation as a sound constitutional lawyer, since he from the first insisted that the interference either of the Dominion Government or the Dominion Parliament would have been *ultra vires*; and this opinion was ratified on three different occasions by the Law Officers of the Crown in England. An attempt was made in February, 1875, by Mr. Costigan, in the House of Commons, to revive the question by petitioning the Imperial Government so to amend the British North America Act, 1867, as to enable the Dominion Parliament to deal with the question, but his motion was defeated by a large majority. The constitutional question was important, and has been settled in a way to guarantee the rights of the Provinces



against undue interference from the Dominion Government. Had Sir John Macdonald's opinion been reversed, a fatal blow to the independence of the Provinces would have been struck ; but he was too loyal to Provincial rights to countenance, for a moment, a course which, though it ran side by side with his own interests as the head of a party desirous to retain the strength given to it by the Roman Catholic support, was yet, in his judgment, unconstitutional.

The case established another highly important point. It shews that it has become the settled policy of the Imperial Government to decline all interference in purely local questions. Even though a strong case of grievance be made out, yet, if the matter be properly cognizable by either the Provincial or the Dominion authorities, the Home Government will studiously abstain from intervening its power ; a *quasi* exception occurs when the case may be brought in the usual manner by way of appeal from the Supreme Court of the Dominion to the highest Court of the Empire, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council,—but then the Court, and not the Government, acts in the matter.

During the Session the policy of the Administration as to the construction of the Pacific Railway was announced and fully discussed. The new system is developed in the Statute 37 Victoria, Cap. 14, assented to on 26th May, 1874. It recites the terms, so far as they relate to this road, under which British Columbia entered Confederation,—that the House at about the time this Act was passed resolved, that the road should be constructed and worked by private enterprise, and not by the Dominion Government ; and that the public aid to be given to secure its accomplishment should consist of such liberal grants of land, and such subsidy in money, or other aid, as would not increase the then existing rate of taxation. It declares that by the legislation of the then present Session, in order to provide means for meeting the obligations of the Dominion, the rate of taxation had been raised much beyond that existing at the date of the Resolution of 1871, and it adds the significant clause :

“ And whereas it is proper to make provisions for the construction of the said work as rapidly as the same can be accomplished, without further raising the rate of taxation.”

It then provides that a railway, to be called the “ Canadian Pacific Railway,” shall be made from some point near to and south of Lake

Nipissing to some point in British Columbia, on the Pacific Ocean, with branches. The work is to be divided into sections and sub-sections, which are to be given out to contractors, who are to receive \$10,000 per mile in cash, as the work proceeds, with a guarantee for interest at four per cent. for twenty-five years on a sum to be stated in the contract; that land not exceeding twenty thousand acres per mile shall be appropriated in alternate sections of twenty square miles each along the line, or at a convenient distance from it,—this land to be sold by the Government, two-thirds of the proceeds to be paid half-yearly to the contractors, the other third to be conveyed to them. But, in case it should be found by the Governor in Council more advantageous to construct the road, or any portion of it, as a public work of the Dominion, then the construction may be let out by contracts. Distinct provisions are made for two branch lines—one from the eastern terminus to Georgian Bay, the other from the main line, near Fort Garry, to some point near Pembina. The 21st Section provides that out of the moneys to be raised by another Act passed during the Session (chap. 2), the Governor in Council may apply £2,500,000 Stg. out of the sum raised with the Imperial guaranty, and sums not exceeding in the whole \$15,000,000 out of the sum raised under that Act without the Imperial guaranty, for the construction of the road.

To understand this, it must be explained that the Statute just referred to (37 Vict., cap. 2, 1874), after reciting that, as one of the terms on which British Columbia was admitted into union with the Dominion was that the Pacific Railway should be built, it is expedient to raise by way of loan for the purpose of the construction of the Pacific Railway, and also for the improvement and enlargement of the Canadian canals, a sum of money, not exceeding £8,000,000 Stg., the Imperial Parliament had passed Acts enabling the British Treasury to guarantee £2,500,000 Stg. of this loan of £8,000,000, and this is the sum referred to in the Railway Act.

Mr. Mackenzie, though strongly pressed, especially by the members for British Columbia, to state when the building of the road at its western extremity would commence, and where the terminus would be placed, was unable to give a decided answer. He replied, and the reply was, under the circumstances, a reasonable one, that it was impossible to answer either of these questions until such surveys had been made as would enable the Government to decide on the route;



that these surveys were being made as rapidly as possible, and that until their completion nothing decisive could be done. It will be seen that in the Session of 1878 although he was able to give clearer answers, they were nevertheless as unsatisfactory as those given in 1874.

On the 14th June, His Excellency the Governor General laid the corner stone of the Ottawa Collegiate Institute, in the presence of the school authorities, the Mayor and Corporation, and a large number of citizens. On the 6th, their Excellencies arrived at Quebec, where, after a stay of a few days, they proceeded to the Lower St. Lawrence. They returned to Quebec on the 15th July, and immediately proceeded on a tour in the western part of Ontario. They reached Toronto on the 24th July, where they were most cordially received. An address was presented to His Excellency by the Mayor and Aldermen. The gentlemen who formed the deputation to wait upon His Excellency, who had taken up his quarters at the Queen's Hotel, were the Mayor, Aldermen Sheard, Ball, Boulton, Spence, Adamson, Downey, Tinning, Clements, Gearing, Mutton, Blevins, Withrow, Hayes, and Davies: they were joined by Col. Durie, Deputy Adjutant General, and Major Algar, Paymaster; and subsequently their Excellencies were attended by his Honor Lieutenant Governor Crawford, Hon. Mr. Mowat, Hon. Mr. McKellar, Mr. Johnson, City Engineer, and Sheriff Davidson of Waterloo.

On the 25th July, the Vice-regal party left Toronto for Newmarket. At every station, *en route*, enthusiastic crowds assembled to greet Her Majesty's representative. At Newmarket great preparations had been made for the visit. Mr. E. Jackson, Reeve of the town, read an address from the Council. Mr. Kane, Warden, presented an address from the County Council. After fitting replies had been made to these, a number of gentlemen were presented to their Excellencies, when they proceeded to the new Christian Church, the corner stone of which His Excellency had been requested to lay. An address was read by the Rev. T. Garbutt. After laying the stone His Excellency said:

“Having spent the greater portion of my life in a country which, whatever its other merits and blessings may be, has unfortunately been only too much distinguished by the vehemence of religious controversy, it has always afforded me the most genuine pleasure to observe how in Canada the descendants of those who in past generations often found themselves bitterly opposed, still retain allegiance to the respective churches in which they were born. If in the progress and

enlightenment of learning they regard with very different feelings from their ancestors those with whom they have the misfortune to differ in religious belief, I must say wherever I have gone in Canada, I have almost invariably found, as I have found this day, that ministers of the various religious persuasions, whether Catholic, Episcopalian, Methodist, or to whatsoever denominations they may belong, regard each other with sentiments of the most unaffected good will, recognizing, as a broader and stronger tie than any other, that brotherhood which is engendered by their common faith in the principles of Christianity. I trust that this good feeling will always distinguish the inhabitants of Canada; and that as civilization progresses, and as human intelligence becomes more extended, we shall be more and more disposed to overlook those slight differences of opinion which at present separate us, and be more ready to unite in one common effort against those enmities which we are apt to create in striving against the scourge of human existence."

At each station between Newmarket and Allandale crowds were collected on the platforms, who cheered heartily as the train passed with slackened speed. At Allandale the party were met by the Hon. G. W. Allan, Mr. Little, M.P., Mr. Cook, M.P., and Mr. Ardagh, M.P.P.

Arriving at Barrie their Excellencies were greeted with cheers by an immense crowd. The station was decorated with evergreens and flowers. The 35th Battalion of the Volunteer Militia were paraded as a guard of honor, and flags were seen in every direction. There were on the platform Mayor Boyd, Judge Gowan, Mr. T. D. McConkey, Mr. Thomas Atkins, Warden of the County, and other County and Town officials. The following reverend gentlemen were also present: Rev. Mr. Morgan, Church of England; Rev. A. O'Connor, Roman Catholic; Rev. Mr. Boyle, Primitive Methodist; Rev. O. Crampton, Primitive Methodist; Rev. Dr. McDonald and Mr. Longford, Wesleyan Methodist; Rev. Mr. Fraser, Canada Presbyterian Church; Rev. Mr. McKee, Free Church of Scotland. An address from the Mayor and Corporation of the town was read by Mayor Boyce, and one from the Clergy was read by the Rev. Mr. Morgan; to each of which His Excellency gave *impromptu* replies. The party then proceeded to Orillia in the steamer "Lady of the Lakes," and as she approached Atherley, four steamers, crowded with passengers, and with bunting flying, came out to meet her. When nearing Lake Couchiching, a number of canoes, brilliant with bunting, came alongside the steamer; they were paddled by Indians who cheered lustily. Kempenfeldt Bay, Orillia, was reached, and here a procession was formed to the place where the addresses were to be delivered. An



address from the Corporation of the Township of Orillia and Matchash was read by Mr. Brown ; and, after a suitable reply, the party re-embarked and proceeded to the Couchiching Hotel. This beautiful summer retreat was crowded with visitors. In the evening the grounds were beautifully illuminated, and a ball took place which was honored by the presence of their Excellencies.\*

On Monday, the 27th July, the party, after witnessing a yacht and canoe race, proceeded to Rama, Washago, Parry Sound, and Collingwood. At Rama, the party were received by the Rev. Thos. Woolsey, Missionary to the Indian settlement. The wharf was gaily decorated, and a large number of Indians and white people congregated to receive His Excellency. On leaving the boat their Excellencies were conducted to a rising piece of ground, where Chief Benson of the Ojibbeway Tribe, and two lesser Indian potentates, named Isaac Yellow-head and John Young, were presented to them. Mr. Woolsey then read an address from the Indians of Rama. He said :

“ We have long desired to see our Great Mother the Queen, and to-day our hearts are made glad by the presence of her Cousin, whom she has sent in Her place to govern and protect the country. We also beg most respectfully to assure Lady Dufferin that we rejoice greatly because of her presence amongst us, a favor long to be remembered by us with profound gratitude. As the children and faithful allies of our Great Mother the Queen, we wish to tell your Excellency, for we desire Her to know it, that Her children are well satisfied with the way in which the promises made to our fathers thirty-seven summers ago by Sir Francis Bond Head, the Great Chief who then governed this country, have been kept. These words have proved true to the present hour, and Her children are happy and contented in the receipt of their annuities, and in the possession of their lands. The Indian does not easily follow in the ways of his white brother, but our young men, like him, live in their houses and cultivate their lands. We have a school in which our children are taught ; and we have good missionaries who direct us how to walk in right paths, and we are glad to say that through their influence many of our young men have given up the use of fire-water. Our present Missionary, having lived many years amongst the Pagan Indians of the Saskatchewan Valley, fully comprehends the difference between them and ourselves. We pray that the Great Spirit may protect your Excellency, Lady Dufferin, and party, in your journey, and guide you safely back.”

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\* Their Excellencies were accompanied by their eldest son Viscount Clandeboye, a lad of about ten, who enjoyed his trip very much, and took a boyish interest in everything that came under his notice. He remarked here, that he would not care to be a Governor General, alluding to the hard work his father was performing with so much patience and good nature in making so many replies to addresses.

The address was signed "Joseph Benson Waneguisking, Chief." His Excellency replied :

" I am especially glad to learn from your address that you are contented with your present situation, that your circumstances are prosperous, and that Providence has blessed your industrious endeavors. I can assure you that your Great Mother across the sea, though from certain circumstances she is not able to be in your midst, takes the deepest interest in your welfare, and it is my duty from time to time to make Her acquainted with the condition of Her Indian subjects. If, at any time, they have occasion to complain, or have any grievance to be redressed, they will always find in me a ready and willing channel through which their representations may be conveyed to the foot of the Throne. You have said in your address that the promises which your Great Mother, through the late Governors, made to you have been faithfully fulfilled. I am glad to think you so thoroughly comprehend that there is no obligation which Her Majesty considers so sacred as the obligation to keep faith with her Indian subjects. Nothing would occasion us greater sorrow than that we should have reason to think that our good faith and our fair word were not trusted, and that the Government of the country had not the confidence of the Indian nations. I do not know that any paragraph of your address to which I have listened has caused me a livelier joy than to hear that, under the auspices of your missionaries, and the example of your chief, the young men of this nation have begun to understand how terrible are the evils which result from an undue indulgence in intoxicating drinks. Let me assure them that if they wish to secure happiness for themselves, for their wives and for their children, there is nothing that is so certain to bring about such a result than that they shall exercise self-restraint in this particular. Fire-water, and intoxication, are the root and source of every physical evil, almost every moral misfortune."

Her Excellency then desired to see some of the Indian babies, and immediately a number of papooses were brought to her. The Rev. Mr. Woolsey then presented a copy of the Psalms of David to His Excellency in the Indian language. In return His Excellency gave him a volume, "The Land and the Book," on the fly leaf of which was the following inscription: "To Chief Joseph Benson Waneguisking, July 27th, 1873, from His Excellency the Governor General."

Upon the request of His Excellency, Mr. Woolsey took him to the Indian Church, which he inspected with much interest. Upon leaving the church Mrs. Woolsey and the teacher of the school of the settlement were presented to His Excellency. He then paid a visit to an Indian cottage belonging to an Indian named Philip Antoine, an invalid. On his way to the vessel he spoke kindly to several squaws, and upon arriving at the wharf the choir of the Indian church, who were bedecked with the regalia of Good Templars, sang the



National Anthem, which was followed by a Hymn. His Excellency desired to have a war song, but as the young men were not prepared with one, he asked for a love song in their native language—this, too, they were then unable to supply. His Excellency then presented Chief Benson with an elegant briar root pipe. The sub-chiefs and the male members of the choir were also presented with pipes, and all the females upon the wharf received a bead necklace each. Bowie knives were also given to the chiefs.

The account of this visit has been given at large in order to show by what justice and kindness the Indians of British North America have been made and kept the faithful allies of the Crown. Though distant many “moons,” every minute incident of this interesting visit of their Excellencies to the Ojibbeway Indians of Mara was speedily known in the recesses of the Rocky Mountains, and thousands of the warm hearts of Indian mothers traversing the illimitable North-West kindled with love to Her Excellency, when they were told of her kindness to the papooses of their red sisters of Ontario.

Arriving at Washago, an address from the Reeve and Councillors of the United Townships of Orillia and Matchadash was presented by the Reeve, Mr. John Ryan, Wm. Tremble, Deputy Reeve, and Arch. Thompson, Councillor, to which a reply was given.

The Vice-regal party then drove to the new Presbyterian church, the corner stone of which was laid by His Excellency. On arriving at Severn Bridge, an address was presented by the Council of the Municipality of Morrison, read by Mr. J. H. Jackson, Reeve. On the road to Gravenhurst a salute was fired from Gibraltar, and on arriving at the former place an address was presented by the inhabitants of the township of Muskoka, and by Mr. J. R. Cockburn, Reeve. At Bracebridge, a large concourse of people had assembled to greet their Excellencies; a procession was formed which conducted them to a platform, beautifully decorated with flowers, where an address was presented from the Reeve and Township of Macaulay, read by Mr. Robert E. Perry, Reeve, and signed by J. W. Dill, William Kirk, George Willson, and Joseph Cooper.

On the 28th July, the party proceeded down Muskoka river. The charming scenery of this lovely country was much enjoyed, and His Excellency said to Mr. Cockburn, M.P., who accompanied him, that he had not been in so beautiful a portion of Canada before. The steamer

passed Port Carling, where some twenty or thirty people had assembled upon the wharf, and an elderly gentleman named Birne, in an earnest speech, warmly welcomed their Excellencies. Passing through the locks, the steamer entered Lake Rosseau, and the village of Rosseau was soon reached. Here an address was presented, read by Mr. Samuel Greer. Port Cockburn was reached after a delightful voyage among the thickly wooded islands of Lakes Rosseau and Joseph.

The next stage of the journey from Port Cockburn to Parry Sound, a distance of seventeen miles, was accomplished in vehicles. His Excellency anxious to obtain a thorough knowledge of the condition and prospects of the settlers, stopped at nearly every log hut on the road side, inspecting the dwellings and outhouses, and interrogating the owners. When about two miles from the village of Parry Sound, the Vice-regal party met a deputation which had driven out to meet them. Just after the bridge leading into the village had been passed, a row of houses inhabited by Icelanders came in sight. When Lord Dufferin wrote his "Yacht Voyage to High Latitudes," he little thought that he should, as Governor General of the Dominion, meet a colony of Icelanders in the backwoods of Canada. He was naturally delighted to see them, and conversed some time with them. They expressed themselves well pleased with the country and their prospects. On reaching a platform prepared for their reception, their Excellencies found a large number of Sunday school children, who sang the National Anthem as they approached. An address was then presented by the Municipality of Macdougall Township, read by the Reeve, Mr. John D. Beatty. An address was also presented by the Ojibbeway tribe of Indians of the Parry Sound District, inhabiting the Reserves known as the Parry Sound Island and Shawanaga Reserves: this was signed and read by Chief James, on behalf of the tribe.

On the next day, the 29th July, the party embarked on the steamer *Chicora*, for Collingwood. When about eight miles from that town, twelve steamers and a large number of yachts and small-boats freighted with passengers came out to meet them. The *Chicora*, on meeting these vessels, passed slowly between the lines, each saluting in turn. The salute consisted of whistling three times, and dipping the ensign, the *Chicora* responding. The reception by the inhabitants was enthusiastic. Mr. Moberly, Mayor of Collingwood, read an address of the inhabitants, to which His Excellency replied. The party, in the afternoon, proceeded to Owen Sound, where Mr.



Patterson, Mayor of the town, read an address. The introductions having been completed, about seven hundred Sunday school children sang the National Anthem, and after a drive about the town their Excellencies returned to the steamer which soon left for Thunder Bay.

His Excellency had now traversed one of the latest settlements in Ontario. The country between Lake Simcoe and Parry Sound had been but recently opened to emigrants, and everything was new and rough. But he desired not only to see for himself the actual condition of the settlers, who had come from the British Isles, Germany, and even from the shores of Iceland, to seek their fortunes in Canada, but he was anxious to give them words of encouragement. He knew that whatever fell from his lips would be received with unhesitating confidence by these industrious and thrifty people, and he, therefore, cheerfully exposed himself to the discomforts of travelling in a new country for the sake of saying a few encouraging words to the weary and sometimes despondent immigrant. His Excellency generally contrived to say something consolatory in reply to the addresses which poured in on him. Selecting at random, we find these words in his reply to the address presented at Bracebridge :

“ It has been my good fortune to visit many neighborhoods that are beautiful and picturesque, and to make any comparison would be perhaps invidious, but this, at all events, I may say, the approach to your town across the water of the lake, and of the singularly beautiful and winding river by which we have ascended, has struck me as much as anything I have seen in any part of Canada. I am sure that you are too well acquainted with the habits of the English, and too alive to those sympathies which prevail in England, not to be aware that it is perhaps a weakness amongst us to look back with pride and satisfaction to those ancestors from whom we are descended, and who may have been in any way connected in an honorable manner with the history of our native land. But, although we can well understand that the representative of a great English family may regard with pride the fact that he can boast among his ancestors some great lord who carved out for himself possessions with the sword, and founded a family, I confess that I myself would far rather be able to point out, among those from whom I am descended, one who, like yourselves, in spite of many discouragements and great difficulties, having successfully contended with the rigors of Nature, and all the embarrassments which attend the early settlement of a colony, has succeeded in founding a community so prosperous as that by which I am now surrounded. Although it might be presumptuous in a mere casual visitor, who can have formed but very hasty conclusions from what may have caught his attention as he made his way in this direction, to pronounce an opinion on the future prospects of the country, yet any one who has at all studied the economical phenomena which characterize

the advances of civilization, cannot help being struck by the immense natural advantages which surround the locality in which you have pitched your tents. On the one side stretches away to a great distance, a water communication, navigable by steamers, which offers those necessary facilities for the distribution of the natural wealth of the country without which it would be comparatively valueless ; on the other there exists what may be called an ocean of timber land, ready to supply the inhabitants of Canada for another fifty years with the commodity which I regret to say is rapidly failing in the more thickly populated districts. Around me, on all sides, I see the evident proof, not merely of industry, but of that remarkable intelligence which will enable you to extract from your labors the most profitable returns. That you are loyal in your attachment to the Throne and to the institutions of the Empire, is a characteristic you possess in common, I am happy to say, with all your fellow subjects from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and it affords me, as the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty, singular satisfaction to find in this most remote district a numerous population who are prepared to maintain unimpaired those rights and privileges of freedom under whose protection and influence the Dominion is year by year acquiring greater strength, and a more extended empire."

The *Chicora*, with the Vice-regal party on board, was now *en route* to Lake Superior and Thunder Bay. On their way they visited Presqu'île, and arrived at Killarney, Manitoulin Island. Upon His Excellency landing he was met by some half dozen chiefs of the two tribes, Ojibbeways and Ottawas, and one of them welcomed him in a speech in the native tongue, which was translated into French by a French Canadian. His Excellency called forth an exclamation of pleasure from them when he told them that their white fellow subjects had every where met him with written addresses, because they were unable to receive him with so elegant an *extempore* speech. There were here presented to their Excellencies the Jesuit Missionary, Mons. J. Jennesseaux, and the School Master, Mons. P. Nadeaux, both of whom lived at Beaver Bay, the capital of Manitoulin Island. Thos. Kinachameg (the Pike), *alias* Kilohe ; Mokoman (Big Knife), Chief of the Ojibbeways ; and L. Wakegiyig (The Setting Sun), were also presented. These chiefs wore medals given to their ancestors by George III.

Leaving Killarney they soon reached Little Current, where a large number of people, whites and Indians, had assembled to welcome His Excellency. Their Excellencies were received on the landing by Mr. J. C. Phipps, Visiting Superintendent of Indian affairs on Manitoulin Island ; the Rev. Rowland Hill, Church of England Missionary ; the Rev. Wm. Sutton, Wesleyan Methodist ; and the Rev. Mr. Ross and the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie, Presbyterian Ministers. An address was pre-



sented by the Municipality of Howland and the inhabitants of the Island, which was read by Mr. G. B. Abrey. The following unique address was then presented by the Indian Chief:

“WEST BAY, 29th July, 1874.

MY FATHER,—I am telling you this as your favored to the Indians. I hope you will obey our words to you we are telling you Father we are expecting you to let us know how, so that we mist our payments, it's not increasing any, for I was told when I was asked that it will not increase my payment, and I did let it go. The North Shore and all the Reserve could bes found on North Shore and there is some milles now on North Shore and plenty farmers on the island, and still we don't see any different yet we only see that dollar \* one person. We thought it would increase that is what I was tolde and we are looking for more now to encrease what I was tolde it will encrease my payment for I see a white man all over now on North Shore and over the island, and I am Indian I am asking you now that it does not grow any Beeger our payment. After we lit our land go and I am telling you another thing about the reserves Indian reserves for I have told you very often that we were gone to our reserve soon that is what I Here My Father I don't obey that I am going to keep all the time for there is only that land I got now and I hope no none will take it away from me a bout this island I was not willing to let it go for I did Loved very much only when you came & asked me I did let it go to to satisfied y ou to obey y ou I done it for I was tolde to be done justice to me & to be well paid by Mc Dogall and me do expect to be paid more to Dollars for one person that is what me will look for every payment after this & I do Hope you will excepted our saying we Beeg to do Something for us this this time and we are hung ray just now while we are waiting for you.

PENEGUAHNESHUM *Indian Chief, West Bay.*

CHIEF LABASEKA, *West Bay.*

CHIEF ABENSE, *West Bay.*

CHIEF MESHAHQUANGA.

CHIEF ETUTUN KESES,

CHIEF MESHEHESSENAHNAHQUOT.

All the Chiefs very glad to see you & very happy & all say good by to you.”

One of the Chiefs, addressing His Excellency, said that, hearing he was coming to visit them, they had decided to be present when he arrived. They had come from a long distance, and were very hungry ; but they wanted to shew their attachment to their Great Mother, and so had decided to encounter all difficulties in order to do so.

His Excellency replied that he was very glad to see them so devoted to the Throne of England. He always thought Indians were very

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\* The sum paid by the Government to each Indian.

wise men, and would not come a long way without supplying themselves with the necessaries of life ; but, in consideration of their loyal sentiments having rendered them oblivious to the cravings of nature, he would present them with a barrel of flour and one hundred pounds of pork. With regard to the demands made in the address with which he had been presented he could make no promise. He would, however, lay the matter before the Government when he arrived in Ottawa. Mr. Sims acted as interpreter, and upon the announcement of the presentation of flour and pork being made they expressed their satisfaction by the characteristic "Ugh, ugh ;" their faces beaming with delight.

Leaving Little Current the party visited the Bruce Mines, Garden River, and arrived at Sault St. Marie on the 31st July. As the *Chicora* approached the American side of the river a salute was fired from the United States Fort, from which the Union Jack was flying. The ensign of the Fort was also dipped. His Excellency was speedily called on by the American officers of the Fort, Capt. Minor, Capt. Rush, Lieut. Lopwood, Lieut. Camel, and Lieut. Davis. On their invitation His Excellency visited the American Fort. The *Chicora* soon passed into Lake Superior, and reached Batchewauning Bay early on the 1st August. Michipicoton Bay and Agate Island were visited, and Nepigon Bay was reached on the 6th August. An expedition up the river occupied five days, and the party on returning to the mouth of the river proceeded on their voyage westward, and reached Silver Islet, where an address was presented by Major Sibley on behalf of the Silver Mining Co., the Ontario Mineral Land Co., and the Enterprise Mining Co., of Black Bay. After an inspection of the island the party left for Prince Arthur's Landing, where His Excellency was received with every demonstration of joy. An address was presented by the Municipal Council of Ipswich, read by Mr. S. A. P. Somers, one of the Managers of the Dawson Road. Before returning eastward the Vice-regal party visited Fort William, the Dawson Road, Shebandowan Lake, Mattawan, Kaministaquia Bridge, Kakabeka Falls, and Point Huron, the Indian Mission near Fort William.

The head of the *Chicora* was now turned eastward, and on the morning of the 16th August she reached Chicago. In visiting this city for a day or two, His Excellency expected to do so informally, but when the city was reached, he found that preparations had been made to give him a formal reception, and a hearty welcome.



According to the programme which had been prepared, the Reception Committee were to meet His Excellency at one o'clock. During the intervening time the Vice-regal party remained on board the steamer and a crowd of persons were continually standing on the wharf gazing in at her after gangway, apparently anxious to get a look at her distinguished passengers. The *Chicora* also attracted a great deal of attention by her smart appearance, which was due in part to the rakishness of her funnels and mast, and to the naval attire of her crew. Capt. Orr and the other officers wore, during the trip, their gilt buttoned coats, and their caps adorned with gold bullion and lace, and the deck hands were all attired *à la* Royal Navy, in white trowsers, very tight about the hips, and very loose about the feet, in blue jackets with wide collars, trimmed with white cord, and in straw hats having the name "Chicora" on the band of each.

At one o'clock the Reception Committee, consisting of the Mayor and Corporation and several of the leading citizens—arrived at the dock with carriages, and the Vice-regal party, after a number of introductions, were driven through some of the principal streets to the Grand Pacific Hotel. The visitors and the Reception Committee, with a large number of others, having assembled in the drawing room of the hotel, His Excellency was presented with and replied to a number of addresses. The first was that of the Mayor speaking for the Corporation and citizens of Chicago. To it His Excellency made the following reply :

"MR. MAYOR, AND GENTLEMEN,—When it was originally suggested to me that I should put in at Chicago during the course of my cruise round those magnificent lakes which are the joint property of Canada and of the United States, it never occurred to me that I should land upon your wharves in any other capacity than that of a private individual seeking information and pleasure from a visit to one of the most flourishing cities in the United States. The kind consideration which has prompted so magnificent a reception as that with which you have honored the Countess of Dufferin and myself has, therefore, taken me by surprise. I can assure you I am deeply touched by the expression of so much unaffected friendliness. Of course it is needless for me to assure you that with us, in England, Chicago has almost become a household word, not merely in consequence of the terrible calamity which a few years since overwhelmed it—a calamity in which the people of England most heartily sympathized with you—but as an evidence of what human intelligence and industry can accomplish in converting the waste regions of the earth into emporiums of wealth, commerce and architectural beauty. I am told that it was within the period of my own life-time that Chicago first received her charter of incorporation, and in passing through your magnificent streets, unless

that fact had been conveyed to me on the best authority, I confess I could scarcely have credited it. I have been very much interested, Mr. Mayor, in the account with which you have been pleased to favor me of the characteristics of those municipal institutions under which this marvel has been accomplished, and it is a matter of satisfaction to me that the secret of municipal government, which is one of the great safeguards of freedom, and which was originally the fountain of political freedom, should have received so successful a development in this country. In Canada we are happily able to point to similar arrangements, and I confess that there is nothing in the social and political institutions of that country which I regard with greater admiration, or which I think is more likely to secure the good government of the people at large than the principle of municipal government, applied to the very great extent to which that principle has been applied throughout the Dominion. It was, of course, with the greatest curiosity that I looked forward to the pleasure of passing through your magnificent streets, and of visiting those various other points of interest to which you have alluded. I do not know whether it may be known to any gentleman present that a great English statesman, a friend of my own, and what is of more importance, a constant friend of America, during every phase of her national history, Mr. John Bright (applause), wished to test the capacity of the rising generation of English politicians, and the character of their education, by ascertaining whether or no they possessed due and accurate information in regard to the condition of Chicago. That was a crucial test which he said he would seek to apply in the case of every candidate for office, and he intimated that his opinion of their capacity would very much depend on their ability to answer it. Probably no other city has ever had so great a compliment paid to it by a foreign statesman. In conclusion, Mr. Mayor, and gentlemen, I can only again thank you from the bottom of my heart, both on behalf of Lady Dufferin and myself, and on behalf of those who are my fellow-travellers and fellow-visitors, for the extreme kindness and thoughtful consideration with which it has pleased you to welcome us to Chicago."

The Mayor, Mr. Colvin, then introduced Mr. George M. Howe, President of the Board of Trade, who also addressed His Excellency. After a reply, a number of presentations of prominent men were made. Among those presented was General Philip Sheridan, with whom His Excellency shook hands and addressed with a cordiality unusual even in him. Governor Beveridge, of the State of Illinois, was then presented, and he also addressed His Excellency. Mr. George E. Gooch, President of the St. George's Society, then read an address from that Society, and Mr. Robert Hervey, read one from the Illinois St. Andrew Society; to each of these fitting replies were made. Mr. D. McKellar, President of the Caledonia Club, next came forward and addressed His Excellency. To this His Excellency replied by saying, "I thank you, sir," and this observation a Chicago paper speaks of as the best speech of the occasion.



This brought the proceedings to a close, when a large number of distinguished Americans were presented to their Excellencies. After visiting the gigantic works by which Chicago is supplied by water from Lake Michigan, the party returned to the steamer, where in the evening His Excellency entertained at dinner Lieut. General Sheridan ; Mr. Howe, President of the Board of Trade ; Alderman A. Dixon, President of the Council ; Miss Reed ; H. B. M. Vice-Consul ; Col. James W. Warrack, and Mrs. Lewis. After dinner the Mayor, Mr. Forrest, the City Clerk, and several of the Aldermen waited on their Excellencies and accompanied them to the Palmer House,—the *Chicora* having been despatched on her regular route.

His Excellency having been invited to meet the Board of Trade at their Hall, their Excellencies, on the 17th August, proceeded to the Exchange Rooms. They were received by the President, Mr. Howe, who introduced His Excellency to the immense assemblage. In reply to Mr. Howe's address His Excellency said :

“GENTLEMEN,—When I accepted the invitation which was so kindly addressed to me by your President, I certainly was quite unprepared to find myself in the presence of so large and so distinguished an audience, or under the obligation to address you in a speech. At the same time I do not like to content myself merely with a curt expression of my acknowledgments ; but I will try to express, not only on behalf of myself and of those who accompany me, but on behalf of the people of Canada, our deep sense of the friendliness and courtesy which is thus exhibited towards the person who administers the Government of the Dominion. I cannot help considering as a most striking proof of the friendly feelings which I know are entertained towards British North America by the people of the United States, the fact that so large a concourse of citizens should have assembled on this occasion to support your President in welcoming the Governor General of Canada. I feel, however, that at this moment there is peculiar propriety in my finding myself in such pleasant relations with the Board of Trade of Chicago. Chicago is the principal city of the United States, situated upon that great chain of lakes which are the common property and joint pride of the people of America and of Canada. At this moment, as you are aware, the Governments of our two countries are engaged in considering a most important question—as to whether or no it might be possible to unite the interests of the two peoples into a closer connection by the ties of free commercial intercourse. That, of course, is a subject which must have had special claims upon the attention of members of this Association. It would be out of place for me on the present occasion to refer in any particular manner to the terms which have been already communicated to the American Senate as those upon which the people of Canada would be disposed to enter upon the re-construction of the existing commercial arrangements between themselves and the United States. Of course I am well aware that in the States, as well as in Canada, there are differences of opinion as to the policy of Free Trade *versus* Protection. I do

not imagine that in any country will there be found a perfectly unanimous coincidence of opinion upon these much disputed topics, but at all events this I may say, the Government of Great Britain and the Government of Canada are generally anxious to promote whatever policy and whatever arrangements are most likely to increase and develop those commercial relations by which Canada and the United States are already brought so close to each other, and which, in our opinion, at all events, cannot be too much extended, and, if extended sufficiently, cannot fail to stimulate a friendly intercourse between the peoples. (Applause.) In the policy which the Government of Canada has shown itself willing to promote, I believe there existed but one motive, and that is the desire to come to an understanding with the Government of the United States, which shall be mutually advantageous both to the people of Canada, and to the people of the United States. I do not think that for one moment we have imagined that in any agreement or treaty which may be agreed upon that it would be either possible or desirable to make a one-sided bargain. What we desire, is fair and equal dealing, and I believe you, gentlemen, are actuated by the same honorable sentiment. The Governor General of Canada, who is the administrator of a Parliamentary Government, is not in a position at any time to express his own private sentiments upon any political question. His opinions, so far as he can officially announce them, are the opinions which are suggested to him by his responsible advisers, and the policy which he at any time is authorized to advocate is the policy which is inaugurated by his Ministers. It would not be, therefore, proper for me to intrude on this occasion upon this assemblage my own private opinion in respect to this most important topic. I will simply content myself with saying that both in my private and my public capacity it will always be my most earnest object, and one of the dearest motives of my ambition, to do everything in my power which will in any way promote and extend good feeling between the people of the United States and the inhabitants of Canada. (Applause.) In conclusion, gentlemen, allow me to express to you, as well as I can under the very unfavorable conditions under which I am called upon to address you, both on my own behalf and on behalf of the Countess of Dufferin, my deep sense of the great honor which you have done me in coming together this morning in such large numbers, in receiving me with so much kindness and courtesy, and in listening to my few and imperfect observations with so much patience and indulgence." (Applause and cheers.)

Their Excellencies next visited the Union Stock Yards, accompanied by the Hon. Mr. Beveridge, Governor of Illinois; his Honor Mr. Colvin, Mayor of Chicago; Mr. Howe, the Hon. Arthur Dixon, Aldermen Sidwell, Pickering, Moore, Clark, Shaffner, O'Brien, Jonas Murphy, Foley, Mahar, and a number of other gentlemen.

In the evening a reception was given by their Excellencies at the Palmer House.

On the 18th August the party, after a run of fifty miles into the country west of Chicago, left the city in the evening for Detroit.



They were courteously attended to the station by the Mayor and other civic functionaries, who, well supported by the citizens in general, had made the visit to the beautiful and wonderful City of Chicago one of great delight. They arrived at Detroit early in the morning, and at noon the party crossed to Windsor. They were received by the Mayor, Mr. Donald Cameron; Mr. Theodore Wigle, Warden of the County; the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, first Minister of Canada; Mr. Wm. Macgregor, M.P., and others. Great preparations had been made at the Great Western Railway Station for the reception. A large and enthusiastic crowd had assembled about the platform, and there were present, in addition to the gentlemen already named and the Committee, Mr. Theoduld Girardot, Mayor of Sandwich; Mr. S. S. McDonald, Clerk of the Peace, and several members of the Town Council. An address from the Mayor and Council of the town was read by the Mayor, Mr. Cameron; another from the Municipal Council of the County of Essex, read by the Warden, Mr. Wigle, and another from the St. Jean Baptiste Society, read by Dr. Casgrain. To these His Excellency replied,—his last one being in French,—was as follows :

“ J’ai écouté avec une satisfaction toute particulière l’adresse que vous m’avez fait l’honneur de me présenter. Je suis bien convaincu que nulle part dans la Puissance Sa Majesté n’a de sujets plus loyaux, plus fidèles et plus intelligents que ses sujets de race française, et je me réjouis de l’occasion qui m’est donnée d’exprimer mon estime et mon respect pour les représentants de ces héroïques pionniers, à la hardiesse desquels nous devons, en si grande partie, l’héritage dont nous jouissons.

“ C’est une chose des plus étonnantes que ce coup-d’œil avec lequel les chefs des premières expéditions françaises discernèrent comme par inspiration sur leur route chaque endroit avantageux, chaque position convenable, soit pour leur défense soit pour leur commerce. Ils choisirent avec une telle sagacité les sites pour la construction de leurs forts, et pour la fondation de leurs établissements, que les générations suivantes ne purent faire de meilleurs choix. C’est pour cela que presque chaque cité importante, dans les vallées du Mississippi et du St. Laurent, doit son origine à un fondateur français.

“ Mais ce n’est pas à ce seul titre que nous sommes obligés envers la race française. Il ne faut pas oublier que c’est à son élévation d’esprit, à son amour de la liberté, et à son exacte appréciation des droits civils contenus en germe dans la constitution primitivement accordée par l’Angleterre au Canada, que nous devons le développement de cette autonomie parlementaire dont le pays est fier à si bon droit; et je puis vous assurer, qu’aux yeux d’un anglais, il y a peu de choses plus agréables à observer que la dignité, la modération, et l’habileté politique avec

lesquelles les hommes publics français, du Canada, aident leurs collègues anglais à appliquer et à faire fonctionner ces grands principes de droit et de pratique constitutionnels, qui sont la base du gouvernement libre de ce pays.

“ Messieurs, j’ai toujours considéré comme du meilleur augure la collaboration de la race française dans le Canada ; cette race qui a déjà contribué si puissamment à civiliser l’Europe, ne peut manquer de suppléer et de corriger de la façon la plus heureuse les qualités et les défauts considérés comme inhérents au John Bull traditionnel ; d’un autre côté on me pardonnera, si, comme anglais, j’espère que nous pourrons lui rendre le même service. Avec la générosité, l’esprit d’invention, l’élan, la grâce, la délicatesse, la précision du jugement et la finesse artistique des français, avec le flegme et le tempéramment britanniques, on peut dire que nous réunissons les éléments qui gouvernent en grande partie le monde moral et le monde physique.”

After a drive through the town the party went by the Great Western Railway to Chatham, which was reached shortly after three p.m. His Excellency was met by the Mayor and Council, the Hon. A. McKellar, Mr. John McLeod, and a number of other gentleman. An address was presented from the Mayor and Council, read by the Mayor, and another from the County Council of the County of Kent, read by the Warden, to each of which His Excellency replied. At a short time before five o’clock, the party left Chatham on their return to Detroit.

As the reception given to His Excellency at Detroit was the grandest of the series accorded to him during this tour, a full account is given of it. The Mayor had exerted himself to the utmost to induce the people to receive the Governor General in an appropriate manner, and they did so, and in a style not equalled since the visit of the Duke Alexis of Russia.\*

On descending from the train His Excellency was met by City Controller Gaifield, Aldermen Heames and Guest, and Mr. King, of the Board of Public Works, who were appointed a Committee to meet him at Windsor, and escort him across the river to Detroit. As the ferry boat left the Windsor side, a salute of one hundred guns was fired. As the steamer approached the Detroit dock, the Detroit Light Guard, a fine soldier-like body of men, who were detached to form a guard of honor, were drawn up in two ranks from the boat to the carriages. Mayor Moffatt came on board to escort His Excellency ashore. The carriages being filled, the procession moved forward

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\* The account is taken from the *Toronto Mail* of 20th August, 1874.



under the direction of Lieutenant J. Rogers, of the United States Army, in the following order :

FIRST DIVISION.

Metropolitan Police Band, 22nd United States  
Infantry Battalion.  
St. Mary's Independent Zouaves.  
Pelonze Corps.  
District Cadets.

SECOND DIVISION.

Light Guards Band.  
Detroit Light Guards, as Guard of Honor.  
National Guards, and 22nd United States Infantry.  
Carriage containing the Governor General,  
Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin, and  
*suite*.  
Common Council, City Officers and Invited Guests.

THIRD DIVISION.

District Fire Department.

The following gentlemen acted as Assistant Marshals: Gen. F. W. Swift, Col. G. S. Warmer, Col. Jerome Croul, Col. Louis Villman, Col. S. E. Pittman, Capt. S. K. Stanton, Capt. H. M. Duffield, Lieutenant George Green.

The line of march was up Woodward Avenue to Monroe Avenue, up Monroe Avenue to Miami, up Miami to William street, up William street to Adams Avenue, along Adams Avenue to Woodward Avenue, thence to the City Hall, where their Excellencies and *suite* left the carriages and were conducted to the Council Chamber.

The following proclamation had been issued by the Mayor :

“CITY OF DETROIT, *August 18, 1874.*”

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF DETROIT :

To-morrow, Wednesday, a distinguished representative of a foreign Government, the Governor General of Canada, and his *suite*, will pay a visit to the city of Detroit, and, as it is eminently desirable that they shall be received with proper courtesy, it is recommended that all citizens display flags, and such devices as they may deem appropriate, from their buildings and residences.

The reception will take place at the foot of Woodward avenue, about 6 o'clock, p.m., and it is hoped that as many citizens as possible will assemble in that locality to assist in extending a hearty welcome to our visitors.

H. MOFFATT, *Mayor.*

This was sufficient proof that the authorities were desirous that His Excellency should not leave the city with any idea that a coolness existed between the two countries, and the result of the united efforts of the city officials and the people was such as to leave no doubt on this point, at least, so far as the beautiful "City of the Straits" was concerned. Around the dock was assembled a thickly packed crowd, and along the whole of the route the sidewalks were densely packed with spectators. The several bands in the procession gave, in admirable style, choice selections of music, and frequently struck up the National Anthem. His Excellency was heartily cheered by the crowd, both on leaving the boat and on alighting from his carriage at the City Hall.

Lady Dufferin met His Excellency at Windsor, and accompanied him through the celebration at Detroit. The distinguished visitors were escorted to the Common Council Chamber by the Mayor, who presided over the meeting. Lord Dufferin occupied a seat near His Worship, and several Aldermen also occupied seats on the platform. Lady Dufferin, Lady Harriet Fletcher, Col. Fletcher, Capt. Ward, and Lieut. Hamilton were accommodated with seats on the floor of the chamber, which was crowded to excess.

The Mayor called the meeting to order, and introduced Ald. Wm. G. Thompson, who said he would address His Excellency in the name of the City Council.

Ald. Thompson then rose, and said :

"On behalf of the Municipality of the City of Detroit, I bid your Excellency welcome to the City of the Straits. I beg to assure you your visit has afforded to our citizens the profoundest satisfaction and gratification. (Applause.) I welcome your Excellency to the city as the Governor General of Canada, a country with whose inhabitants we have maintained, and shall and must necessarily maintain, the most intimate associations and commercial relations. (Applause). We welcome you as the representative of the English power, and because you come to us not unheralded. Your fame has preceded you, and your assertion of tenant rights in Ireland has earned for you the kindest regard of the Irish-American citizens of this State."

The speaker proceeded to pay a compliment to Lady Dufferin's poetic genius,\* and then went on to give the history of the city since

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\* This error is noted here for the purpose only of correcting an idea which has found expression in many printed notices of Her Excellency. Her Ladyship has too many just claims to admiration to stand in need of the honors belonging to others. She never wrote a line for publication, and the lady entitled to the credit of possessing the "poetic genius" referred to was Lady Dufferin, the mother of His Excellency, referred to in the first chapter of this work.



1701, when it was founded, and traced its gradual progress to the present period. In conclusion he said :

“Your Excellency, I bid you a most hearty welcome, and offer the most hearty greeting of our city, and it is with the deepest and most unfeigned regret that we learn your stay with us will be so limited.”

Lord Dufferin, who was received with loud and continued cheering, said :

“MR. MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am sure it will surprise no one present if he should perceive that I am perfectly incapable of rendering an adequate return to the citizens of Detroit for the honor they have done me, and for the reception with which I have been honored. I confess that the kindness and hospitality I have received, conveyed in a manner so delicate and so agreeable to my feelings, has completely taken me by surprise ; nor am I prepared on the present occasion to express to you in any way which will satisfy me how deeply I have been touched by the kindness I have received. At the same time I feel it would be ungracious on my part did I not endeavor, however humbly, to make you understand that it is not from any want of appreciation that I fail to record the sentiments of which I am conscious. (Applause.) And, gentlemen, the gratitude which I feel is all the deeper, because I perfectly understand that the demonstration which has taken place has been addressed, not so much to the humble individual who stands before you, as to the representative of a truly friendly power, and to the Governor General of that rising nation that stretches along your banks, from ocean to ocean, and whose hopes and interests, as well as whose commercial ties are so closely amalgamated with your own. (Loud applause.) Gentlemen, when I came to Canada, and when it became my business to acquaint myself with the inmost sentiments of the people, there was nothing which struck me so forcibly as the genuine admiration and respect, and I think I might say, affection with which the people of Canada regarded the people of the United States. (Applause). Gentlemen, of course I came to Canada as an officer of the British Government, as a servant of the British Queen, and was bound therefore to promote and maintain the connection between Canada and the Mother Country, which I believe the inhabitants of both countries consider to be of equal advantage to each other, and there was nothing which more satisfied me as to the absence of all difficulties in that respect than the observation of how heartily was the esteem felt by Canada for the United States, and how compatible it was with the most perfect contentment. Gentlemen, I believe that upon the part of the United States is a generous sympathy with Canada in her endeavor to work out her own future, to extend the foundations of her prosperity, and to pursue that honorable career upon which she has embarked. There is nothing upon which Canadians more surely count than the good will, sympathy and encouragement of the people of the United States on that subject. (Hear, hear and applause.) As you are aware, and as has been most justly observed by the gentleman who has spoken in your behalf, the commercial interests of Canada and of the United States are inseparably united. At this moment it is a matter under the consideration of the two governments whether they cannot even be drawn into closer harmony, and if, as a consequence of such result, the friend-

ship between Canada and the United States be thereby increased, all I can say is, that out of these arrangements no result can come which would be more cordially welcome, or would be more agreeable to the people of England. (Applause.) The good understanding between Canada and America is considered in England as a happy and a fortunate circumstance. (Applause.) As I said before, I knew I should fail to adequately express all I feel on this occasion, but I am sure there is not one will leave the room without understanding that the few words I have thus spoken are a genuine expression of my most inmost sentiments, and that, so long as I live, the magnificent spectacle which has been exhibited to my eyes to-day, as the procession which has been organized in my honor passed through your beautiful streets, will be one of the dearest and most agreeable recollections of my entire life. I indeed congratulate you on being citizens of your beautiful city—I congratulate you upon the fact that the foundations of your prosperity are placed on so secure a basis as you observe they are—I congratulate you upon those various natural advantages with which Providence has blessed you, and, above all, I congratulate you upon that feeling of just pride which you entertain for the institutions of your country, and for the nation's soil of which you are such worthy inhabitants. (Applause.) Within a few short years England and America have given an example to the world of what nature can do to remove those difficulties which from time to time necessarily intervene and draw a cloud between friendly peoples. They have shown that, by mutual forbearance, by mutual respect, by a determination to seek nothing but what is just and honorable from each other, that difficulties of the gravest character—difficulties which in less wise ages might have produced lamentable results, can be obliterated—can be completely obliterated—and leave those between whom they occurred more closely locked than ever in the bonds of mutual friendship.” (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Mr. P. Parson, President of the Board of Trade, next delivered an admirable speech, very complimentary to Canada and to England, to which Lord Dufferin replied in the following terms :

“MR. PRESIDENT,—Having already trespassed almost unduly on the patience of our kind friends, I will add no more in reply to those eloquent words which you have addressed to us than to say, that the sentiments to which you have given utterance are heartily reciprocated by myself and all Englishmen.”

Col. Wilkins delivered a brief address, after which several ladies and gentlemen were presented to their Excellencies.

The party then returned to the Russell House, where the Band of the 22nd Infantry played several airs in front of the hotel, concluding with the British National Anthem. In the course of the evening another band serenaded their Excellencies.

This demonstration, made, as it was, spontaneously by a foreign people, was one of the most gratifying incidents of the Vice-regal tour, not only to the Governor General himself, but to the people whom he represented,—and the kindness of the citizens of Detroit on



the occasion will never be forgotten by either. The preparations for the reception were commenced only twelve hours before the arrival of their Excellencies, and yet the demonstration could hardly have been excelled had the occasion been the national holiday.

The next morning, 20th August, the party, accompanied by the Hon. A. Mackenzie, left Detroit for Sarnia, by the steamer *J. W. Steinhoff*. On this trip they passed up the beautiful Detroit River, and the equally beautiful St. Clair Lake and St. Clair River, and were thus afforded an opportunity of seeing a charming and very fertile stretch of country. Several fine towns and villages on both sides of the two rivers were passed. Amongst them was the village of Mooretown, on the Canadian shore. Here a number of flags were displayed, and as the steamer approached, an anvil salute was fired, a crowd of people being seen on and near the wharf. The *Steinhoff* was steered close to it, and though she passed without stopping, the villagers had a good opportunity of seeing their Excellencies, who went to that side of the boat and bowed to them. Five miles from Sarnia, which was reached at about half-past three, the *Steinhoff* was met by a procession of six steamers laden with people, and elaborately decorated with boughs and evergreens. These passed her in two lines of three each, one line on either side. As they did so the passengers of each loudly cheered their Excellencies, who were standing in a conspicuous position on the deck. When all the steamers had passed the *Steinhoff*, they crossed over to the opposite sides, turning about as they did so, and then followed each other in two lines as before, as an escort. As the little fleet approached the town, a salute was fired by the Sarnia battery of Artillery from the gunboat *Prince Alfred*, which was anchored in the river.

At this time the scene on shore, as viewed from the deck of the *Steinhoff*, was exceptionally fine, and their Excellencies were enthusiastic in expressing their admiration of it, remarking that they had never seen anything more charming. On the wharf was erected a beautiful pavilion, the roof of which consisted of alternate strips of white and pink cloth, and was surmounted by a large evergreen crown, while, hung around the structure at the top of the uprights, were pieces of red, white and blue bunting, formed into a sort of loose plaid, and having a very pretty appearance. The floor of this was richly carpeted, and stripes of carpet ran from the steps by which it was entered to the edge of the wharf. To the right of the pavilion was a large double marquee adorned with flags and carpeted like the former. To

the left was a grand stand, containing several hundred people. Behind it, on Front street, a magnificent arch of evergreens reared itself to a great height, and displayed on one side a piece of canvas having on it a portrait of the Queen, with the words "She reigns in our hearts," while on the other side was a similar piece of canvas, with a portrait of Lord Dufferin on it, and the words "Our best wishes follow thee," as also His Excellency's motto, "*Per vias rectas.*" In addition to the people on the grand stand, thousands of others filled Front street in the vicinity, and all the adjacent space, except what was kept clear for the passage of the Vice-regal party from the boat to the pavilion, and from the latter to the marquees. This was done in a most efficient manner by the police, and by members of the 27th Battalion of volunteers formed into cordons. On the wharf was stationed, as a guard of honor, a detachment of the corps just named, whose lively colored uniforms tended greatly to heighten the beauty of the scene. As the Governor General stepped ashore the crowd cheered loudly, the guard of honor presented arms, and the band accompanying it played "God save the Queen." Their Excellencies were met upon landing by Mr. George Stevenson, Mayor, the members of the Town Council, and the Reception Committee, which consisted of Col. Davis, Hon. A. Vidal, Hon. T. B. Pardee, Charles Mackenzie, brother of the Premier, R. S. Gurd, J. J. Lister, and Daniel Mackenzie. The party were at once conducted to the platform, and the Mayor proceeded to read an address on behalf of the citizens, to which His Excellency replied. Hearty cheers were then given for their Excellencies, after which Mr. J. D. Eccles, Warden of the County of Lambton, read an address from the Warden and Councillors of the County, to which also a reply was given. These were followed by addresses from the Munsees, the Indians of the Thames, presented by Isaac Dolson, and Thos. Snake, Chief, and from the officers, chiefs and delegates of the Grand General Council recently held in Sarnia, numbering one hundred and thirty delegates, and representing twenty reservations and ten different tribes, viz.: the Chippewas, Mohawks, Tuscaroras, Cayugas, Senecas, Oneidas, Onondagas, Munsees, Delawares, and Pottawatamies, signed on behalf of the Council, by Henry P. Chase, President, and John Jacobs, General Secretary; a third from the Indians of the Ojibbeway nation residing at Sarnia Indian Reservation, signed on behalf of the Sarnia band by Wawanosh, Head Chief, John Sumner, Wilson Jacobs and Nicholas Plain; a fourth from the Chief and Indians of the Oneida tribe on the Thames river, signed by the Rev. Abraham



Sickles, John S. Sickles, Moses Brown, Augustus Cornelius, and Henry Antoul; a fifth from the Indians of Walpole Island, signed by Alex. Johnson, and a sixth from the Councillors of the Chippewas of the Thames, signed by Jos. Fraser, Councillor, and Alexander Salt, Native Missionary, and others. All these expressed feelings of strong attachment to the rule and person of Her Majesty, contentment with their treatment by the Dominion Government, and gratitude for the blessings of religion and education. One only, from the Munsees, contained a complaint, and this from its novelty is re-produced :

“FATHER, LORD DUFFERIN,—Your children, the Munsees of the Thames, present before your Excellency our entreaty. First, we will describe the great covenant treaty which was made by the British Government, King George the Third, under the superintendence of Sir Wm. Johnston. Our forefathers accepted this great treaty, for it sounded good to them,—to their children’s children. The substance of this great treaty was that as long as the world last you will be used well ;—and for this reason our forefathers spilt their blood, and left their hunting grounds and possessions in the United States for the sake of the British Crown, because the promises were made for them that the King George was rich, and had plenty of land similar to what you left, and freely granted ; but this it appears has not been fulfilled on our part. Father, Lord Dufferin, another Treaty was made by General Proctor similar to the one mentioned in the war of 1812, while retreating eastwards from Amherstburgh. The substance of this Treaty was, that at the close of the war land will be freely granted to us in the river Thames ; and while retreating, our brave warrior Tecumseth and General Proctor were overtaken by the Americans at Moraviantown, and a battle ensued, and here our brave warrior Tecumseth, and many other warriors lost their lives. We Munsees have been strong allies of the British Crown, and have spilt our blood in defending the flag of our country, and our warriors have laid and bled side by side with the British in all the battles of 1812 in Canada. Your children Munsees were numerous at that time, and during the war of 1812 many of them were killed. Father, Lord Dufferin, we have been little uneasy concerning our rights on the river Thames. It seems to us Munsees only have a claim of one mile square and no more. These expressions are too often mentioned by our neighbor tribe ; even our agent, Mr. William Livingston, says the same thing to us ; he tells us, Munsees have no rights to occupy lands outside of that one mile square. Such expression don’t suit our minds, for we are scattered over beyond our rights. All his predecessors never say such a thing to us, but says to us that we had equal right to the land. Father, Lord Dufferin, we Munsees earnestly beg this right to be considered by your Excellency. We remain your obedient Munsees.”

His Excellency in replying to these addresses said that :

“ Among the many pleasures which he had enjoyed during his present tour, few of them were to be compared with that which he experienced in finding himself face to face with the intelligent, well educated, well dressed representatives of the Indian Community in this neighborhood. Coming as he did from the distant West,

and from interviews with their Indian fellow subjects, who unfortunately, from their remote position, had not yet been able to share those advantages which the Indians of this locality enjoyed, he was sensibly struck by the wonderfully, improved condition of the latter. He was proud to think that, thanks to the wisdom of the British Government, such marks of advancement and improvement should be seen among them. He declared himself fully sensible of the obligation which rested upon the white people to use their utmost endeavors to promote the welfare and guard the rights of the Indian tribes, and expressed his pleasure at the fact of all the Indians present being able to converse with him in the English language. He was glad to think they were sensible of the benefits which had been conferred upon them by those good and Christian men who had sown amongst them the truths of religion, both by means of the Bible and by their own noble examples. He spoke of having, during his tour, made the acquaintance of a tribe of Indians to whom, unfortunately, the glad words of the Gospel could scarcely have been preached yet. He remarked that, in contrasting the condition of those people with the condition of the Indians before him, he could not fail to be struck with the immensely beneficial results which flowed from religion going hand in hand with civilization. With reference to the allusion which had been made in some of the addresses to questions affecting certain rights depending on ancient treaties, he said that, of course, it was not desirable for him to enter upon the present occasion into a consideration of these, but he assured them, and this, he said, must be his answer to all representations of that nature, that no petition was ever addressed to him as the representative of the Crown, by any of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, without his feeling it his duty to institute enquiries in regard to the statements it contained, and under the advice of his responsible ministers to do whatever might be thought desirable under the circumstances of each particular case. He wished them all happiness and prosperity, and trusted that they would continue to be satisfied with the Government under which they lived; that year after year they would learn better and better, by industry, by attention to their duties, and by those labors from which no one, rich or poor, was ever exempt in this world, they would join with their white fellow subjects in helping to build up the Dominion of Canada."

The members of the Town and County Councils, and a number of others, were then presented, and their Excellencies were next conducted to a marquee, where they held a reception. Those who wished the honor of an introduction to their Excellencies passed through two lines of volunteers facing inwards, and extending from the pavilion to the marquee, handed their cards to Lieutenant Hamilton, A.D.C., who announced their names, and after shaking hands with their Excellencies, passed out at the opposite end of the marquee from that at which they entered. Among those presented were Mr. Stevenson, the Mayor; Mr. Oliver, M.P.P.; S. D. Pace, United States Consul; Robert Mackenzie, Rev. T. S. Ellerby, Rev. J. Thompson, Rev. Mr. Ross, Rev. A. Jamieson, Walpole Island; Rev. Allan Salt, Indian Missionary; Rev. W. H. Claris and Mrs. Claris, Rev. Father Murphy,



Rev. Father Walker, Rev. Father Bonbat, Major Series, Capt. Adams, Mrs. and Miss Vidal, Miss Lizzie Vidal, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Mackenzie, Mr. and Mrs. John Mackenzie, Mr. and Mrs. James Mackenzie, Dr. and Mrs. Shoebottom, Port Huron ; T. A. Mara and Miss Sarah Mara, Toronto ; Miss Minnie Long, St. Marys ; Miss Mitchell, Port Huron, and others.

The reception over, the Vice-regal party were taken for a drive about the town, in the course of which they passed through several triumphal arches, one of them was made of evergreens and sunflowers, having arranged on its top, barrels of salt and coal-oil, a sheep, sheaves of ripe grain, various agricultural implements ; and on front of it the following : " The County of Lambton welcomes the Governor General and Lady Dufferin with hearty good will." On the other side : " Fear God and honor the King"—" Commerce"—" Agriculture." During the drive the carriage containing their Excellencies was escorted by a detachment of Mooretown Cavalry. At its conclusion the Vice-regal party were taken in a steamer to Point Edward, where they remained for the night.

The reception given to His Excellency by Sarnia was most enthusiastic, and everything connected with it was most creditable to the town. The completeness of all the arrangements, and the very orderly manner in which everything passed off, were deserving of the highest praise.

The *Steinhoff*, with the Vice-regal party on board, left Point Edward for Goderich, on the morning of the 21st August. When the party embarked, a body of riflemen were drawn up on the deck as a guard of honor. The Hon. Mr. Mackenzie here left the party.

When the steamer left the wharf, the weather was fine, though the sky was cloudy, and for a time she progressed very pleasantly. Shortly after noon, however, rain began to fall heavily, and with it the wind rose almost to a gale from the north-west. A great sea was soon rolling, and during the rest of the voyage the boat pitched about in a most lively manner, upsetting chairs and benches, and rendering it very uncomfortable for every one on board. The party were not, therefore, in the best possible spirits when they entered the harbor of Goderich.

According to the programme of the tour, the steamer should have reached this town at two o'clock, but owing to the adverse wind it was not until half-past three that they did so. About a mile from the town, rough though the lake still was, the *Steinhoff* was met by half a

dozen steamers laden with people, and decked with flags. As the *Steinhoff* passed through these, all whistled, and their passengers cheered loudly. When these steamers met the *Steinhoff* they turned about, and escorted her into the wharf, as was done at Collingwood and Sarnia. Meanwhile the guns of the Goderich garrison, placed at wide intervals along the high cliff in front of the town, thundered out from that commanding position a Vice-regal salute. The eminence was at the time covered with people, and another large crowd was down at the wharf. When the Governor General stepped ashore, a guard of honor, consisting of a detachment of the 33rd Battalion V. M. presented arms, and the Goderich band played the National Anthem.

Mr. Horace Horton, M.P., Mayor of the town, and Mr. M. C. Cameron, M.P.P., presented His Excellency with an address, to which he made a suitable reply. The party were then taken into carriages, and driven through the town. On their way they passed under a number of arches, bearing words of welcome, and other appropriate inscriptions,—one arch consisting of barrels of the great natural production of the town, salt, piled up on each other in a fanciful manner. During the course of their drive the procession halted at the Central Public School, the children of which sang a song of welcome, to the air of "God save the Queen," specially composed for the occasion by Mr. J. Miller, Public School Inspector. His Excellency was presented with an address on behalf of the pupils, to which a reply was given. Another address from the trustees and teachers of the Public Schools of the town was presented by Mr. Christo Crabb, chairman of the Board of Trustees. Their Excellencies then proceeded to the Court House where they held a levee, when a great number of ladies and gentlemen were presented.

After the reception the party were driven to the International Salt Works, owned by a joint stock company, of which Mr. M. P. Hayes was President. When in full operation these wells furnished sixty barrels of salt per day. Enough brine, however, could have been pumped from the single well which supplies the works for the manufacture of a thousand barrels per day. There were then fourteen or fifteen salt wells in the town and neighborhood, but the works of none of these were as extensive as the International. In all these works the evaporation is obtained by the use of pans, in place of kettles. In the International works there were four pans, each one hundred and twenty-two feet long, and twenty-six feet broad. They are formed of boiler iron, about an eighth of an inch thick, riveted



together. In these works, as in the majority of those in the town, the pans are heated by furnaces placed under them, but in the works connected with one of the wells in the town, the brine is heated by steam, the pans having two bottoms, between which the steam is passed. By this arrangement the heat is more universally diffused over the bottom of the pan than when it comes from furnaces, which do not, of course, extend the whole length of the pans. The depth of the International well is one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight feet. So sure were the projectors of obtaining brine, that the International works were built before the well was sunk. After the inspection there was a luncheon at which the President ventured to express the desire of the Company to have a free exchange of products with our American neighbors on a fair and equitable footing. He said :

“The interest with which I am connected was perhaps one of those most directly affected by treaties with the United States. At present, the salt manufacturers are laboring under numerous disadvantages, but notwithstanding these we are doing pretty well, and hope by encouragement from the Government to do better still.”

This mild attempt to obtain an expression of the opinion of His Excellency on the vexed question of “Reciprocity” was unsuccessful, for he humorously replied :

“I have derived the greatest pleasure and instruction from my visit to these works. It is the first occasion in my life that I have had an opportunity of acquainting myself by actual inspection with the manner in which salt is prepared for the market, and I am glad to think that, thanks to the bounty of Providence, underneath our feet there should be what appears to be an inexhaustible supply of that article,—and that, too, of the finest quality, and so situated as to be readily and easily obtained. I am still better pleased to think that this Company, notwithstanding these invidious restrictions which are imposed, should still find themselves in a position to trade with the United States. With respect to any possible future alterations in the tariff which might render the trade in salt between this country and the United States freer than at present, I can only say that I shall only be too glad if the wishes of the gentlemen connected with this interest should be gratified in that respect. (Applause.) If every individual interest in Canada could be accommodated, it would be a matter of gratification to the Government. I am afraid, however, that as I pursue my progress through other portions of the country I may meet with interests which would not be disposed to entertain exactly the same opinion as that which I heard fall from the lips of your President to-day. If I do meet gentlemen expressing opinions different from these, my reply will be that I should, of course, be very glad if their views could also be furthered. (Laughter.)

As far as the political aspects of the question are concerned, I am afraid I must refer you to my responsible advisers." (Laughter.)

The party then re-entered their carriages, and were driven to the beautiful residence of Mr. M. C. Cameron, M.P., whose guests they were during their stay in the town. After dark there was a grand illumination, nearly all the windows facing the large square in which the Court House is situated being ablaze with light. Chinese lanterns were suspended at short intervals all around the fence enclosing the Court House square and in the front of several of the buildings. During the evening a band played through a programme of excellent music on the square. A torch-light procession took place, and there was a fine display of fire-works, and a public ball was given in honor of their Excellencies.

The party left Goderich by train on the morning of the 22nd August for Mitchell, where an address was presented from the Mayor and Council of the town, read by Mr. T. Matheson, Mayor. The Municipal Council of the County of Perth also presented an address, read by the Warden, Mr. Robert Jones. After a few presentations the journey was resumed, and at about a quarter to ten o'clock Stratford was reached. A large crowd of persons were present, including a guard of honor, consisting of a detachment of the 28th Battalion V. M. under the command of Major Larmour. The fine band of the town, which carried off the second prize for amateur bands at the then recent Forrester's Festival in Toronto, was also present, and when the Governor General stepped off the train played "God save the Queen." Their Excellencies were conducted to a very prettily decorated tent close to the station, and there His Excellency was presented with an address from the Mayor and Council, read by Mr. Thomas Stoney, Mayor. At the conclusion of the reply the party were taken for a drive about the town, the principal streets of which were spanned by a number of arches, and further decorated with evergreens and bunting. The carriages halted at most of the churches (of which Stratford can boast some very fine ones), in order that the visitors might have an opportunity of inspecting them. When the party entered the Wesleyan Church, the organist struck up the National Anthem, and continued playing it until they left the building. After luncheon, an address was presented on behalf of the German inhabitants of Sebringville, when the party proceeded on their journey to Berlin, where they arrived at about half-past one o'clock, and at no place since the tour



commenced was a heartier or more thoroughly well arranged reception given to their Excellencies. Escorted by a long procession of vehicles, headed by the Berlin band and a British ensign, the Governor's carriage was driven through the streets, when a halt was made for the presentation of an address from the Town Council and inhabitants, read by Mr. Hugo Kranz, Mayor.

Berlin is in the midst of a large German population, who occupy one of the most beautiful and productive portions of the magnificent Province of Ontario. As the German people of Canada form one of the valuable elements of her industrial strength, the opinions of such a class are important, and as this was the first opportunity His Excellency had of meeting this intelligent yeomanry, their admirable address and his reply are reproduced in full. The address was as follows :

“ The Council and inhabitants of the town of Berlin desire to convey to your Excellency an assurance of the great pleasure and satisfaction with which every one of us feels animated on the occasion of meeting the representative of our beloved Sovereign the Queen.

These sentiments are not artificially instigated, but arise from a sincere love of our country, and from the heartfelt esteem we entertain for the Government which your Excellency so worthily represents.

It is the prominent feature of the British Government in the Mother Country as well as in her numerous colonies to preserve peace, and wisely to adapt the laws to the requirements of changeful periods and varying localities ; to grant the greatest possible measure of liberty consistent with the maintenance of order ; to establish equality in the administration of the laws between men of different races and creeds without destroying those social distinctions naturally arising out of her historical development, and sustained by the sound judgment of nations. British Colonies are not regarded as mere sources of revenue, but are treated as integral portions of the Empire, in which the influence of the present state manifests itself in the grand principle of self-government, in the active race for public improvement, the development of internal resources, and in the solution of the great problem of the greatest good to the greatest number. The Sovereign is represented in these colonies by statesmen inspired with true British principles, who, like your Excellency in our Dominion, endeavor to create for the settler a happy home, and a remunerative field of enterprise. The large measure of freedom, the undoubted comforts which surround our Colonial life, are the rational motives of our attachment to the institutions of Great Britain, and of our love for the august Sovereign whose personal virtues excite our deepest reverence and affection. We most respectfully welcome your Excellency and your esteemed lady the Countess of Dufferin to our town, inhabited principally by Germans, who loyally contribute their share to building up our Canadian nationality, and who glory to live, labor and prosper under the British laws and Constitution.”

His Excellency in reply said :

“MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—Among the many pleasurable visits which it has been my good fortune to make during the course of my present tour, I can conscientiously say that there has been none which has given me greater pleasure than that which I am now paying. It is a matter of pride to me, as an Englishman, that in my capacity as representative of the British Queen I should have the honor of addressing a German audience. (Applause.) It is needless for me to assure you that I, in common with all your other British fellow subjects, am prepared to recognize you as fellow-citizens with the utmost cordiality and affection. I believe that in saying this I am accurately expressing the general feeling of the British section and of every other section of the Canadian people, who all recognize in the German element a contribution of strength to our national Constitution, and a population, who, by their thrifty habits, by their hereditary intelligence, by their industry, sobriety, and general good conduct, are likely to aid most powerfully in furthering the prosperity of our common country. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, it has been my privilege to reside for a considerable period in your Fatherland, and I have had the honor of receiving many marks of kindness and good-will at the hands of that august Emperor under whose beneficent sway Germany has become united. (Applause.) And it may be a satisfaction to you to know that I shall consider it my duty, in communicating from time to time, through the proper channels, my impressions as to the condition of the Dominion, to take care that the Government of Germany understand that her children in this country are contented with the land of their adoption, and that, although they regard with undiminished affection the traditions of their forefathers, they are perfectly contented to find themselves under British rule, and in the enjoyment of the liberties secured to them by the British Constitution. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I believe that under no government, and in no country, are popular rights and those principles of true liberty better combined with the administration of order than under the Constitution under which you live. (Hear, hear.) I am sure there is not a person in this vast assembly who does not feel that under Parliamentary Government his voice is duly heard,—that his rights as a freeman are respected, and that his material interests are adequately subserved.” (Cheers.)

Mr. C. A. Durand then presented an address on behalf of the inhabitants of the County of Waterloo, signed by Mr. Abraham Tyson, Warden. After replying, cheers for His Excellency and for the Countess of Dufferin were called for, and the multitude responded with much enthusiasm. The German is generally described as phlegmatic, but judging from the manner in which the people of Berlin cheered on this occasion, they can be as demonstrative in expressing their joy as any Englishman or Frenchman could be under similar circumstances.

A choir of young men sang “Die Wacht am Rheim,” when several presentations were made. After the presentations the Vice-



regal party were driven back to the station, accompanied by a large crowd, who, as the train moved away, began cheering loudly, and continued doing so until distance and the rattle of the carriages on the train prevented their voices being any longer heard. The reception at Berlin must be set down as one of the very heartiest His Excellency had received.

Guelph was reached at half-past three, and as the train approached the place at which the party landed, a Vice-regal salute was fired by the Wellington Field Battery, under the command of Capt. Macdonald.

From the track to an ornate pavilion, erected beside the Town Hall, extended a detachment of the 30th Rifles, who constituted a guard of honor, the rank facing inwards, so as to keep a clear passage between these two points through the large crowd. Accompanying the guard of honor was the band of the 30th, which played the National Anthem when their Excellencies made their appearance. Mr. John Harris, Mayor, having been presented to the Governor General, conducted the party to the pavilion, and then, on behalf of the town, read an address. After a reply by His Excellency, another address was presented from the Central Fair Association, read by Mr. J. B. Armstrong, its President. Their Excellencies were then conducted to the Town Hall, where a number of ladies and gentlemen were presented. After luncheon, at which short speeches were made by the Mayor, and Mr. George Howard, the Reeve, to which His Excellency responded, the party were taken for a drive through the town to the residence of Mr. Andrew Lemon, whose guests they were during their stay in Guelph.

In the evening their Excellencies held a reception in the Town Hall, which, with most of the buildings on the market square, and those on Windham street, were brilliantly illuminated.

The day's journey had afforded His Excellency an opportunity of seeing one of the most fertile districts in the Province of Ontario, so that though great as was his admiration of Canada before, and he had a higher opinion of both the country and the people than he could express by even his glowing speeches, he was now prouder than ever of Canada and of his high position in it. The entire stretch from Goderich to Guelph, and as much further as the eye can reach, comprises some of the finest land to be found on the continent, and everything indicated the greatest happiness and contentment among the people.

On Sunday, the 23rd August, the party attended divine service in St. George's Episcopal Church.

On Monday, the 24th August, the party visited the various sewing machine and musical instrument factories in Guelph, and also Mr. McCrea's woollen mills.

Shortly before eleven o'clock they were driven to the Great Western Station, where a special train was in waiting for them. A large crowd of citizens were assembled here, and the Wellington Field Battery was drawn up near at hand. After His Excellency had inspected the Battery, the party entered the train, and started on their journey amidst ringing cheers from the crowd, and the explosion of a large number of fog signals which had been placed on the track.

The first stoppage was at Preston station, where a considerable number of the townspeople were assembled, on whose behalf an address was presented, read by Mr. Otto Klotz, the accomplished president of the German Societies of Preston and its vicinity. After a suitable reply to the address, a number of children who were on the platform sang the National Anthem, accompanied by a band. The train then left, and a little before noon arrived at Galt.

It was not on the programme of the tour to stop at this town, and it was not until the evening before that it was known there that His Excellency would honor its citizens with a visit. There was consequently but little time to prepare a reception. The people of Galt were, however, equal to the occasion, and spontaneously prepared a hearty welcome for His Excellency. The streets were decorated with bunting, and a number of flags were displayed. On the station platform the firemen of the town were drawn up in two lines, as a guard of honor, and the band of the 29th Battalion played "God Save the Queen," when the party stepped from the train. His Excellency was presented with an address on behalf of the inhabitants of Galt, read by Mr. Thomas Cowan. After a short reply, the party entered carriages for a drive through the town to Miss Macpherson's Boys' Home, the firemen accompanying them a portion of the way as an escort. When they entered the grounds of the Home, which is pleasantly situated a short distance to the north of the town, the boys greeted His Excellency with a hearty cheer. They subsequently favored their Excellencies with some good singing. After spending a short time in inspecting the Home, and in conversing with the children, they



left amidst loud and oft-repeated cheers from the boys, and proceeded to the residence of William Dickson, Esq., whence they obtained a fine view of the town. Having spent a short time here they returned to the station, and took their departure amidst renewed demonstrations of loyalty and friendliness. As the train moved away it exploded a large number of fog signals which had been placed on the track. The train stopped for a short time at Harrisburg Station, which was decorated, and where a large number of persons were assembled. A few of them were presented to His Excellency. The party were joined here by the Hon. David Christie, Speaker of the Senate ; Sheriff Smith, of Brant ; Mr. Plumb, of Niagara, M.P., and a number of other gentlemen from Brantford, who had come down to meet them.

Brantford was reached at about half-past one, and here His Excellency met with such a reception as was to be expected of so loyal and enterprising a town. The Grand Trunk Rifles were stationed on the platform as a guard of honor, and with them was their excellent band, which played "God Save the Queen" as their Excellencies left the train. The party were conducted to carriages, and a procession was formed in the following order : Guard of honor, Grand Trunk Band, the Vice-regal party, the members of the Corporation and County officials in carriages, the Fire Brigade in full uniform, drawing their hook and ladder wagons, and their hose reel, beautifully decorated with flowers and flags, and private carriages, of which there were a great number. The procession, with the band playing, then moved by way of Colborne and Market streets, which were thronged with enthusiastic crowds of people, belonging both to the town and the neighboring country, into the beautiful Victoria Square. Here was a platform, around which the guard of honor formed so as to keep the crowd from getting too close to it. Upon this the Vice-regal party were conducted, and then the Governor General was presented with an address from the Mayor and Members of the Municipal Council, to which His Excellency replied. The party were then driven to the Central School, where a large number of children, from 1200 to 1500, occupying two large platforms erected in front of the building, and facing each other, greeted him by singing, to the accompaniment of an organ, the National Anthem. These included not only the pupils of the Central School, but also those of the Roman Catholic Separate Schools, who joined with the former on the occasion. The pupils of the Public School then presented His

Excellency with an address signed by Lizzie King on behalf of the Scholars of the Public Schools, and by Emily Barr, on behalf of those of the Separate Schools. To this a fitting reply was given. The procession then proceeded to a spot just south of the town, called Cockshutt's Flats, where His Excellency was to turn the first sod of the projected Brantford, Norfolk and Port Burwell Railway. A platform was erected at the place, and was neatly decorated. Here His Excellency was presented with an address from the Company, read by Mr. Wilkes, the President, to which His Excellency replied. He then proceeded to turn the first sod,— he placed it in a wheel-barrow, wheeled it a short distance, and then dumped it on the ground. On this was a block of white marble, with the following words carved on it, to be placed on the station building: "First sod B. N. and Pt. B. Ry. turned August 24th, 1874, by His Excellency the Governor General, Earl Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B."

At the conclusion of the ceremony hearty cheers were given for the Queen, for His Excellency, and for the Countess of Dufferin. The party then proceeded by way of Brant avenue to the new Presbyterian Young Ladies' College, formerly the fine residence of the present Chief Justice Wood of Manitoba. Proceeding up that fine thoroughfare, the party passed a number of elegant private residences and charming grounds. When they arrived at the College, the President, Mr. A. Robertson, presented Her Excellency with an address from the President and Directors of the Brantford Young Ladies' College in connection with the Canada Presbyterian Church, to which His Excellency, commissioned by the Countess, made an excellent reply.

As the sound views of His Excellency on the education and training of girls are of great importance in a country so much exposed as is Canada to the influence of the American system, by which young people become men and women before they are boys and girls. His reply is reproduced in full. After a few preliminary remarks, he said :

" There are few subjects which present greater interest to Lady Dufferin and myself than that of education, especially the education of the female portion of the leading classes of Canada, as it is so intimately connected with the future fortunes and *status* of this country, because it is on the proper education of our girls that we must depend for that high tone of moral feeling, for that delicacy of sentiment, and for that freedom from whatever is meretricious, frivolous and base, which more than anything else are the essentials of a nation's glory. (Applause.) I am the more inclined to insist the more strongly upon this point because we must all be



aware that female education is a subject with respect to which we are liable to fall into error, and over which it is therefore incumbent for the people of Canada to watch with the greatest jealousy and attention. In Canada, as in every new country, there are, of course, circumstances and considerations which in some degree militate against that which ought to be the leading and principal feature of all education, namely, its domesticity. In a newly settled country, where the scattered habitations militate against education, and where even in towns a very considerable number of the inhabitants are driven to live less in private than is the custom in Europe, it is of course more difficult to maintain unimpaired those home influences which are so essential, especially in the training of young girls. Now, I confess that I am strongly of opinion that we cannot keep our girls too long from coming out into the world, and becoming young ladies. (Applause.) In other countries we sometimes see the contrary occur more frequently than is to be wished, but I am hopeful that in Canada we are so convinced of the desirability of maintaining amongst us simplicity of manners, simplicity of dress, (hear, hear,) simplicity of thought and feeling (applause), that we are determined to prevent the youthful members of our families from becoming prematurely sophisticated. (Applause and laughter.) Even if we middle-aged men can carry into the occupations of our mature years the freshness, the liveliness, and the innocence of boyhood, we feel it to be so much gained. (Applause.) And this truth, of course, is infinitely more applicable to those who are to be the ornaments of our houses, and the mothers of our children. (Applause.) However, it would be presumptuous in me to do more than simply glance at these topics. I am sure that every experienced person present will be able to gather from what I have said the full meaning I desire to convey, and that that freshness and that simplicity which I am proud to think are among the noble characteristics which distinguish the Canadian people at large will also long be maintained, the prominent attribute of the manners and of the tone of thought and feeling of our woman-kind." (Great and continued applause.)

Lady Dufferin was then presented with an elegant silver trowel and a little ebony mallet, and with these tools proceeded with the formality of laying the inscription stone.

The party next proceeded to the Asylum for the Blind, and were conducted through it by the Principal, Mr. J. Howard Hunter, M.A. While there His Excellency was presented with a sheet of embossed music, written by a blind pupil of the Institute. This system of writing music is said to have been the invention of Mr. B. F. Cheeseboro, one of the teachers of the Brantford Institute, and the sheet of it given to the Governor General was the first ever written in Canada. The lad who presented it, Roger Roberts, played very well during the visit the "Gloria" in Mozart's 12th Mass, on a cabinet organ.

The party returned to the Kerby House, which was their headquarters while in town. At about six o'clock in the evening His

Excellency gave a dinner party to which were honored with invitations the Mayor ; Mr. Sheriff Smith ; his Honor Judge Jones ; the Rev. J. G. Salter ; Colonel Villiers, of Hamilton, Brigade Major ; Mr. Daly ; Hon. D. Christie ; Mr. Patterson, M.P. ; Mr. Hardy, M.P.P. ; Captain Kerr, and Captain Marshall. In honor of the Governor General's visit the town was beautifully decorated, and Colborne street viewed from the station looked particularly gay. Near the Kerby House was erected a very high arch of evergreens, bearing appropriate mottoes, and at the corner of Colborne and Dumfries streets the St. George's Society had a pretty and unique one. The latter consisted of evergreens, and was supported on two imitation granite pillars, while waving from the top of it was the beautiful banner of the Society, displaying in conspicuous characters the sentiment, "England our Country, Canada our Home." All along Colborne street the display of flags and banners was profuse ; and strips of different colored bunting were stretched across at every few yards, and festooned in front of the stores. The station at which the party left the train was also nicely decorated, but what struck one most was the extent of the decoration of private dwellings. Large numbers of these residences were ornamented in a manner which showed the exercise of much taste and the expenditure of a great deal of time.

On the morning of the 25th August, carriages were at the Kerby House, Brantford, and His Excellency Lord Dufferin, the Countess of Dufferin (accompanied by Lieut-Colonel Gilkison, Visiting Superintendent Indian Affairs), Colonel and Lady Fletcher, and Staff, were driven to the village of the Six Nations Indians in the Grand River, about nine miles from Brantford, called Ohswekea. They first went to the Mohawk Church (built in 1784), where they were received by the Rev. Canon Nelles, and other Missionaries.

The Reverend Gentleman read the following address :—

To His Excellency the Right Honorable Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B., Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, &c., &c.

*May it please Your Excellency,—*

We, the missionaries of the Church of England, to the Indians of the Six Nations, under the auspices of the New England Company, one of the earliest missionary organizations in Great Britain, whose beneficence has been extended to the Indians here for many years, most cordially welcome your Excellency and Lady Dufferin to the Mohawk Church, which is the oldest Protestant place of worship in the Province of Ontario. As an ecclesiastical edifice of such priority, it



will no doubt be an object of interest to your Excellency, but its interests are greatly enhanced by the fact, that at the instance of the late celebrated Chief Joseph Brant, "Thayendanegea," it was erected by the British Government, for the benefit of the Indians, whose spiritual as well as temporal interests have always been the objects of the paternal care of the successive occupants of the British throne. The instructions issued by the Colonial Office in 1670, respecting the Indians, were as follows:—"You are to consider how the Indians may be best instructed in the Christian religion, it being both for the honor of the Crown, and of the Protestant religion, itself, that all persons within any of our territories, though ever so remote, should be taught the knowledge of God, and be made acquainted with the mysteries of salvation." And the laudable spirit which prompted these ever memorable instructions has been possessed by every British sovereign down to the present time, and perhaps by none more than our Most Gracious Queen. We beg to call your Excellency's attention to a copy of the Holy Bible, and a service of plate for the administration of the holy communion, gifts of Her Majesty Queen Anne to her Indian Chapel of the Mohawks. In this sacred edifice, the Indians have been religiously instructed, and doubtless they have been much benefited by their attendance upon the ministrations of the Church, and though the Indians have removed from this neighborhood, and now seldom worship here, many of their children who are educated at the New England Company's institution regularly attend divine service in this place. Many of the Six Nations are truly pious, and strongly attached to the English Church, and as a body, have always been distinguished for their unswerving loyalty to the British Crown. We beg to express our gratitude for the deep interest which your Excellency shows in the welfare of the Indians, and our high appreciation of the kindness of Lady Dufferin and yourself, in visiting the settlement of the Six Nations. We beg, in conclusion, to assure you of our ardent aspirations for the welfare of your Excellency and Lady Dufferin, both here and hereafter.

(Signed,)

ABRAHAM NELLES,  
ADAM ELLIOTT,  
JAMES CHANCE,  
R. J. ROBERTS,  
ALBERT ANTHONY.

Mohawk Parsonage, August 25, 1874.

His Excellency replied briefly, and in doing so, desired to express, on behalf of the Government which he administered, and, he might add, on behalf of all their fellow-subjects, their deep sense of the obligation under which they were to the reverend gentleman and his fellow-laborers, for the devoted manner in which they had addressed themselves to the noble task which they had undertaken. It would be difficult to overrate the benefits which had been conferred by them. It was exceedingly interesting to Lady Dufferin and to himself to find themselves in a locality surrounded by so many historical associations, and he confessed, that it was with the very greatest pleasure that he

looked forward to making himself thoroughly acquainted with the progress which had been made, and the success which had attended the efforts put forth, in the direction of civilizing their Indian fellow-subjects.

Their Excellencies looked at the Communion plate, and the Holy Bible, presented to the Mohawks, by Queen Anne, 1712.

On the fly-leaf of the Bible, are the signatures of their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Prince Arthur : His Excellency was pleased to add his signature.

Leaving the church, the Tomb of Brant was visited.

The drive was continued, via Newport and the Grand River, to the Indian Reserve of Tuscarora.

At the entrance of the Reserve, an arch was erected, with the greeting :

THE SIX NATIONS  
WELCOME  
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL  
TO THEIR RESERVE.

At the turn of the road from the River, another arch had the words :

THE SIX NATIONS  
PLEASED !

Two miles further, a third arch was reached, declaring :

THE SIX NATIONS  
REJOICE !!

On the arch opposite the Council House :

THE SIX NATIONS  
TRIUMPH !!!

At the third arch, their Excellencies were met by Interpreter Johnson, in the costume of a chief, Marshal John A. Beaver, and a body of Six Nations and Ojibbeways, with the excellent band of the latter playing "God Save the Queen," a Royal salute being fired ; further on, they passed the Mohawk band, which saluted with "Rule Britannia," and on reaching the Council House, a large crowd (estimated at 5000) were assembled, half of whom were Indians, who received their Excellencies with whoops and cheers, the Tuscarora and other bands uniting in the National Anthem.



The Council House was prettily decorated with wreaths of hemlock, and on the inner walls were hung portraits of the Queen, the late Prince Consort, Prince Arthur, Sir William Johnson, the Brants (father and son), and other celebrities, interspersed with a variety of Indian weapons and curiosities.

The pathway to the Council House was lined with Indian chiefs and warriors, and in its rear was a rustic hall decorated with flags, in which was erected a carpeted dais, having in its rear the British ensigns, a royal crown and an illuminated ribbon or scroll with this motto :—

“ WELCOME LORD AND LADY DUFFERIN.”

As their Excellencies were conducted to the dais, their path was strewn with flowers by Indian maidens, and a number of children sang the National Anthem.

On the dais to the right and left of His Excellency were seated the Countess of Dufferin, Lady Fletcher, Miss Gilkison, Hon. Mr. Mowat, Prime Minister of Ontario, Col. Fletcher, Hon. D. Christie, Speaker of the Senate, Mrs. and the Misses Christie, Col. Cumberland, A.D.C., Col. Villiers, Judge Jones, Captain Ward, A.D.C., Lieut. Hamilton, A.D.C., Mr. Patterson, M.P., Mr. M. Whiting, Mr. Hardy, M.P.P., Mr. Matthews, Mayor of Brantford, Mr. Cleghorn, Col. Patton, and about eighty chiefs of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Delawares, the Six Nations, and the Ojibbeways ; among whom were Chief J. Smoke Johnson, Speaker of the Council, J. Givens, Jacob and John Carpenter, J. Fraser, D. Thomas, jr., T. Burning ; J. Snow, Geo. Buck, G. Key, J. Buck, Firekeepers ; D. Hill, John Mill, Johnson Williams ; Jacob General, H. Clench, John General, Thos. Isaac, Jacob Williams, Josiah Mill, Wm. Jacob, Geo. Monture, Jacob Silversmith, M. Anthony, Dr. Jones, Wm. Elliott, L. Herchmer. In the body of the hall were many ladies and gentlemen, among whom were the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Nelles, Rev. Mr. Cochrane, Prof. Bell, G. Fleming, M.P., Mayor Whitlaw, Paris ; Rev. J. Chance, Mr. Muirhead, Dr. Henwood, Dr. Dee, Captain McLean, Dr. McCargow, Dr. Bown, Rev. Mr. Hurlburt, Mr. Joseph Robinson, Rev. Mr. Stewart, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Elliott, Mr. H. Andrews, Mr. Shenston, Mr. Robertson, Sheriff and Mrs. Smith, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Salter, Mr. Ermatinger of Simcoe, Mr. and Miss Stuart of Philadelphia, Mr. Thos. McLean,

Mrs. Scott, Mr. Garland, Mr. Thomas Messenger, of Caledonia ; Mr. J. D. Clement, Mr. Pollock, Dr. Griffin, Mr. Hale, of Clinton ; H. Finlayson, M.P.P., Rev. Mr. Roberts, Rev. Mr. Tenant, Rev. Mr. Starr, Mr. Weymes, Mr. Ashton, Dr. Pyne, Mr. Wilkes, and Mr. Van Norman.

The Superintendent announced that His Excellency would be addressed, in behalf of the chiefs and people, by Chief Jacob General, of the Oneidas, who spoke to the following effect :

“ Though young compared with some of the aged Chiefs present, he had been chosen Speaker on this occasion, and would endeavor to discharge the duty.

He reminded His Excellency, that when British supremacy on this continent was in peril, their Indian forefathers shed brooks of blood on behalf of the English nation, and, if the services of the Six Nations were ever required again, in defence of the British flag, they would be willing to risk their lives as their forefathers had done. The Six Nations had confidence in the treaties they had with the English Government, none of which had ever been violated. They welcomed Lord Dufferin, as the only nobleman who had ever visited their reserve, and they also welcomed the Countess of Dufferin. They hoped His Excellency would continue for many years to represent Her Majesty in their native country, Canada, and that the Almighty would bless their Excellencies and their family. The speaker informed the Governor General, that there was a great change for the better in the condition of the Six Nations, that they lived like their white fellow-subjects, by tilling the ground and by other industry, and not by hunting and fishing, as some, he regretted to say, had asserted of them. In education, great progress had been made. The Government had been pleased to appoint a gentleman to the charge of the Six Nation Indians, who is ever ready to promote their interests, protect and defend them. They were quite contented with the Government under which they lived. Their timber and other property had lately been much better protected than formerly.”

Chief George Buck, of the Onondagas, also delivered a short address of welcome.

The Governor General replied as follows :

“ Chiefs, Councilmen, and young men of the Six Nations—I desire to express to you the pleasure which I derive from my visit to your settlement and from the eloquent addresses with which I have been honored. I have long looked forward to this expedition with the greatest impatience, for you must understand that it is no idle curiosity which brings me hither, but that when the Governor General and the representative of your Great Mother comes among you it is a genuine sign of the interest which the Imperial Government and the Government of Canada take in your welfare, and of their desire to show that your interests and your happiness are as much a matter of solicitude to them as are those of the rest of your fellow citizens. Neither must you suppose that I am ignorant of those claims upon the



gratitude and affection of the English nation which you possess. I am well aware that in ancient times, when there was war between the early French colonizers of Canada and the early English colonists of the lower States, you were always a friendly people to the English Crown, and that in later days, when differences arose between our ancestors and the ancestors of the present inhabitants of the United States—differences which I am glad to say have long since been buried in oblivion by both parties—it was on the bravery in arms and on the fidelity of your grandfathers that the Crown of England then relied. The memory of these transactions I can assure you shall never be allowed to pass away, and although you have ceased to be the warlike allies of Great Britain, we are still proud to hail you as its pacific and contented subjects. You could not have a greater proof that the memories of the ancient ties which bound the Six Nations and the English people together have not been forgotten than the fact that one of the principal towns in Ontario has been called after that glorious Chieftain Tyendingaga, of whom you are so justly proud, and in the next place than by the manner in which those treaties and reservations which, in consideration of their services, were made in your favor, have been observed and maintained. There is no part of your address which has given me greater pleasure than that in which you acknowledge that the British Crown has kept faith with its Indian subjects, and that you and all the members of the Six Nations have confidence in the word of the British Government. Although the days are happily past in which we needed your assistance on the battle field, you must not suppose that we do not count with equal anxiety upon your assistance in those peaceful efforts to which the people of Canada are now devoted, or that we fail to value you as faithful and industrious coadjutors in the task we have undertaken of building up the Dominion of Canada into a prosperous, rich, and contented nation. During my recent visit to the westward I came into contact with other tribes of Indians who were, unfortunately, less happily circumstanced than yourselves, inasmuch as, inhabiting a more distant region than you they have not had an opportunity of acquiring those habits of civilization which you have so readily adopted, and of which the beneficent efforts are apparent in the comparison of the scene before me and the appearance presented by those Indian tribes to whom I refer. For although, like yourselves, they are animated with loyal feelings towards your Great Mother and firmly attached to the Government of the British Crown, they were in every way inferior to you in physical appearance, in their habits of life, and in their material comforts. It is to be hoped that in the course of time a more settled mode of existence will gradually be extended amongst all the Indian subjects of the Canadian Government, but at the same time I wish it to be understood that it is by no means the desire of the Government unduly to press upon its Indian subjects a premature or violent change in their established habits. To have done this would have been, in my opinion, a great mistake. I believe that one chief reason why the Government of Canada has been so pre-eminently successful in maintaining the happiest and most affectionate relations with the various Indian nations with whom it has had to deal, has been that it has recognized the rights of those people to live according to their own notions of what is fittest for their happiness, and most suitable for the peculiar circum-

stances in which they are placed. I am glad to think that in doing so they have already begun to reap the fruits of their forbearance and good sense, and that from ocean to ocean, amidst every tribe of Indians, the name of Canada is synonymous with humanity, with good faith, and with benevolent treatment. I am very pleased to see amongst those who have assembled to welcome me many members of your families arrayed in the ancient dress of the Indian nationality, for I certainly am of opinion that it is wise of you to take a just and patriotic pride in those characteristics of your past history which, being innocent in themselves, will serve to remind you of your forefathers, and of the antecedents of your various tribes, and will add color and interest to your existence as a distinct nationality, so happily incorporated with the British Empire. We see that those of French, English, Irish, and Scotch origin who have settled in Canada, however closely united they may be in their present interests, and in a common patriotism to the land of their adoption, still rejoice in those innocent celebrations which recall the memories of the various sources from which their parentage is derived, and I trust that the Indian subjects of Her Majesty will always take a similar pride in preserving intact, from generation to generation, the distinctive attributes of their national circumstances. And now I trust, you will forgive me if, standing in the relation to you of the representative of your Great Mother, I venture to utter a few words of advice. In the first place, let me entreat you with all the earnestness I can, to devote all the energies which you possess to the improvement of your agriculture. Of course I am well aware that a nation of hunters cannot be expected even in one or two generations so completely to change those habits which are engraven into their very nature as to rise to a level with other communities who have followed the occupation of agriculture for thousands of years. Still you must remember that, making every allowance which can justly be demanded in your behalf, on that score, there is room for still further improvements, and in the course of the next generation the Government of the country and your fellow-subjects will expect that you will compete with them on more equal terms than you are able to do at present in all those arts of peace, whether of agriculture or of mechanics, which it is necessary to cultivate for the purposes of your own support, and in the interests of your common country. In the next place—and now I am addressing myself to the young men of the nation, because I feel that it is scarcely necessary that I should give any recommendation to their fathers—let me recommend you to avoid all excess in intoxicating liquors as if they were so much poison, as if it were the destruction of the happiness of your homes, of your health, of your energy, of everything which you ought to hold dear, as honorable and right-minded men. It only remains for me to thank you from the very bottom of my heart for the kindly welcome which you have given me, for the pains you have taken to make my visit agreeable, for the evidences which you have exhibited of your loyalty to your Great Mother, and for your friendly feelings towards myself and the Countess of Dufferin. On entering the Indian Reserve we passed through an arch which was beautifully constructed and decorated with appropriate emblems. On our passage through your domain we encountered Indian bands of music, all of them playing the hymn in honor of the Queen. At arriving at your Council House our path to the dais



was strewn with flowers, and we found ourselves accommodated in that traditional arbor in which from time immemorial the Indian tribes have been accustomed to greet their guests. In return, let me assure you that so long as I administer the government of this country every Indian subject, no matter what his tribe, what his nation, or what his religion, will find in me a faithful friend and sure protector, (applause)—and that in undertaking this office I am but representing the wishes of the Local Canadian Government and following the instructions of the Imperial authorities. The people of Canada and the people of Britain will not cease to recognize those obligations which have been imposed upon them by the hand of Providence towards their Indian fellow-subjects, and never shall the word of Britain once pledged be broken, but from one end of the Dominion to the other every Indian subject shall be made to feel that he enjoys the rights of a freeman, and that he can with confidence appeal to the British Crown for protection.”

The Superintendent submitted an address from the Chiefs to Prince Arthur, with the respectful request, that His Excellency would transmit it to His Royal Highness, together with an edition of “Stone’s Life of Captain Joseph Brant,” and a portrait of that celebrated Chief.

His Excellency was pleased to give his assent.

An address was presented by Chief Dr. Peter E. Jones, in behalf of the Mississaguas (Ojibbeways), neighbors of the Six Nations.

The following address from the Agricultural Society, was presented by Mr. Isaac Barefoot, the Secretary :

To His Excellency, the Right Honorable the Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B.,  
Governor General of the Dominion of Canada, &c., &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the officers on behalf of the Six Nations’ Agricultural Society, desire to approach your Excellency with the most profound respect, and as the Representative of our Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, to express to you our attachment and loyalty to the British Throne. Aware of the deep interest your Excellency takes in the welfare and prosperity of the Indian race of the Dominion, it is our privilege to call your attention to the prosperity and success of this Society, established and conducted entirely by Indians. At the seventh annual exhibition to be held in October next, the amount to be offered as prizes will be ten times that awarded at our first meeting, in 1868. The success which has attended our efforts to encourage a better mode of agriculture, the rearing of improved stock, and, generally, to assist our people in acquiring industrious and economical habits, has been chiefly due to the timely and generous aid extended to us by the New England Company—a company who have not only afforded our people facilities for acquiring educational and religious knowledge in the most liberal manner, but are ever foremost in heart and hand to assist any measure that has for its object the advancement of the Six Nations. As a

community, we rejoice in the conviction, that under the blessings of Him who alone can give the increase, our Society has done much towards accomplishing its purpose, and we confidently hope it will prosper even more than it has done. Had your Excellency's visit occurred during our annual exhibition, a still greater proof of the advancing civilization of our people would have been afforded to you than has been presented to your notice to-day. We trust that this visit of your Excellency and the Countess of Dufferin to the Reserve of the Six Nations, may find a place among your pleasing recollections, and that you will bear away the conviction that we have at least made some progress in the arts and practices of civilized life, and that at no distant day, we shall take an equal place among those of Her Majesty's subjects who people this beautiful Canada of ours.

[Signed on behalf of the Society,]

J. A. BEAVER, President.

WM. MARTIN, Vice-President.

ISAAC BAREFOOT, Secretary.

JAMES STYERS, Treasurer.

*Committee.*

PETER GARLOW,

PETER HILL,

WILLIAM SMITH,

HENRY HILL,

JACOB DAVIS.

His Excellency briefly acknowledged the address.

The Superintendent presented to His Excellency many chiefs and warriors, nine of whom were in the war of 1812 and 1813, namely: John Smoke Johnson, James Givens, Joseph Fraser, Old Silversneth, Jacob Winnie, Geo. Monture, John Tutle, Joseph Snow, Wm. Johnson. Several of the Indian women pressed forward and craved Her Excellency to accept some specimens of their handiwork, which she did very graciously.

Their Excellencies returned to the Council House, from which they witnessed a war-dance in Indian costume, and a sham-fight between contending parties of Indians, one led by chief D. Jacket Hill and the other by Chief George Johnson.

Their Excellencies were then conducted to Styers' Hall, where four tables, ornamented with bouquets and devices, were spread with an excellent luncheon, which over, they rose and retired,—and about 3 o'clock departed amidst hearty whoops and cheers; on returning through the arches, additional mottoes, on the reverse side, were presented to their view:—



THE SIX NATIONS  
PROUD!!!

THE SIX NATIONS  
HAVE BEEN GRATIFIED.

PLEASE REMEMBER  
THE SIX NATIONS.

FAREWELL!  
LORD AND LADY DUFFERIN,

COME AGAIN!

On the return drive, a pleasing incident occurred, in His Excellency's desire to see the interior of one of the log dwellings. He sprang out of the carriage—followed by the Superintendent and Lieutenant Hamilton—and ran a short distance off the road to an old log house, surprising a good woman and her two children, whom he kindly noticed.\*

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\* Mr. J. T. Gilkison, the popular and efficient Superintendent of Indian affairs at Brantford, informs the author that "Ohswekea" is the Mohawk name for "Running Water." The "Grand River," he says, was known by the Indians as "Ohswekea," and "Oswega." The American River on the south side of Lake Ontario as well as the Port were called by the Mohawks, who once owned that part of the state of New York, "Ohswekea." Mr. Gilkison further writes: "The Reserve of the Six Nations is now 52,000 acres, situated on both sides of the Grand River, a few miles from Brantford. The tract is the remains of an original grant of 700,000 acres from the source to the mouth of the River, six miles on either side, given to the Six Nations in consideration of their being gallant and faithful allies of King George during the American Revolution, when they also sacrificed their great possessions and homes in the valley of the Mohawk. All but the 52,000 acres have been from time to time surrendered to the Crown, and sold for the benefit of the Six Nations, the proceeds being invested, the interest of which is paid half-yearly to the Indians. The Reserve is divided into 100 acre lots; settled upon by Indians as farmers, their numbers being now about 3400.

The Rev. Canon Nelles, the worthy clergyman who has for many years been in charge of the Church of England Mission on the Reserve, has obliged the author with a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, printed in English on one page, and in the Mohawk language on the other, and published by the 'New England Company.' This Company was originally constituted a corporation under the name

The Vice-regal party proceeded to Bow Park, where they were entertained at dinner by the proprietor, the Hon. George Brown, who

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of 'The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England,' by an ordinance issued in 1649. Under the authority of this ordinance, a general collection was made in all the countries, cities, towns and parishes in England and Wales, and lands were purchased with the money so collected.

On the Restoration, a Royal Charter, dated 7th February, 14 Charles II., was issued, erecting the corporation anew by the title it still bears: 'The Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and the parts adjacent in America.'

Amongst the purposes of this Society the Charter states it to be for the further propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the heathen natives in or near New England, and the parts adjacent in America, and for the better civilizing, educating, and instructing of the said heathen natives in learning, and in the knowledge of the true and only God, and in the Protestant religion, already owned and publicly professed by divers of them, and for the better encouragement of such others as shall embrace the same, and of their posterities after them, to abide and continue in, and hold fast the said profession. \* \* \* It was the Company, composed as it always has been, partly of members of the Church of England and partly of Protestant dissenters, which supported various missionary undertakings in New England during the seventeenth century. Their endeavors were continued for the same purpose through the greater part of the eighteenth, until interrupted and for some time suspended by the war between Great Britain and most of her American Continental Colonies, which ended in the acknowledgment of the independence of those colonies as the United States.

The operations of the Company have since been carried to the neighboring Provinces of New Brunswick and Canada, latterly principally directed to that part of Canada formerly called Upper Canada, where, in addition to schools and other establishments for the instruction of Indians in useful learning, this Company has contributed largely to the repairing of the church at the Mohawk village on the Grand River (the Church now in charge of the Rev. Canon Nelles), and has caused another church to be built lower down on the same river at the Tuscarora village. In both, service is now regularly performed by Ministers of the Anglican Church duly ordained, whose income is supplied from the funds of this Company." \* \* \*

The Preface further states "that the particular superintendence of the work of preparing the translation of the Prayer Book has been undertaken by the Rev. A. Nelles, the Company's Chief Missionary at their Mohawk station, a gentleman extremely well qualified for the duty by his long residence among the Tuscaroras and Mohawks, and his contact and friendly communications with them."

It may perhaps reconcile some of our young people to the difficulties of the English language if a sample of the Mohawk be given them. Here is the Lord's Prayer in that interesting tongue: "Shoegwaniha Karouhyakuough teghsiderough,



had specially invited some ladies and gentlemen from Toronto and Brantford to meet their Excellencies. After dinner the party returned to Brantford where their Excellencies held a reception in the Town Hall.

On the morning of the 26th August, their Excellencies proceeded from Brantford to Paris, accompanied by the Hon. David Christie, Mr. Patterson, M.P., Mr. Sheriff Smith, and Col. Villiers. Upon reaching Paris the party were driven through the principal streets of the town which were effectively decorated with flags and triumphal arches. The station of the Great Western Railway was decorated in beautiful style; and a platform had been erected at the eastern end of it, carpeted, and covered by an awning composed of a British ensign and an American flag. There His Excellency was presented with an address from the Mayor and Corporation, read by the Mayor, Mr. Charles Whitlaw. After a reply, loud and repeated cheers for His Excellency and the Countess of Dufferin were given. A number of presentations were then made, and among those who had the honor of being presented, besides the members of the Council, were the Rev. D. Henderson, Rev. Father Darling, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Butt, Col. Stanton, W. J. Powell, J. P. Patton, Mrs. Ferguson, the Misses Curtis, Miss Whitlaw, and others. Three cheers were then given for the Queen, and immediately afterwards the party took their departure by a special train which had come up from Brantford. As they left, a band played the National Anthem, and the people cheered loudly.

Woodstock was reached about noon. At the Railway station was a guard of honor from the 22nd Battalion V. M., accompanied by the band of the corps. The fire brigade of the town, about two hundred in number, were also present in uniform, with the town band. The slope in the vicinity of the station, together with the intervening space, was covered with people, who cheered the Governor General heartily

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Wagwags eanadokeaghdiste; Sayanertsherah aedaweghte; Tsineaghserch egh neayaweane ne oughweatsyake tsioni nityought ne Karouhyakough. Takyouh ne keagh weghniserate ne niyadeweghniserake oegwanadarok: Neoni toedaghwarigh-wiyostea ne tsiniyoegwatswatouh, tsiniyouht ne oekyouhha tsitsyakhirighwiyosteanis ne waonkhiyatswatea. Neoni toghsa tagwaghsharinet tewadadeanakeraghtoeke: Nok toedagway adakoh tsinoewe niyodaxheah: Ikea iese saweank ne kayanests-erah, neoni ne kashatsteaghsera, neoni ne oweseaghtshera, tsiniyaheawe neoni tseniyeaheawe.—*Amen.*”

as he stepped from the train. He was conducted to a platform in rear of the station, where an address from the Mayor and Corporation of the town was read by Mr. G. C. Field, the Mayor.

His Excellency in reply said :—

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—I am glad to find myself for the second time in my life in Woodstock, and I am still more glad to think that my visit will be sufficiently prolonged to enable me to make a better acquaintance with the town and its inhabitants than on the first occasion. I thank you very heartily for the patriotic and loyal address which you have presented to me, and I assure you that there is no feeling by which the Canadian people are animated with which I sympathise more than in their desire to build up their country into a distinct, prosperous, and respected nationality. As the representative of Her Majesty the Queen, and an officer of the Imperial Government, it is of course one of my principal duties to strengthen by every means in my power those ties of affection by which the inhabitants of the Dominion are bound to the connection with the mother country. You must not, however, imagine that upon that account I regard with any other feeling than that of the utmost sympathy the spirit of local patriotism which I am proud to think is day by day being more strongly developed from one end of the Dominion to the other. I do not think the Canadian people would be loyal to the Empire unless they were also able to be equally loyal to their own country, to be proud of the fact that they are Canadians, to believe in the destinies which are in store for them, and to be able to look forward with confidence to the task which has been imposed upon them by Providence, and entrusted to them by the mother country, of becoming a glorious adjunct of the British Empire, affording an example to the Continent of America of what can be done under British institutions when they are supplemented by a spirit of noble and patriotic independence. In conclusion allow me to thank you for those expressions in your address of kindness and good will to myself. I only desire to be a faithful servant of the Queen and a genuine friend of the Canadian people (cheers), and I neither wish for nor do I look forward to any other reward than that of carrying home with me the conviction that as long as I live I may be able to boast of having always maintained friendly and affectionate relations with that noble community in whose midst for a few years my lot has been cast. (Cheers.)

Three cheers were then given for His Excellency, after which the members of the Town Council were presented. The Vice-regal party were next placed in carriages, and a procession was formed consisting of the bands, the guard of honor, and the firemen. It passed through the principal streets, which were decorated with a profusion of flags and bunting, stopping at the fine grove of the Hon. Geo. Alexander, which was thronged with people. Here His Excellency was presented with an address from the Warden and members of the County Council of the County of Oxford, read by Mr. Benjamin Hop-



kins, the Mayor. After a reply, the members of the Council were presented to their Excellencies; and after them a number of gentlemen and ladies, among whom were the Rev. Mr. McTavish, Rev. Mr. McMillan, Col. Cowan, and the officers of the guard of honor, Mrs. and the Misses Bird, Mrs. Patullo, Miss Blackie, Mr. James Martin, Mrs. Martin, Mr. John Douglas and others.

The party then sat down to a luncheon at which the Mayor presided. Among those present were the Honorable Mr. Mowat, Mrs. Mowat, the Honorable Mr. Alexander, Mr. Thos. Oliver, M.P., and Col. Skinner, M.P. After luncheon the party were escorted to the Railway station, and took their departure from the town amidst the renewed acclamations of the people. Near Beachville the train passed over a number of fog signals, and Ingersoll was reached about four o'clock, where His Excellency met with one of the finest demonstrations of the tour. The town was literally alive with people, a great number having come in from the country to swell the throng of citizens who had turned out to greet Her Majesty's representative. When His Excellency stepped from the train upon the platform he was loudly cheered by the great crowd of persons assembled at the station, while a guard of honor from the 22nd Battalion V. M. presented arms, and a band played "God Save the Queen." Among those present to do His Excellency honor were the numerous members of the fire brigade. The party were driven through the town. Thames street was exceedingly gay with beautiful decorations. Almost every one of the fine brick stores along that thoroughfare had mottoes in evergreens, devices of different kinds, draped with flags and bunting. Ropes of evergreens, ornamented with strings of flags, or stripes of bunting, were stretched across the streets, in which were erected a number of arches, some curiously ornamented:—one consisting chiefly of cheese boxes, cut cheeses, cut hams, and flowers, and displaying the motto "Cheese, the Making of Ingersoll." Another street, with various articles of furniture; and a third, had high up on each side of it, a reaping machine of Ingersoll manufacture.

The party were driven to the Central School grounds, where a large number of children were assembled, who received their Excellencies by singing the National Anthem. His Excellency was then presented with an address from the Mayor and Council of the town, read by Mr. E. H. Sorley, Mayor. After a suitable reply, a number of presentations were made, among them were the members of the Town Council, Col.

Worham, David White, Rev. Mr. Hincks, James Battersby, Thomas Broson, Adam Oliver, M.P.P., Dr. Williams, J. S. Gurnett, his Honor Judge McQueen, M. Bixal, Jas. McCaughey, C. E. Chadwick, and others.

The party were then driven to the Ingersoll Cheese Factory, where they were welcomed by the President and Manager, Mr. Thos. Hislop. In opening the cheeses for the inspection of their Excellencies, one was found with the inside scooped out, and filled with bottles of champagne; this one, after tasting, was admitted to be "just the cheese."

Leaving the factory, the party were driven about the town, and halted while His Excellency laid the corner stone of a new school house. The party then embarked on the train, and left the station amid repeated rounds of cheers.

London was reached shortly before seven o'clock. The party found thousands of people gathered at the Railway station, and a guard of honor from the 7th Battalion V. M. drawn up on the platform, accompanied by the splendid band of the 13th Battalion of Hamilton. After the loud cheering which the Governor General's appearance had elicited, and the playing of the National Anthem, an address was presented from the Mayor and Corporation, read by Mr. Benjamin Cronyn, Mayor. After replying, His Excellency was presented with another from the Warden and Council of the County of Middlesex, read by Mr. L. E. Shipley, Warden.

The Vice-regal party were next conducted to carriages and driven to the residence of Major Walker, M.P., whose guests their Excellencies were during their stay in the city. From the station thither they were escorted by a troop of cavalry, and by the Reception Committee in carriages, preceded by the bands, playing alternately. In the evening a promenade concert in honor of their Excellencies was given in the New Park, and a fine torch-light procession took place, in which were all the firemen with their steamers and hose carts prettily decorated, and accompanied by the band of the 7th Battalion and a fife and drum band.

On the morning of the 27th August, the Vice-regal party left Major Walker's residence at about ten o'clock, and were driven about the eastern portion of the city escorted by a body of cavalry. At about eleven o'clock they went to the New Park in which some thousands of people were assembled. The London Field Battery, which



was posted in the Park, received their Excellencies with a salute of seventeen guns. As on the previous evening, a guard of honor was furnished by the 7th Battalion, and the band of that corps, together with the band of the 13th of Hamilton, was present. Upon arriving at the Park, the party ascended a platform erected near its entrance, and His Excellency was then presented with an address, requesting him to name the Park. His Excellency, in acknowledging the address, congratulated the citizens of London on the great advance the city had made since he last visited it, by the many new buildings and the number of new and fine broad streets. In the course of his remarks he said that he had that morning received a private letter from Earl Russell, who said he trusted that the Imperial Government would do everything to maintain and strengthen the ties by which Canada was bound to England, and that it would show how deeply it appreciated the loyalty and the affection of the Canadian people. His Excellency concluded by naming the Park "The Victoria." Three cheers were given for the Queen. The party were then driven to the City Hall building, where their Excellencies held a reception, which was very largely attended. They were then entertained at luncheon in the City Hall, to which upwards of five hundred ladies and gentlemen sat down. His Worship Mayor Cronyn being in the chair, he proposed the health of Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen, and afterwards that of the Governor General. After acknowledging the compliment, His Excellency and party left the hall, and, at about two o'clock, the city, amid the cheers of thousands who were at the station to see their Excellencies off.

St. Thomas was reached at about half-past two, and their Excellencies were met at the Railway station by a guard of honor from the 25th Battalion, together with the band of that corps, a detachment of cavalry for a body guard, the silver cornet band of the town, and the fire brigade with its hook and ladder waggon gaily decorated. The Vice-regal party were conducted to a platform adjacent to the station, and His Excellency was there presented with an address from the Mayor, Council and citizens of St. Thomas, read by Mr. D. Drake, the Mayor. Another address was presented from the Warden and Council of the County of Elgin, read by Mr. John McCausland, Warden; to each of them His Excellency replied. A procession was then formed as follows: Band of the 25th Battalion V. M., escort of Cavalry, Vice-regal party, Volunteers, Reception Committee, Town Council and officers,

County Council and officers, Clergy, Marshal, Silver Cornet Band, Fire Brigade, Citizens. In this order the procession moved through the town to the Central School, where it halted while the children sang the National Anthem. The procession, in the course of its progress, passed under the great wooden bridge of the Canada Southern Railway, (ninety feet high, and half a mile long), and stopped at the magnificent station of that railway. A reception was held in this building, and afterwards their Excellencies were conducted into its refreshment rooms, where luncheon awaited them. Owing to the time which had been allowed for the stay of the party at St. Thomas having nearly elapsed, they remained at the table just long enough for His Excellency's health to be proposed and responded to. They then, much to the regret of the members of the Corporation and the citizens, and much to their own regret also, left for the train.

St. Thomas is a town of whose fine, tasteful public buildings and stores, as well as of whose astonishingly rapid increase in population and prosperity, its inhabitants may well feel proud. Seven years ago its inhabitants numbered only about eighteen hundred—now its population is about six thousand. All this is owing to the Railway system. The reception which the town gave to His Excellency was such a one as was to be expected of a town of such remarkable vitality.

Simcoe was reached shortly after five o'clock, and the Vice-regal party were received at the Railway station by a guard of honor from the 39th Battalion V. M., accompanied by the band of that regiment, the fire brigade, and a large number of citizens. Mr. R. S. Livingstone, the Reeve of the town, read an address from the Municipal Council and the inhabitants; after the reply a procession was formed and it proceeded through the town to the Court House where an address from the Warden and Council of the County of Norfolk was read by Mr. Jacob Soverin. To this His Excellency replied. Three hearty cheers were given for His Excellency and three for the Countess in the true Norfolk style. The party were then driven to the residence of Mr. Duncan Campbell, whose guests their Excellencies were during their stay.

In its reception of the Governor General, Simcoe proved itself worthy of being the county town of so fine a county as "Glorious Old Norfolk." The spirit with which its inhabitants received the representative of Royalty was as apparent in the extent, as their



good taste was manifest in the character, of the decorations. The principal streets and thoroughfares were spanned with arches and were beautifully decorated with a profusion of flags, bunting, evergreens, flowers, devices and mottoes. In the evening their Excellencies held a reception in the Court House. At the same time a grand illumination took place throughout the town.

On the morning of the 28th August, the Vice-regal party visited the Union School, where they were received by the children singing "God Save the Queen." Six young girls then advanced, and presented the Countess with a bouquet, one of them read a prettily worded address to His Excellency which he gracefully acknowledged. After the girls had retired the principal teachers and trustees of the school were presented to their Excellencies. Three hearty cheers were then given by the boys for the Governor General, and the visitors took their departure,—the children singing "The Red, White, and Blue."

Waterford was soon reached, being distant from Simcoe only eight miles. The drive took them through a most charming country. The village was reached shortly before noon, and in going through it the party passed under two arches. The Main street was decorated with flags and bunting. The party were driven to the station of the Canada Southern Railway, where a large crowd were assembled. A band of musicians was in attendance. Mr. John Challen, Reeve of the township of Townsend, then read an address from the Municipal Council of the Township, to which His Excellency briefly replied. At this point the party embarked on a special train of the Canada Southern Railway. The car set apart for their Excellencies was very splendidly fitted up. Here the party were joined by Mr. W. A. Thompson, M.P., W. Snider, General Superintendent of the road, Mr. N. Kingsmill, of Toronto, solicitor for the Company, and at Welland Junction, by Mr. W. K. Muir, the General Superintendent of the Great Western Railway.

Cayuga was reached shortly before noon, the Vice-regal party passing under a triumphful arch just before they reached the station at which a guard of honor, a band, and a large crowd were assembled. Upon the platform an address was presented from the Council of the County of Haldimand, read by Mr. John Caldwell, the Warden. The party then proceeded to Welland, which was reached at about three o'clock, where they were met at the Railway station by an immense crowd, the town band playing "God Save the Queen." His Excel-

lency was conducted to a platform, and presented with an address from the Council of the village of Welland, read by Mr. J. H. Price, the Reeve.

After the reply, the party were driven through the village, and on their taking leave were loudly cheered.

The Vice-regal party arrived at St. Catharines about half-past four. In front of the Station was drawn up a guard of honor from the 19th Battalion, with their band. There was also in attendance a detachment of the St. Catharines troop of Cavalry as a body guard. As soon as the party left the train they were conducted to carriages, and a procession was then formed which at once moved up to the town,—the St. Catharines Garrison Battery, meanwhile, firing a Vice-regal salute, and the bands in the *cortege*, of which there were three, playing at intervals.

In crossing the Canal bridge, the procession passed under a structure built in imitation of the mast of a ship with its rigging, except that the ropes were covered with evergreens. The yards crossing it were manned by sailors, and the structure was profusely decorated with flags; attached to it was the motto "Commerce, the Life of the Country." Another arch was formed of flour barrels. On reaching the large space at the intersection of St. Paul and Ontario streets the procession halted, and the party ascended a spacious platform erected at that point, with a flag pole rising from its centre, from which ropes of evergreens extended in every direction to the buildings adjoining, and from which numerous flags were floating. The streets were crowded by a mass of five or six thousand people. Hundreds of others looked down on the scene from the windows of the fine high buildings in the vicinity. The public square was beautifully decorated. On one side of it is the Odd Fellows Hall, in a handsome lofty building. Stretched across the front of this were pieces of canvas bearing mottoes of the Order. Near this building is the Masonic Hall, an imposing edifice with a massive iron front, which was elaborately decorated. As soon as the Vice-regal party took up their positions on the platform, a large band of vocalists, consisting of singers from the various churches of the town, placed on an adjacent platform, sang "God Save the Queen." The Governor General was then presented with an address from the Council of the County of Lincoln, read by the Warden, Mr. Calvin Brown. After the reply, another one was presented from the Council of the Town of St. Catharines, read by Mr. James



Norris, the Mayor. On the reply to this being finished, the choir sang "God Bless the Prince of Wales," when the usual presentations were made. Among those presented were Mr. C. J. Rykert, M.P.P., Mr. Douglas McCarthy, Mr. Larkin, Mr. Oill, Mr. Cuff, Mr. Corbin, Mr. Fowler, Mr. Dougan and Mr. Brown. The party then re-entered their carriages, and the drive through the town was continued. On its way the procession passed under several more fine arches. Among them was one formed of chairs; another, bearing the words "The Firemen's Welcome," was beautifully decorated with flags, bunting and paintings, and had several men in uniform standing in different parts of it on one side, while on the other was a beautiful steamer. A number of the arches were composed of evergreens, and boards covered with red cloth, on which were displayed numerous mottoes. One of the arches had a motto, "Free Trade and Equal Rights." Another displayed the words, "A Home Market." The party reached their hotel at about six o'clock, and at eight o'clock they proceeded to the Montebello Gardens, where Professor Hand of Hamilton gave an exhibition of pyrotechnics, probably finer than was ever before seen in Canada, both in brilliancy and variety. During the exhibition two fire balloons of about ten feet in diameter each, red, white and blue in color, were sent up with appendages, which, as the balloons passed through the air, kept emitting hundreds of balls of variously colored fire. While this display was being made, there was a crowd in the gardens, estimated at ten thousand,—large numbers of people having come in from the country to witness the rejoicings. During the evening the town was brilliantly illuminated. Along the fronts of the stores on St. Paul and Ontario streets were hung hundreds of Chinese lanterns and glass lanterns, of various colors, interspersed with large transparencies. Some of the arches were illuminated. The illumination was by no means confined to the business streets. Most of the beautiful private dwellings, for which St. Catharines is so favorably known, were profusely illuminated, and in many, the large handsome bow windows were filled with vases of flowers and Chinese lanterns. Along both sides of Ann street, on which are many of the finest residences, ran strings of Chinese lanterns, giving the thoroughfare, with its avenue of trees, a most beautiful appearance.

The party returned from the gardens at about ten o'clock, when a levee was held at the hotel.

On the morning of the 29th August, His Excellency and suite

(Lady Dufferin had at last been compelled to seek rest, and did not accompany his Excellency), escorted by the St. Catharines troop of Cavalry, and followed by the members of the Town Council and others, proceeded through Merritton and Thorold to the new Welland Canal works. At Merritton the procession stopped, and an address was presented to His Excellency from the manufacturers and operatives of the village, read by Mr. John Riordan, and signed by him, Messrs. Gordon, Mackay & Co., Richard Talbot and W. W. Wait. His Excellency having replied, the usual presentations took place, after which three hearty cheers were given for the Queen, for the Governor General and for Lady Dufferin. Here, as in other places, the streets were decorated, and His Excellency continued to be greeted with great enthusiasm.

Arrived at Thorold, he found another large crowd assembled in front of a platform erected for the presentation of an address. There was a guard of honor from the 44th Battalion, together with a band, and the firemen of the town in neat uniform. The streets were prettily decorated. The address from the Council of Thorold was read by Mr. John McDonagh, the Reeve. In his reply, His Excellency remarked that :

“During his present tour he had visited the distant waters of Lake Superior, and had arrived at the conclusion that no reasonable man could doubt but that within a very few years the industry and energy of the Canadian people would have conducted the water-ways of the Atlantic to the head of Lake Superior. (Applause.) Neither was it possible to over-rate the consequences which would flow from these great works. No one could look upon the navigation of the northern parts of North America without perceiving that the River St. Lawrence and the chain of lakes which empty their waters into it are destined to be the high road along which all the productions, not only of the Canadian North-West, but also of the northern valleys of the Mississippi and its tributaries, would pass.” (Cheers.)

After the usual presentations, the party drove to the cutting for the new canal; having examined it, they returned to Merritton, and there took the train on which Her Excellency and the rest of the Vice-regal party were awaiting the return of the Governor General.

They then proceeded to Fort Erie, crossed the International Bridge, and, returning to the Canadian shore, pursued their journey to the Falls of Niagara, where they secured an *incognito* interval of a couple of hours. They then re-entered the train and arrived at the town of Niagara about six o'clock. Here a large number of the



citizens of the old town, and of others temporarily resident in it, were assembled to welcome the visitors. A guard of honor was in attendance under the command of Major Thomson, together with the band of the Orange Young Britons. The party proceeded to the Town Hall where an address from the Council of the town was read by Mr. Harry Pafford, the Mayor. After the reply and reception held by their Excellencies the party proceeded to the residence of Mr. Plumb, M.P., whose guests they were during their stay in Niagara. In the evening a grand display of fire works was made on the Common, south of the town, and a fine illumination took place. A ball, or rather what is commonly known as a "hop," was given by the proprietors of the Royal Hotel, which was largely attended by visitors from Toronto, Hamilton, St. Catharines, and Queenston. His Excellency was present during a portion of the evening, and danced with Mrs. Col. Burnett, New York; Mrs. Nicol Kingsmill, Toronto; and Miss Thompson, Lewiston,—but Her Excellency, owing to the fatigue she had undergone during the week, did not attend.

On the 31st August, the Vice-regal party left Niagara by steamer. On leaving Niagara, a large crowd of persons were assembled on the dock, including the guard of honor and band which were present on their return. On the arrival of the steamer at Toronto, at about half-past ten p.m., a strong detachment of the 10th Royals was there drawn up as a guard of honor, accompanied by the band of the regiment, and by a detachment of the Governor General's body guard for an escort to His Excellency. A large crowd of citizens were assembled on the dock, and many others thronged Yonge and Front streets in the vicinity. When the ordinary passengers by the steamer had disembarked, the Vice-regal party were met on board by his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Crawford; Hon. Mr. Mowat, Premier of Ontario; Hon. Geo. Brown; Lieutenant Colonel Durie, Deputy Adjutant General; Lieutenant Colonel R. B. Denison, Brigade Major; Sheriff Jarvis and a number of other prominent citizens. On the party disembarking they were saluted by the guard of honor, the band playing the National Anthem. The distinguished visitors were conducted to the carriages of the Lieutenant Governor, and, escorted by the Governor General's body guard, were driven to the Queen's Hotel. All the public buildings and many of the stores displayed the Union Jack or the Dominion Flag.

On the 1st September His Excellency attended the annual competition of the Ontario Rifle Association, and after opening the match by firing the first shot, he sat down to luncheon with a large number of gentlemen. After replying to the toast, "His Excellency the Governor General," and listening to the brief speeches of the Chairman, Mr. John Gordon, his Honor the Lieutenant Governor and Chief Justice Draper, His Excellency left.

On the 2nd September His Excellency visited the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, and distributed the prizes won at their last year's regatta, in addition to those won at their regatta a few days before his visit.

In the evening a dinner was given by the Toronto Club to His Excellency, to which a party of sixty sat down, in the dining room of the Club House. The Hon. J. Hillyard Cameron, President of the Club, acted as Chairman, Mr. Todd and Mr. T. D'Arcy Boulton occupying seats at the heads of the side tables. Among the company present were his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, Hon. W. P. Howland, C.B., Chief Justice Draper, C.B., Mr. Justice Strong, Mr. Speaker Wells, Vice-Chancellor Blake, Hon. Frank Smith, Hon. W. Cayley, Hon. O. Mowat, Attorney General of Ontario and Premier; Hon. E. Blake, Hon. A. Crooks, J. B. Plumb, M.P., Messrs. M. Michael, Torrance, Manning, Crombie, Risley, Bickford, Cumberland, Moffatt, St. George, J. O. Heward, J. Michie, H. Moody, A. Furniss, Kerr, J. D. Edgar, W. Thomson, Alister Clarke, Hector Cameron, Thos. Moss, M.P., Colonel McGiverin of Hamilton, J. Ap. Jones, H. O'Brien, Major Draper, etc., etc.

After full justice had been done to the repast, the Chairman proposed the healths of the Queen and Royal Family, which were received with the usual demonstrations.

The Chairman in proposing the health of His Excellency the Governor General said that :

During the short time Lord Dufferin had been amongst us he had won golden opinions from all classes. (Applause.) He (the Chairman) felt certain that His Excellency desired in every way to show the extent, which, as representative of Her Majesty, he would naturally feel in everything that concerned the welfare and happiness of the people of the Dominion. They would easily perceive that the path that the Governor General had to tread in this country was not one strewn with flowers. If, however, there were roughnesses in the way—obstacles that might embarrass him, His Excellency might be assured that the Canadian people would appreciate the difficulties of his position. Many persons thought that the Governor General was irresponsible, and that upon his advisers must fall all the blame of the acts of the administration. He (Mr. Cameron) considered that His



Excellency had two responsibilities: he was directly responsible to the Queen, and indirectly responsible to public opinion. It was possible that times might arrive when the Governor General might himself steer the ship, and then he would be doubly responsible in the manner mentioned for the way in which he discharged his duties. It would depend altogether upon the judgment he exercised whether he satisfied both the Canadian people and the Imperial Government. They all knew how peculiarly His Excellency was placed. As he had himself said, he had no organ to vindicate his course, or express his views, whenever they might be misrepresented or misunderstood. In conclusion, he asked them to drink the health of the Governor General—not merely in his representative capacity, but in his personal character of the kind and genial nobleman, of whose benevolent acts accounts had been wafted to us across the ocean.

His Excellency in reply said:—

“MR. CAMERON AND GENTLEMEN,—I cannot but consider it a very happy circumstance that one of the most gratifying progresses ever made by a representative of the Queen through any portion of the British Empire should find its appropriate close in this cordial and splendid reception, at the hands of a Society of gentlemen which, though non-political in its corporate character, is so thoroughly representative of all that is most distinguished in the various schools of political thought in Canada. It is but a few short weeks since I left Toronto, and yet I question whether many born Canadians have ever seen or learnt more of the western half of the Dominion than I have during that brief period. (Hear, hear.) Memory itself scarcely suffices to reflect the shifting vision of mountain, wood and water, inland seas and silver rolling rivers, golden corn-lands and busy prosperous towns, through which we have held our way; but though the mind’s-eye fail ever again to re-adjust the dazzling panorama, as long as life endures not a single echo of the universal greeting with which we have been welcomed will be hushed within our hearts. (Great applause.) Yet deeply as I am sensible of the personal kindnesses of which I have been the recipient, proud as I feel of the honor done to my office, moved as I have been by the devoted affection shown for our Queen and for our common country, no one is more aware than myself of the imperfect return I have made to the generous enthusiasm which has been evoked. If, then, gentlemen, I now fail to respond in suitable terms to the toast you have drunk, if in my hurried replies to the innumerable addresses with which I have been honored, an occasional indiscreet or ill-considered phrase should have escaped my lips, I know that your kindness will supply my shortcomings—that naught will be set down in malice—and that an indulgent construction will be put upon my hasty sentences. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, though the language of gratitude may fail, the theme itself supplies me with that of congratulation, for never has the head of any Government passed through a land so replete with contentment in the present, so pregnant with promise in the future. (Cheers.) From the northern forest borderlands, whose primeval recesses are being pierced and indented by the rough and ready cultivation of the free-grant settler, to the trim enclosures and wheat-laden townships that smile along the lakes,—from the orchards of Niagara to the hunting grounds of Nipigon,—in the wigwam of the Indian, in the homestead of the farmer, in the

workshop of the artisan, in the office of his employer, everywhere have I learnt that the people are satisfied (applause)—satisfied with their own individual prospects, and with the prospects of their country (applause)—satisfied with their Government, and with the institutions under which they prosper (applause)—satisfied to be the subjects of the Queen (tremendous applause)—satisfied to be members of the British Empire. (Renewed applause.) Indeed I cannot help thinking that, quite apart from the advantages to myself, my yearly journeys through the Provinces will have been of public benefit, as exemplifying with what spontaneous, unconcerted unanimity of language the entire Dominion has declared its faith in itself, in its destiny, in its connection with the Mother Country, and in the well-ordered freedom of a constitutional Monarchy. (Applause.) And, gentlemen, it is this very combination of sentiments which appears to me so wholesome and satisfactory. Words cannot express what pride I feel as an Englishman in the loyalty of Canada to England. (Hear, hear.) Nevertheless, I should be the first to deplore this feeling if it rendered Canada disloyal to herself, if it either dwarfed or smothered Canadian patriotism, or generated a sickly spirit of dependence. Such, however, is far from being the case. The legislation of your Parliament, the attitude of your statesmen, the language of your press, sufficiently show how firmly and intelligently you are prepared to accept and apply the almost unlimited legislative faculties with which you have been endowed (hear, hear)—while the daily growing disposition to extinguish sectional jealousies and to ignore an obsolete provincialism, proves how strongly the young heart of your confederated commonwealth has begun to throb with the consciousness of its nationalized existence. (Great cheering.) At this moment not a shilling of British money finds its way to Canada, the interference of the Home Government with the domestic affairs of the Dominion has ceased, while the Imperial relations between the two countries are regulated by a spirit of such mutual deference, forbearance, and moderation as reflects the greatest credit upon the statesmen of both. (Hear, hear.) Yet so far from this gift of autonomy having brought about any divergence of aim or aspiration on either side, every reader of our annals must be aware that the sentiments of Canada towards Great Britain are infinitely more friendly now than in those earlier days when the political intercourse of the two countries was disturbed and complicated by an excessive and untoward tutelage (cheers); that never was Canada more united than at present in sympathy of purpose and unity of interest with the Mother Country, more at one with her in social habits and tone of thought, more proud of her claim to share in the heritage of England's past, more ready to accept whatever obligations may be imposed upon her by her partnership in the future fortunes of the Empire. (Tremendous applause.) Again nothing in my recent journey has been more striking, nothing indeed has been more affecting, than the passionate loyalty everywhere evinced towards the person and the throne of Queen Victoria. (Great cheering.) Wherever I have gone, in the crowded cities, in the remote hamlet, the affection of the people for their Sovereign has been blazoned forth against the summer sky by every device which art could fashion or ingenuity invent. (Cheers.) Even in the wilds and deserts of the land, the most secluded and untutored settler would hoist some cloth or rag above his shanty, and startle the solitudes of the forest with a shot from his rusty firelock and a lusty cheer from himself and



his children in glad allegiance to his country's Queen. (Applause.) Even the Indian in his forest, or on his reserve, would marshal forth his picturesque symbols of fidelity in grateful recognition of a Government that never broke a treaty or falsified its plighted word to the red man (great applause) or failed to evince for the ancient children of the soil a wise and conscientious solicitude. (Renewed applause and cheers.) Yet touching as were the exhibitions of so much generous feeling, I could scarcely have found pleasure in them had they merely been the expressions of a traditional habit or of a conventional sentimentality. No, gentlemen, they sprang from a far more genuine and vital source. (Cheers.) The Canadians are loyal to Queen Victoria, in the first place because they honor and love her for her personal qualities (cheers),—for her life-long devotion to her duties (cheers),—for her faithful observance of all the obligations of a constitutional monarch (cheers); and, in the next place, they revere her as the symbol representative of as glorious a national life, of as satisfactory a form of Government as any country in the world can point to—a national life illustrious through a thousand years with the achievements of patriots, statesmen, warriors, and scholars (great cheers)—a form of Government which more perfectly than any other combines the element of stability with a complete recognition of popular rights, and insures by its social accessories, so far as is compatible with the imperfections of human nature, a lofty standard of obligation and simplicity of manners in the classes that regulate the general tone of our civil intercourse. (Cheers.) On my way across the lakes I called in at the city of Chicago—a city which has again risen more splendid than ever from her ashes—and at Detroit, the home of one of the most prosperous and intelligent communities on this continent. At both these places I was received with the utmost kindness and courtesy by the civil authorities and by the citizens themselves, who vied with each other in making me feel with how friendly an interest that great and generous people who have advanced the United States to so splendid a position in the family of nations, regard their Canadian neighbors; but, though disposed to watch with genuine admiration and sympathy the development of our Dominion into a great power, our friends across the line are wont, as you know, to amuse their lighter moments with the 'large utterances of the early gods.' (Laughter.) More than once I was addressed with the playful suggestion that Canada should unite her fortunes with those of the Great Republic. (Laughter.) To these invitations I invariably replied by acquainting them that in Canada we were essentially a democratic people (great laughter); that nothing would content us unless the popular will could exercise an immediate and complete control over the Executive of the country (renewed laughter); that the Ministers who conducted the Government were but a Committee of Parliament, which was itself an emanation from the constituencies (loud applause), and that no Canadian would be able to breathe freely if he thought that the persons administering the affairs of his country were removed beyond the supervision and contact of our legislative assemblies. (Hear, hear, cheers and laughter.) And, gentlemen, in this extemporized repartee of mine (laughter)—there will be found, I think, a germ of sound philosophy. In fact, it appears to me that even from the point of view of the most enthusiastic advocate of popular rights, the Government of Canada is nearly per-

fect, for while you are free from those historical complications which sometimes clog the free running of our Parliamentary machinery at home, while you possess every popular guarantee and privilege that reason can demand (hear, hear)—you have an additional element of elasticity introduced into your system in the person of the Governor General; for, as I have had occasion to remark elsewhere,—in most forms of Government, should a misunderstanding occur between the head of the State and the representatives of the people a dead-lock might ensue of a very grave character, inasmuch as there would be no power of appeal to a third party—and deadlocks are the dangers of all constitutional systems—whereas in Canada, should the Governor General and his Legislature unhappily disagree, the misunderstanding is referred to England as “*amicus curiæ*,” whose only object, of course, is to give free play to your Parliamentary institutions, whose intervention can be relied upon as impartial and benevolent, and who would immediately replace an erring or impracticable Viceroy—for such things can be (laughter)—by another officer more competent to his duties, without the slightest hitch or disturbance having been occasioned in the orderly march of your affairs. (Applause.) If then the Canadian people are loyal to the Crown, it is with a reasoning loyalty. (Applause.) It is because they are able to appreciate the advantage of having inherited a constitutional system so workable, so well balanced, and so peculiarly adapted to their own especial wants. (Applause.) If to these constitutional advantages we add the blessing of a judiciary not chosen by a capricious method of popular election, but selected for their ability and professional standing by responsible Ministers, and alike independent of popular favor and political influences (hear, hear);—a civil service whose rights of permanency both the great political parties of the country have agreed to recognize (applause)—and consequently a civil service free from partizanship, and disposed to make the service of the State rather than that of party, their chief object (hear, hear); an electoral system purged of corruption by the joint action of the ballot and the newly-constituted courts for the trial of bribery (applause); a population hardy, thrifty and industrious, simple in their manners, sober in mind, God-fearing in their lives (cheers); and lastly an almost unlimited breadth of territory, replete with agricultural and mineral resources, it may be fairly said that Canada sets forth upon her enviable career under as safe, sound, and solid auspices as any State whose bark has been committed to the stream of Time. (Great cheering.) The only thing still wanted is to man the ship with a more numerous crew. From the extraordinary number of babies I have seen at every window and at every cottage door (laughter and applause)—native energy and talent appears to be rapidly supplying this defect (laughter); still it is a branch of industry in which the home manufacturer has no occasion to dread foreign competition (great laughter)—and Canadians can well afford to share their fair inheritance with the straightened sons of toil at home. When crossing the Atlantic to take up the Government of this country, I found myself the fellow-passenger of several hundred emigrants. As soon as they had recovered from the effect of sea sickness the captain of the ship assembled these persons in the hold, and invited the Canadian gentlemen on board to give them any information in regard to their adopted country which might seem useful. Some of the emigrants began asking questions, and one man prefaced his remarks by saying that ‘he had



the misfortune of having too many children.' Being called upon, in my turn to address the company, I alluded to this phrase, which had grated harshly on my ears, and remarked that perhaps no better idea could be given of the differences between the old country and their new home than by the fact that whereas in England a struggling man might be overweighted in the battle of life by a numerous family, in the land to which they were going a man could scarcely have too many children. (Cheers and laughter.) Upon which I was greeted with an approving thump on the back by a stalwart young emigrant, who cried out, 'Right you are, Sir, that's what I've been telling Emily.' (Great laughter.)

Indeed, for many years past, I have been a strong advocate of emigration in the interests of the British population. I believe that emigration is a benefit both to those that go and to those that remain, at the same time that it is the most effectual and legitimate weapon with which labor can contend with capital. I have written a book upon the subject, and have been very much scolded for wishing to depopulate my native country; but however strong an advocate of emigration from the English standpoint, I am of course a thousandfold more interested in the subject as the head of the Canadian Government. (Applause.) Of course I am not in a position nor is it desirable that I should take the responsibility of saying anything on this occasion which should expose me hereafter to the reproach of having drawn a false picture or given delusive information in regard to the prospects and opportunities afforded by Canada to the intending settler. (Applause.) The subject is so serious a one, so much depends upon the individual training, capacity, health, conduct, and antecedents of each several emigrant, that no one without an intimate and special knowledge of the subject would be justified in pronouncing authoritatively on its details (hear, hear);—but this at all events I may say, wherever I have gone I have found numberless persons who came to Canada without anything, and have since risen to competence and wealth (applause)—that I have met no one who did not gladly acknowledge himself better off than on his first arrival (cheers),—and that amongst thousands of persons with whom I have been brought into contact, no matter what their race or nationality, none seemed ever to regret that they had come here. (Great and continued applause.) This fact particularly struck me on entering the log huts of the settlers in the more distant regions of the country. Undoubtedly their hardships had been very great, the difficulties of climate and locality frequently discouraging, their personal privations most severe; but the language of all was identical, evincing without exception pride in the past, content with the present, hope in the future (cheers); while, combined with the satisfaction each man felt in his own success and the improved prospects of his family, there shone another and even a nobler feeling—namely, the delight inspired by the consciousness of being a co-efficient unit in a visibly prosperous community, to whose prosperity he was himself contributing. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Of course these people could never have attained the position in which I found them without tremendous exertions. Probably the agricultural laborer who comes to this country from Norfolk or Dorsetshire will have to work a great deal harder than ever he worked in his life before, but if his work is harder he will find a sweetener to his toil of which he could never have dreamt in the old country, namely, the prospect of independence, of a roof over his head for which he

shall pay no rent, and of ripening cornfields round his homestead which own no master but himself. (Tremendous applause.) Let a man be sober, healthy, and industrious; let him come out at a proper time of the year, let him be content with small beginnings and not afraid of hard work, and I can scarcely conceive how he should fail in his career. (Long continued applause.) Gentlemen, I have been tempted by the interest of the subject to trespass far too long, I fear, upon your indulgence (no, no), but I felt that perhaps I could not make a more appropriate return for the honor you have done me than by frankly mentioning to you the impression left upon my mind during my recent journeys. (Hear, hear.) It now only remains for me to thank you again most heartily for your kindness, and to assure you that every fresh mark of confidence which I receive from any section of the Canadian people only makes me more determined to strain every nerve in their service (cheering), and to do my best to contribute towards the great work upon which you are now engaged, namely, that of building up on this side of the Atlantic a prosperous, loyal, and powerful associate of the British Empire." (Tremendous applause).

At the conclusion of His Excellency's speech the whole company stood up and cheered for several minutes.\*

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\* This speech is considered among the best ever delivered by His Excellency, and ranks among those, generally recognized as his "Great" speeches. It attracted great attention in Canada, the United States and in Britain. It fell like a revelation on the ear of the British people, who were astonished to find themselves in possession of so magnificent a domain, inhabited by so loyal and prosperous a people. Never before had the grand resources of Canada been so graphically or so truthfully described; never before had the love of its people for the "Old Flag" been so warmly vindicated. The leading journals of England, headed by the London *Times*, made it a text for able discourses on the value of the Dominion to the Empire, and this single speech doubtless did more to elevate Canada in the European mind than any utterance or act of all the rulers she had ever welcomed to her shores. The following extract from the London *Spectator* of the 26th September, 1874, is a fair specimen of the universal admiration which is evoked: "Lord Dufferin delivered at Toronto, on the 2nd September, after his return from an excursion into Western Canada, a speech on the state of the Dominion and its attachment to the British Empire which recalls the best days of Irish eloquence and statesmanship. The perfect rhythm of the sentences, the happy vivacity of the humor, the picturesque review of Canadian scenery, the glow of Imperial pride which runs through the whole address, the strong constitutional sense, the cordially good-humored satire at the expense of our sober-minded, but not very sober-voiced neighbor on the great continent, the depth of sympathy with the humblest forms of Canadian life, and the elastic hope in relation to the future both of the Dominion and the Empire which breathes in every sentence, give to the speech a character as inspiring as, in modern times at least, such a character is rare. For, from whatever reason, English statesmanship of late years has lost its buoyancy, and we have been far too much accustomed to hear the accents of a dispirited depreciation of



The Vice-regal party left Toronto on the morning of the 3rd September, in continuation of the tour. At the station there was a guard of honor from the Queen's Own, under the command of Capt. Buchan, together with the band of that corps. Among those present were the Lieutenant Governor, Hon. W. P. Howland, Lieut. Col. Durie, and Lieut. Col. R. B. Denison, Brigade Major.

English power, which, because it is unwelcome to us, passes the more readily for good sense. Lord Dufferin himself, while at home, breathed forth no such notes of triumphant confidence in our future as this. The heavy atmosphere of the Conservative party's surprise and displeasure at our diminished importance in Europe, and of the progressive party's cynical prognostic of the growth of the United States at our expense, has now for many years blighted the old spirit of our exultation in British power and destiny. We have been accustomed to hear that, on the one side, we could not hope to count for much beside military states which could put their million of men into the field; and on the other, that our great possessions on the Western Continent were simply untenable against a power which has eight times the population of the Dominion, and which is divided from us by a long and straggling boundary offering no exceptional facilities for defence. But Lord Dufferin has been living in a bracing atmosphere in which these misgivings cannot live. As Governor General of the Dominion, he has had now, for upwards of two years, the opportunity of watching the hardy political as well as physical life of the British settlements, and their rapid growth in resources, unity, loyalty and hope. He has seized the occasion of his recent journey westward to connect together his experience and his impressions into a picture glowing with life, beauty and promise, though evidently based on a sagacious review of solid facts. There is the fibre of a strong root of prosperity, and the hope of a teeming and vivid life, in the story on which Lord Dufferin dwells; and the knowledge of this sends a spirit through his review and his anticipations which seems to freshen the whole face of the political future for us, and even to 'shed,' as Matthew Arnold says—'on spirits that had long been dead,—spirits dried up and closely furled,—the freshness of the early world.' How eloquent, and at the same time how touching, is Lord Dufferin's picture of the earnest loyalty of the widely-scattered people amongst whom he had travelled!" \* \* \* "And how happy in its playful banter is Lord Dufferin's account of his reply to the American impatience to see Canada fall into the arms of the United States." \* \* \* "We have fallen upon a structure of dry political conscientiousness, where there is a real break of continuity between the aims of the statesmen and the understanding of the people. Politics have lost their glow and spring, while they have gained in purity and disinterestedness. It is to powers such as Lord Dufferin has shewn in his brilliant Toronto speech that we look for the restoration of that glow. It is to that mixture of Irish genius and English sagacity, of Irish playfulness and English humor, of Irish buoyancy and English phlegm, of Irish pathos and English pride, and to that confidence in the life of British institutions, and the steadfastness of the British race to which these qualities help to give so brilliant an expression, that we hope to owe a restoration of what we may call the imaginative school of politics, without any loss of that practical conscientiousness

Whitby was the first stopping place, where they were met at the station by the Mayor of the town, Mr. Malcolm Cameron, M.P., and others. There was a large gathering of citizens, and a guard of honor of the 34th Battalion with their colors, and the band of the regiment. His Excellency was presented with an address from the Town Council, read by Mr. J. H. Greenway, the Mayor. After the reply and the usual presentations made, the party were taken in carriages for a drive through the town, in the course of which they passed under a pretty and unique arch. It was so constructed that on the top of it were seen a number of men engaged in the various operations of cradling, raking, binding and pitching real grain, the whole forming a very pretty tableau. The town was otherwise decorated. During the drive the carriages stopped at the High School, on the front of which were the mottoes,—“Per Vias Rectas” and “Our National Schools.” Before the building were assembled the children of that institution, and those of the public schools, together with the teachers of both, who, upon the arrival of the Governor General, sang “God Save the Queen.” On another plat-

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and painstaking industry, in the absence of which even the most imaginative statesmen can give us nothing but brilliant and dazzling displays of rhetorical fire.”

The *Chicago Tribune*, one of the most influential papers of the Union west of New York, thus speaks of this speech: “Lord Dufferin after his return from Chicago delivered a speech on the state of the Dominion, and its attachment to the British Empire. He had but a short time before taken a trip into Western Canada, and of course felt that he was prepared to speak on the subject. The speech itself is a very admirable production, both rhetorically and otherwise. It is eloquent, able, and abounds in genuine vivacity, wit and humor. Nor is it by any means devoid of statesmanship. Judging from the picture he has drawn of the loyalty and devotion of the people of the Dominion, and even of the Canadian Indians, to Queen Victoria, we need not entertain any very sanguine hopes of annexation in the immediate future. Lord Dufferin says that wherever he went in Canada, whether into the crowded city or to the remote hamlet, the people blazoned forth their affection for their Queen by every device which art could fashion, or ingenuity invent. Occasionally, he says, an American would suggest to him in a playful manner that Canada should unite her fortunes to those of the Republic, to which he replied that Canadians were essentially a democratic people, and that they would never be satisfied unless the popular will could exercise an immediate and complete control over the executive of the country, referring to the custom which requires a Ministry to resign when in opposition to a majority of the voting population, and to the fact that a Canadian viceroy might be instantly removed by the Imperial Government if it turned out that he was not in harmony with the popular feeling of the country.”



form, His Excellency was presented with an address from the Board of Education, to which he replied. The boys then heartily cheered their Excellencies. The drive was resumed, and soon a magnificent building, the Ontario Ladies' College, was reached. As the carriages were entering the grounds they passed under a fine arch, on the centre span of which was a number of little girls, each of whom waved a small Union Jack. In the College a large and fashionable crowd of citizens were assembled. In one of the larger apartments the Governor General was presented with an address.\* In his reply His Excellency again took the opportunity of warning the parents and teachers of our young girls against a serious danger. His words can not be too much pondered, nor his advice too carefully followed. After a few preliminary remarks, he said :

“I do not know whether it would be out of place to remark that there are dangers against which it is advisable for all those who are interested in the healthy, intellectual training of the youth of this continent, and particularly of its female youth, to guard. Of late there has sprung up a class of literature which, in my opinion, contributes but very little to the advancement of those higher aspirations which it ought to be the aim and object of all literature to promote. There has arisen of late a school of writers whose chief trick seems to be to extract amusement and awake laughter by turning everything that is noble, elevated, and revered by the rest of the world into ridicule, to substitute parody for invention, and coarse vulgarity for the tender humor of a better day. Or, if this error is avoided, a sickly, morbid sentimentalism is substituted, more corrupting than absolute vice, or an historical sensationalism which is as bad as either. I cannot but think it is a great matter that in our schools we should take the greatest pains to maintain a standard of healthy, robust, and refined taste.”

After a great number of presentations, and about an hour and a half spent in the town, the party were driven back to the station and took their departure.

Bowmanville was reached about ten o'clock. It was raining heavily, but nevertheless a large concourse of people were gathered. The station was handsomely decorated, and a fine platform, for the presentation of the addresses, was erected at the rear end of it. Upon landing, an address from the Town Council was presented, read by Mr. F. Cubitt, the Mayor, which His Excellency acknowledged in

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\* This splendid building, known as “Trafalgar Castle,” was erected as a private residence by Mr. Sheriff Reynolds in 1859, and is said to be the largest detached private dwelling on the continent. The college grounds contain ten acres, beautifully laid out in gardens, and supplied with fruit and ornamental trees. The College is under the special supervision and patronage of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference.

appropriate terms. He was then presented with addresses from the Bowmanville Division No. 39 Sons of Temperance, and the Bowmanville Temple No. 259 of the Independent Order of Good Templars, signed by W. R. Climie, J. T. Mason, Worthy Patriarchs, and Wm. Jeens, Worthy Chief Templar. His Excellency replied, assuring those from whom the addresses came, of his hearty sympathy with all who, both by their own example and otherwise, were doing so much to discourage intoxication.

A deputation of young ladies next came forward, and one of them read, in a charming manner, a beautifully worded address, to which His Excellency made a complimentary reply. A number of presentations were then made. As it was raining hard, the party did not drive to the town, but shortly afterwards resumed their journey.

Port Hope was reached at about three o'clock, and His Excellency was received with a salute from the two guns of the Durham Field Battery. The train was run up near the Town Hall on the Midland Railway track. Here was a fine arch bearing the words, "The Midland Railway welcome Earl Dufferin," the Governor General's Coat of Arms, and several prettily painted shields. Erected near this was a spacious platform raised in the centre, carpeted and ornamented with garden vases filled with flowers and plants. A guard of honor was in attendance, consisting of a strong detachment of the 46th Battalion under the command of Lieut. Col. Williams, M.P.P., and several members of the Grand Trunk Rifles. Along with these was the band of the first mentioned corps. A large crowd of citizens were also assembled at the place, and the rain having fortunately ceased for the day, they were able to witness the proceedings with comparative comfort. Having taken his place on the platform, the Governor General was presented with an address from the Council of the town, read by Mr. John Wright, the Mayor. After the reply, he was presented with another from the Council of the town of Lindsay, read by Mr. S. Maguire, the Mayor. On the conclusion of the reply to this, the Vice-regal party were taken for a drive through the town, escorted by the Durham troop of Cavalry, and the Fire Brigade. As in other places, the streets were tastefully decorated. During the drive the procession halted at the Central School while the children sang the National Anthem. A visit was then paid to the Trinity College School.

Cobourg was reached about five o'clock. From the station the party were driven directly to the Town Hall—the bells of the churches



and other public buildings pealing meanwhile. On their way they were escorted by the Cobourg troop of Cavalry. The streets of the town were tastefully decorated with flags, arches, and bunting. In front of the Town Hall was erected a decorated platform, and near it was a guard of honor of the 40th Battalion with their band. In the streets there was a very large concourse of people. On reaching the platform His Excellency was presented with an address from the Town Council, read by Mr. Wm. Halgraff, the Mayor. On the conclusion of the reply, he was presented with another from the President and Professors of the University of Victoria College. After replying, the party entered the Town Hall, where their Excellencies held a reception which was very largely attended. In the evening they were serenaded by the band of the 40th Battalion.

On the morning of the 4th September, the party left Cobourg for a trip to Rice Lake and the Marmora Iron Mines. Besides the Vice-regal party, a number of ladies and gentlemen went upon the excursion.

The train reached the lake at the village of Harwood a little before nine o'clock, and in going out upon the wharf passed under a pretty arch which had been erected for the occasion. Here the party embarked on board a small steamer, and proceeded down Rice Lake, a sheet of water whose beautiful scenery, together with abundant game and excellent fishing, have rendered it a favorite resort for tourists. At the foot of the Lake, the steamer entered a lock which took her into the River Trent. At this point is the village of Hastings, a place of some little importance and population. As the steamer was entering the lock a *feu de joie* was fired by a company of the 57th Battalion drawn up on the shore. A large number of people were assembled at the place, and a great many flags were hoisted throughout the village. There were also three arches erected on the swing bridge. While the steamer was in the lock, the Vice-regal party went ashore, and the Governor General was presented with an address from the Village Council, read by Mr. Timothy Coughlan, Reeve. After His Excellency replied, the party left amid the cheers of the people, and the firing of another *feu de joie*. After proceeding down the river a short distance, the party landed at a point whence a railway runs to the Marmora Iron Mines, about eight miles distant. On arriving at the Mines, His Excellency made a thorough examination of them, and carefully inspected the various operations connected with bringing the ore to the surface of the earth. When the party

reached Harwood on their return a large bonfire was blazing at the place, and another large crowd of people were assembled, who took leave of their Excellencies as the train moved away with three cheers for each of their Excellencies.

The party returned to Cobourg at half-past seven, and when they left the train they met with a surprise. The members of the Fire Brigade were standing in the street near the station, dressed in their uniforms and bearing torches. The Vice-regal party having entered a carriage, a number of the torch bearers drew it to the hotel—their comrades following them in procession, and the band of the 40th Battalion accompanying them. The procession, while moving, sent up a number of rockets. The whole of this part of the entertainment was given by Col. Chambliss, and the kindness which prompted it was the more striking, as the gentleman was an American, who had only resided for a short time in the Province.

On the morning of the 5th September the Vice-regal party left Cobourg shortly after nine o'clock ; but before doing so a deputation of young ladies from the public schools visited Her Excellency in the large drawing-room of the Arlington Hotel, and presented her with a very complimentary address, accompanied by a magnificent bouquet for herself, and another for His Excellency. The Governor General warmly acknowledged this graceful compliment.

Belleville was reached at about eleven o'clock. At the station was a guard of honor furnished by the 15th Battalion, together with the band of the regiment, the firemen of the town, and a large number of carriages filled with people. A procession was formed, and proceeded to the town, which was gaily decorated with flags and bunting. At the Court House a halt was made, and on a platform erected in front of the building His Excellency was presented with an address from the Town Council. One clause read thus :

“We trust that your Excellency may long continue to administer the Government of this Dominion in the light of the constitution as hitherto,—and we venture to hope that when you shall retire from the cares and labors of official life you will resume your eloquent pen, and do that justice to Canada which she has not received ; and which, coming from so eminent a source, will place her in her true position before the empire and the world.”

His Excellency laid hold of this pointed allusion to the general ignorance of Canada, which pervades even the well read classes of Britain, to give an explanation of the fact, and gracefully to apologize for the seeming neglect. After a few opening remarks, he said :



“ In a concluding paragraph you have alluded to a feeling which I have sometimes heard mentioned in private to which hitherto my attention has never been so pointedly directed, *viz.*:—That Canadian affairs scarcely obtain that share of popular attention in England which their importance merits. (Hear, hear.) Well, Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, I would ask you to call to mind the old adage which says ‘Happy are the people without annals.’ (Hear, hear, and laughter.) An adage which implies that only too often the history of a country consists of an account of its follies and misfortunes. (Laughter.) It is sometimes as well to be without a history as with one. (Laughter.) In the same way you must remember that as long as the domestic affairs of Canada are conducted with that wisdom which commands the confidence of England, as long as the material condition of Canada is such as to occasion neither apprehension nor anxiety to England, as long as the sentiments of Canada are so affectionate and loyal to the Mother Country as to leave her nothing to desire, so long will her intercourse with Canada be confined to those placid humdrum amenities which characterize every happy household. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Again, you must remember that in England every man who is connected with public affairs, every public writer, every person through whom the national sentiments find expression, is so overwhelmed and over-weighted by his daily occupations that you must not be surprised if they have not time to be very loquacious on Canadian subjects; and, after all, gentlemen, I may observe, as a sensitive Englishman, that I do not find, in Canadian public prints, quite that ample share given to the discussion of purely British matters which I, of course, might desire. (Laughter.) No, gentlemen, you must not judge of the affection of the Mother Country for her greatest colony, you must not judge of the interest she takes in your affairs, her pride in your loyalty to herself, by what may happen to be said or rather not said in the newspapers. (Applause.) The heart of England is large, but the English nation is undemonstrative (applause); and I am sure that you will find, whenever the necessities of the case really require it, that the sympathies of England and the attention of English public opinion will be concentrated upon Canada with a solicitude and an energy that will leave you no occasion of complaint.” (Great applause.)

Another address was then presented to His Excellency from the Council of the County of Hastings, read by Mr. A. F. Wood, Warden, and another from the Senate of Albert University. After replying to them a number of presentations were made, and the drive was resumed. Having stopped for a few minutes at the High School to hear the children—about fifteen hundred—sing “God Save the Queen,” the party proceeded to the Deaf and Dumb Institution, where they were cordially received by the Superintendent, Dr. Palmer, and the teachers. Flags were flying from the top of the building, and over the entrance gate was an arch with the motto “Caed mille falthe” displayed on it, in the deaf and dumb alphabet. The visitors were conducted into the chapel of the institution, which the teachers had decorated in a very tasteful manner. On one of the

walls was the appropriate motto, "Accept our Silent Welcome." The pupils of the institution were all assembled in the room, as were also several ladies and gentlemen from the town. The visitors were formally received with an address, read by Dr. Palmer. He then proceeded to give illustrations of the mode of teaching deaf and dumb persons. His Excellency then addressed the Superintendent and teachers, and at the conclusion of his remarks the party drove to Marchmonde, Miss Rye's "Children's Home," where they remained a short time. They then proceeded to the train, and took their departure from Belleville for Napanee, which place they reached at about half-past three o'clock.

The party were here met by an immense throng of people, including the Fire Brigade, a guard of honor from the 4th Battalion, the Napanee Garrison Artillery, and a band of music. His Excellency was presented with an address from the Town Council, read by the Mayor, Mr. A. L. Morden. After his reply he was presented with another from the Chief of the Mohawk Indians residing at Tyendinaga, by another from the Chief and warriors of the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté, to each of which he replied.

A number of presentations were then made, and after His Excellency had spent some time in conversation with different persons in the assemblage, the party left.

Kingston was reached at about five o'clock. It was soon evident that the inhabitants of the loyal city were determined to maintain their reputation by giving the representative of Her Majesty one of their most enthusiastic welcomes. The streets in the vicinity of the place at which the train stopped were filled with people, and others occupied places in each of the windows that afforded a view of the visitors as they landed. Princess street was beautifully decorated with flags, banners and bunting, and looked very pretty from the train. Flags were floating in various parts of the city. As the train moved along Ontario street, it exploded a great number of fog signals which had been placed on the track, and at the same time a salute was thundered forth by the Dominion Artillery from the guns of Fort Henry. Stepping off the train to a platform gaily decorated, the Vice-regal party were met by the Mayor and Corporation, and by them presented with an address, read by Dr. Sullivan, Mayor. After his reply His Excellency was presented with an address from the Council of the County of Frontenac, read by Mr. Peter Graham, Warden, to which also he replied.



Hearty cheers were then given for the Queen, and for the Earl and Countess of Dufferin, after which the party entered carriages, and were taken for a drive through some of the best streets, and past many of the best of the fine private dwellings of the city. They then went on board the steamer *Maude*, and were taken around Point Henry to the residence of the Hon. Mr. Cartwright, whose guests their Excellencies and Lady Harriet Fletcher were during their stay in Kingston. The guard of honor was furnished by the 14th Battalion, and the escort by the Frontenac troop of Cavalry. At ten o'clock in the evening their Excellencies held a reception in the City Hall, where a great number of ladies and gentlemen were presented. During the evening there was an illumination, and many of the principal buildings of the city were very brilliant. The fine dome of the City Hall, with its illuminated clock, was a blaze of light.

On the morning of the 7th September, at eight o'clock, the Vice-regal party left Kingston by steamer for Brockville, and proceeded down the St. Lawrence, followed by the steamer *Rochester* with a large party of excursionists from Kingston, including the Reception Committee. As they passed Fort Henry a salute was fired. At Gananoque a large number of people were standing on the bank, the field battery of the town fired a salute, and the people cheered very heartily.

Brockville was reached at about one o'clock. As the steamer neared the town she met several yachts, and a fleet of about one hundred and fifty small boats, all decked out with flags, and filled with ladies, gentlemen and children waving little flags. On the dock was a guard of honor, consisting of one hundred men of the 41st Battalion, accompanied by the band of the regiment. A large number of people were present who received the party with cheers. They were driven to the Court House Square, in the centre of which was erected a platform. Around this was a very large concourse of people, among them the children of the public schools, who, when their Excellencies had ascended the platform, sang "God Save the Queen." Hearty cheers were given for their Excellencies. Mr. Wylie then came forward, and on behalf of the Public School Trustees presented the Governor General with an address, and another was presented from the Town Council, read by Mr. J. D. Buell, M.P., Mayor. In reply to this His Excellency said :

"MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for the address with which you have honored me.

This is the last address I am destined to receive before my final return to Ottawa, where much serious business awaits my attention. It is with regret I find my holidays drawing to a close, and that a termination is about to be put to the pleasant and instructive personal intercourse I have had with such large numbers of the Canadian people. At all events I shall carry the pleasantest memories with me into retirement. During the six weeks my tour has occupied, I believe that I have received something like one hundred and twenty addresses, everyone of which breathed a spirit of contentment, loyalty and kindness. In fact from first to last no harsh, desponding, or discordant note has marred the jubilant congratulations of the nation. But the demonstrations with which we have been honored have not been confined to mere vocal greetings. It would be impossible to describe either the beauty or the variety of the triumphal emblems which have glittered on either hand along our way. In addition to the graceful and picturesque decorations of evergreens, flags, tapestry and prismatic canopies of color from window to window, with which the towns were gay, we have passed under a number of the most ingenious and suggestive arches. There was an arch of cheeses (laughter), an arch of salt, an arch of wheels, an arch of hardware, stoves, and pots and pans (great laughter), an arch of sofas, chairs and household furniture (laughter), an arch of ladders, laden with firemen in their picturesque costumes, an arch of carriages (laughter), an arch of boats, a free trade arch, a Protectionists' arch (great laughter), an arch of children, and last of all an arch—no not an arch—but rather a celestial rainbow of lovely young ladies! (Great laughter and applause.) Indeed the heavens themselves dropped fatness, for not unfrequently a magic cheese or other comestible would descend into our carriage. As for the Countess of Dufferin, she has been nearly smothered beneath the nosegays which rained down upon her, for our path has been strewed with flowers. One town not content with fulfilling its splendid program of procession, fireworks and illuminations, concluded its reception by the impromptu conflagration of half a street (laughter and applause), and when the next morning I thought it my duty to condole with the authorities on their misfortune, both the owner of the property and the Mayor assured me with the very heroism of politeness that the accident would produce a great improvement in the appearance of the place. (Great laughter.) Gentlemen I must now bid you good-bye, and through you I desire to say good-bye to all my other entertainers throughout the Province. I have been most deeply affected by their kindness, for although of course I am well aware that the honors of which I have been the recipient have been addressed, not to me, the individual, but to my office, it would be affectation were I to ignore the fact that a strain of personal good will has been allowed to mingle with the welcome accorded by the people of Ontario to the Representative of their Queen. (Cheers.) I only wish I could have made a more fit return to the demonstrations with which I have been honored. Happily the circumstances of the country have justified me in using the language of honest and hearty congratulation, and if I have done wrong in sometimes venturing on a purely festive occasion a gentle note of warning, or hint of advice, I trust that my desire to render practical service to the country will be my excuse for any inopportune digressions of this nature. (Cheers.)”

His Excellency concluded by thanking the Mayor and Corpor-



ation for the kind reception accorded to himself and the Countess of Dufferin.

The party then re-entered their carriages, and were driven through the town, the streets of which were profusely decorated with flags and bunting. Upon arriving at Victoria Hall they alighted and held a reception, at which a great number of ladies and gentlemen were presented. The party were then driven to the station of the Brockville and Ottawa Railway, and left for Smith's Falls, where the train halted under a very pretty arch inscribed with the words, "Welcome, Lord Dufferin," and with the names of the different provinces of the Dominion. A large crowd was assembled at the station, attended by a band of music. The party landed amidst great cheering, and being conducted to a platform. His Excellency was presented with an address from the Council of the village, read by Mr. Jos. H. Gould, Reeve. Having replied, a number of presentations were made. The party was now joined by the Hon. Messrs. Letellier de St. Just and Fournier.

Carleton Place was reached at six o'clock. On the platform was a guard of honor from the 41st Battalion, with the band of that corps. A large number of people had met to greet their Excellencies. Here an address was presented from the inhabitants of the village, read by Mr. R. Bell. After replying, His Excellency received another from the pupils of the High and Public Schools of Carleton Place, read by one of a deputation of lads from the schools. His Excellency in replying to this pleasing address, with reference to the allusion in the address to his popularity, said :

"Of course, popularity is always a pleasing thing, it is a thing which a person in my position is bound to cultivate, but occasions will from time to time arise when criticisms will very likely be passed upon those occupying that position, and criticisms are as wholesome for Governor Generals, as for any body. But, at all events, there is one thing I may aspire to, and that is to remain popular with the boys and girls of the Dominion, a popularity which I value as much as any other." (Applause.)

Several presentations were then made, and after their Excellencies had, as at Smith's Falls, spent a little time in conversation with their entertainers, they resumed their journey amid warm cheering.

Ottawa was reached at about seven o'clock. The Foot Guards were on the platform of the station in strong force, accompanied by their splendid band. A large number of civilians were also present, anxious to welcome their Excellencies home after their arduous journeys. The party now immediately drove to Rideau Hall.

Thus ended the most important tour ever before undertaken by a British Colonial Governor. Confederation had introduced a number of problems the solution of which could be determined only by time, and its success depended much on the temper of the various Provinces. The Maritime Provinces had charged Ontario with selfishness in forwarding union only when her distress pointed at Confederation as the only relief from the dead-lock into which she had fallen. Nova Scotia had been sullen. New Brunswick unfriendly. Prince Edward Island cold. Upper and Lower Canada alone were urgent for union. In order to change the selfishness of the one into good humor, the unfriendliness of the second into the opposite feeling, and to substitute warmth for the coldness of the beautiful little island of the Gulf, it became necessary to offer advantages to them, which in one case received the opprobrious name of "Bitter Terms." This policy, though absolutely necessary, was not popular in Ontario, and the opposition to Sir John Macdonald's Government fanned the flame of dissatisfaction for purely party purposes, without regard to the justice of the claims put forward by the recalcitrant Provinces, or the absolute necessity of yielding to them, even though they might at first sight seem a little unreasonable. Besides this, there was a feeling of dissatisfaction floating through the Liberal party, which had been intensified by the violent and unjust attacks of its press directed against the Governor General himself for his strictly constitutional course in the Pacific Railway difficulty. There were in addition slumbering elements of Fenianism smouldering in the lower strata of the people, and not a few admirers of republican institutions were to be found willing to further the view of Annexationists. But above and beyond all this, there existed a party in Britain who already spoke of Canada as a drag on the industry, means and policy of the British people, and who had no hesitation in declaring that England would gladly give the Canadians their independence the moment it was asked for,—an invitation to sever the connection. In fact the Earl of Dufferin received his appointment from a Government many of whose leading supporters did not hesitate to calumniate Canada by declaring her loyalty a lip service, and a loud-mouthed profession of a feeling which would not bear the test of any strain on her resources, — any restriction on her trade, or any reduction of the material assistance of which England had been so generously lavish.

His Excellency's visit to the Maritime Provinces, in 1873, had wrought a wonderful change in those important portions of the Dom-



inion. He had by his personal attraction soothed the wounded feelings of a noble people, and by his strong good sense and words of truth and sympathy had placed their own position, as it regarded the other Provinces, in its true light before them. He had never been found unreliable in his statements, and his words fell like pearls, pure and beautiful. He found the Provinces uneasy and suspicious,—he left them at peace with themselves and their position; the furtive look with which they had regarded Confederation now disappeared, and the frank expression of the confidence of a warm-hearted people took its place.

In Ontario the tour of 1874 will always be remarkable in the annals of the great province, and of the Dominion. No ruler in British North America ever before devoted himself with so untiring a zeal, or with so persevering an industry to the task of making himself acquainted with the resources, industries, and latent powers of the country, or with the character, opinions, and aspirations of its inhabitants. No industry escaped his personal examination,—no manufacture was unknown to him,—no commercial enterprise was hidden to him. By a laborious personal study he made himself acquainted with the intricacies of every business, and formed an accurate and independent estimate of its difficulties and its prospects. He took a warm and active interest in the educational institutions of the Dominion, and was listened to with the deepest attention as well by the professors of McGill University as by the boys and girls of Carleton Place. He charmed the teachers and pupils of our female colleges and schools by a graceful politeness, in which he wrapped up, as in a bon-bon, words of invaluable advice. He visited the struggling settler, hewing his way to competence in the back woods of Canada, and cheered him in his manly toil by words of sweet encouragement. He drew the sensitive but noble hearts of the French population to his great Mistress by a frank acknowledgment of their loyalty, and a delicate sympathy with their natural love for their language, their institutions and their religion. He fired the usually phlegmatic hearts of the Germans by his unaffected and well deserved admiration of their industry, their loyalty, and their value as citizens, as exemplified in the beautiful homesteads and thriving villages of the German settlements of Ontario. Even the small colony of Icelanders at Parry Sound was cheered by the pleasant words of one who had already spoken so kindly of their northern European home. The Indians greeted him with a loyalty which has never been shaken by

harshness, or cooled by injustice. The great Irish population laid at his feet the enthusiastic homage due to the representative of a Queen whose whole life has been a protest against indifference to the well-grounded complaints of their brethren at home, and if among these generous people a few misled hearts were found, the demon of Fenianism instantly fled at the sound of Lord Dufferin's soothing words and kindly advice;—the thoughtful Scotchman saw in the Governor General one who recognized the inestimable value of sturdy independence and untiring industry;—the Englishman found in His Excellency a man of a highly cultivated mind, deeply versed in the glorious history of their glorious land, and emulous to write his name on the roll of her wisest legislators and ablest statesmen. The politician saw in the Governor General a man of exceptional grace of manner and suavity of temper, bowing with deference to every constitutional right,—supporting with unhesitating loyalty the ministry chosen by the people, but ever ready to rebuke with stern justice the slightest attack on the rights of the governed, guaranteed to them by the system of Constitutional Rule. Those who when in opposition had not hesitated to heap upon him the most opprobrious epithets, were received by him when they reached power, with a frank smile and a warm grasp of the hand,—the natural outcome of a lofty mind and a generous heart. This tour had developed the man to a degree hitherto unknown, and the Imperial Government must have been surprised at the expression of the “passionate loyalty” of the people of Canada to British rule. For this expression the Vice-regal progress is to be thanked. Every feeling of discontent departed. Every hamlet, village, town and city poured forth its tens, its hundreds and its thousands of enthusiastic admirers, each striving with his neighbor to be foremost in laying his respectful homage at the feet of the distinguished exponent of the thoughtful kindness and warm attachment of their illustrious Sovereign towards her people, whether they sat in her gates at Windsor, or gazed at her well-loved likeness occupying the place of honor on the walls of their humble huts in the back woods of Ontario. The tour proved, if proof were necessary, to the statesmen and people of England, that the soil of Canada, though rich for all other purposes, is utterly barren for the growth of republicanism,—and His Excellency's brilliant and truthful account of the immense resources of the country,—the thrift and happiness of its people,—the salubrity of its climate,—its productiveness,—the unsurpassed excellence of its educational institutions,—its unrivalled



system of government, combining as it does all the strength which the unbounded power of the British Empire can impart to it, with all or very nearly all the freedom of an independent state, has been of infinite value in correcting foreign misapprehension and encouraging foreign immigration. His replies to the addresses form an excellent *repertoire* for every emigrant agent,—and they possess this invaluable characteristic, that, coming from him, every word is believed, as it may well be, for no speaker ever spoke more guardedly or more correctly. To Canada, the tour therefore, especially when taken in connection with that through the Maritime Provinces, has been of very great value, since it raised her high in the estimation of foreigners who will listen to and believe the Earl of Dufferin when they would neither listen to nor believe any other authority.

But, while much is due to the Governor General, much is also due to Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin. She divided with him, as she was fairly entitled to do, the honors of the tour. His kindly smile was always supplemented by her graceful gentleness, and while hundreds of thousands of stalwart yeomen and horny-handed artisans received him with an admiring respect, they greeted her with enthusiastic homage. Canadians have a respect for women unsurpassed by the inhabitants of any country, and their thoughtful kindness to the sex is one of the brightest ornaments of their character. This profound feeling found free expression in this tour, for wherever Her Excellency appeared, she was universally met with demonstrations of the warmest love by all classes, all creeds, all nationalities. The social policy of His Excellency found in her an invaluable assistant, and it in no way detracts from the lustre of his reputation to say that the people of Canada will always insist on her sitting with him under the same canopy of Canadian admiration and affection, and dividing with him all the honors of the highest seat in the hearts of a noble population.

On the 12th October His Excellency left Ottawa on a visit to New York. Major General O'Grady Haly, Commander of the Forces, was sworn in as Administrator during his absence. Though the visit was in no sense a public one, His Excellency met with a very warm and hospitable reception from the citizens of all classes with whom he came in contact. He visited the chief public institutions, and left behind him, to use the words of a New York journal, "a reputation for geniality, good sense, and manliness which is altogether in opposition to what Americans think a British

nobleman ever deserves." Having declined a public banquet, he was invited to a dinner at Delmonico's for the 19th October, and among the Committee were such distinguished gentlemen as Wm. M. Evarts, John Jacob Astor, Alex. T. Stewart, Wm. Butler Duncan, James Grant Wilson, Rutherford Stuyvesant, Edward F. De Lancey, Robert Lenox Kennedy, Henry E. Pierrepont, Frederick De Peyster, William H. Appleton, John T. Johnstone, Clarkson N. Potter, Joseph H. Choate, J. Carson Brevoort, David Dudley Field, Hamilton Fish, John A. Dix, George Bancroft, August Belmont, Thurlow Weed, Edwin D. Morgan, Cyrus W. Field, Henry E. Davies, John Sherwood, E. W. Stoughton, L. P. Morton, Benj. H. Field, John D. Jones, Albert Bierstadt, Royal Phelps, and Wm. Allen Butler.

As the dinner was a private one, no reports of the speeches were made, but His Excellency never visited the Americans without removing some portion of the misconception of that people as to the Canadian character, institutions and progress; nor without rubbing off some of the sharp corners of suspicion and dislike which are so apt to exhibit themselves among people who in many important matters are strong rivals. Wherever Lord Dufferin went, he appeared as the bold, warm advocate of Canadian rights; as an accomplished eulogist of the Dominion and its people; and as the reliable exponent of her industries and resources. But he had the good taste, while raising Canada in the estimation of Americans, not to lower their own country either in the estimation of foreigners or of themselves. If he could not speak without hurting the national pride, he was silent; but when he could speak with approbation, he was eloquent. Hence his great popularity among the American people, which was hardly excelled by his popularity in Canada.

After a short visit to Washington and Boston His Excellency returned to Ottawa on the 4th November.



## CHAPTER VII.

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It will be remembered that on the 4th March, 1870, Thomas Scott was shot at Winnipeg by the order of a few men, calling themselves a “Provisional” Government, headed by Louis Riel and

Ambroise Lepine. Riel having evaded the officers of the law was never brought to trial. On his return as the member in the Commons for Provencher, he proceeded to Ottawa, at the opening of the Session, in May, 1874, and took the oaths; but the public excitement was so great that, his life being in danger, he left the city and the Dominion secretly, and has not dared to return to it since. He has since been outlawed. Lepine, however, was arrested, tried at Winnipeg, and found guilty of the murder, and sentenced to be hung on the 29th January, 1875. In the meantime, it had been strongly urged that both Riel and Lepine were entitled to a pardon, under promises of a general amnesty to all implicated in the Manitoba troubles of 1870, alleged to have been made by the Macdonald-Cartier Government. Much correspondence took place between the Dominion and the Imperial Governments on the question, and angry discussions arose in our Parliament. The question was a perplexing one. The Executive was flooded with petitions for Lepine's pardon, under the alleged promise of a general amnesty, or for a modification of the death penalty. Party and religious feeling ran high over the question. Mr. Mackenzie's Ministry was unwilling to assume the responsibility of dealing with the difficulty, and sought the intervention of the Imperial authorities. To relieve Lepine would be to disgust a large and influential Protestant and English-speaking population,—to allow the law to take its course would be to offend a large and influential Roman Catholic and French-speaking one. The Home Office, on the other hand, was not disposed to accept a responsibility devolving properly on the Dominion authorities,—as it would be inconvenient and improper to establish a precedent under cover of which questions, embarrassing here, might at any time be thrown for solution upon the Imperial Ministry. The question was a porcupine which neither was willing to touch. In this emergency Lord Dufferin courageously and generously offered to assume the personal responsibility of settling the question, and of awarding a fitting punishment to Lepine without consultation with his ministers,—thus relieving both the Dominion and the Imperial authorities from all difficulty.

In a despatch of 10th December, 1874, His Excellency, in a most lucid and impartial despatch, exhausting the whole subject, forwarded to the Earl of Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, an Order in Council, the object of which was to induce the Imperial Government to undertake the settlement of the difficulty, and the Dominion Ministers based the propriety of the request upon the fact, that the



circumstances out of which the "Amnesty question" arose occurred at a time anterior to the assumption, by Canada, of the government of the North-West. He said:

"They were further impelled to adopt this course by the obvious embarrassments attending the settlement of a controversy whose aspects are alleged to have been already modified by the intervention of Imperial authority, and which are so seriously complicated by the vehement international antagonism which they have excited in this country. Under these circumstances my advisers are of opinion that a dispassionate review of the whole question, emanating from so impartial a source as Her Majesty's Government, would tend more to tranquilize the public mind, and secure a loyal acquiescence in whatever decision may be arrived at, than would be the case were they themselves to undertake the settlement of the dispute."

His Excellency then proceeds:

Your Lordship is so well acquainted with the history of the troubles which were occasioned by the somewhat precipitate attempt made in the year 1869 to incorporate the present Province of Manitoba with the Dominion, before the conditions of the proposed union had been explained to its inhabitants, that I need not do more than recapitulate the special incidents which directly bear upon the subject under consideration. It will be sufficient to remind your Lordship that on the news of these disturbances reaching Ottawa, emissaries were despatched to Fort Garry in the persons of the Vicar General Thibault, Colonel de Salaberry, and Mr. Donald Smith, with the view of calming the agitation which had arisen, and of giving ample assurances to those whom it might concern, that both the Imperial and the Canadian Governments were anxious to secure to the people of the North-West every right, privilege, and immunity to which they might be entitled. Each of these personages was furnished with copies of a Proclamation, drawn up under the instructions of the Imperial Government by Lord Lisgar, couched in the most conciliatory language, and concluding with the following paragraph:

"And I do lastly inform you that in case of your immediate and peaceable obedience and dispersion, I shall order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law.

"JOHN YOUNG."

5. At the time this instrument was placed in the hands of these gentlemen no blood had been shed, nor any very heinous crime committed; but on arriving at their destination, their papers were seized by the insurgents, and they were precluded either on this or on some other account from issuing the Proclamation in question. There can be little doubt, however, that its purport must have been known to Riel and his partizans before the murder of Scott was perpetrated—an event which took place some time after these three gentlemen had arrived at Fort Garry.

6. Subsequently, by an invitation of the Canadian Government conveyed to him when at Rome through Monsieur Langevin, Minister of Public Works, Archbishop Taché returned to Canada, with the view of placing his services at the disposal of the Dominion Government. On his arrival at Ottawa he was provided with

another copy of the Governor General's Proclamation, as well as with an official letter of instruction from the Secretary of State, Mr. Howe, of which I subjoin a copy :—

DEPARTMENT OF SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE PROVINCES,

OTTAWA, 16th February, 1870.

*The Very Reverend The Bishop of St. Boniface.*

MY LORD,—I am commanded by His Excellency, the Governor General, to acknowledge and thank you for the promptitude with which you placed your services at the disposal of this Government, and undertook a winter voyage and journey, that you might, by your presence and influence, aid in the repression of the unlooked for disturbances which have broken out in the North-West.

I have the honor to enclose for your information :—

1. A copy of the instructions given to the Honorable Wm. McDougall on the 28th September last ;

2. A copy of a further letter of instructions addressed to Mr. McDougall on the 7th November ;

3. Copy of a letter of instructions to the Very Reverend Vicar General Thibault on the 4th December ;

4. Copy of a Proclamation issued by His Excellency the Governor General, addressed to the inhabitants of the North-West Territories by the express desire of the Queen ;

5. Copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary of State, by Donald A. Smith, Esq., of Montreal, on the 24th November ;

6. Copy of a letter of instructions addressed by me to Mr. Smith, on 10th December last ;

7. A semi-official letter, addressed by the Minister of Justice, on the 3rd January, 1870, to Mr. Smith ; also,

8. Copy of the Commission issued to Mr. Smith, on the 17th January, 1870.

Copies of the Proclamation, issued by Mr. McDougall, at or near Pembina, and of the Commission, issued to Colonel Dennis, having been printed in the Canadian papers, and widely circulated at the Red River, are, it is assumed, quite within your reach, and are not furnished ; but it is important that you should know that the proceedings by which the lives and properties of the people of Rupert's Land were jeopardized for a time, were at once disavowed, and condemned by the Government of this Dominion, as you will readily discover in the despatch addressed by me to Mr. McDougall, on the 24th December, a copy of which is enclosed.

Your Lordship will perceive, in these papers, the policy which it was, and is, the desire of the Canadian Government to establish in the North-West. The people of Canada have no interest in the erection of institutions in Rupert's Land which public opinion condemns ; nor would they wish to see a fine race of people trained to discontent and insubordination, by the pressure of an unwise system of government, to which British subjects are unaccustomed or averse. They looked hopefully forward to the period when institutions, moulded upon those which the other Provinces enjoy, may be established, and, in the meantime, would deeply regret if the civil and religious liberties of the whole population were not



adequately protected by such temporary arrangements as it may be prudent at present to make.

A convention has been called, and is now sitting at Fort Garry, to collect the views of the people, as to the powers which they may consider it wise for Parliament to confer, and the Local Legislature to assume. When the proceedings of that conference have been received by the Privy Council, you may expect to hear from me again; and, in the meantime, should they be communicated to you on the way, His Excellency will be glad to be favored with any observations that you may have leisure to make.

You are aware that The Very Reverend the Vicar General Thibault, and Messrs. Donald A. Smith and Charles de Salaberry, are already in Rupert's Land, charged with a commission from Government. Enclosed are letters to those gentlemen, of which you will oblige me by taking charge; and I am commanded to express the desire of His Excellency that you will co-operate with them in their well-directed efforts to secure a peaceful solution of the difficulties in the North-West Territories, which have caused His Excellency much anxiety, but which, by your joint endeavors, it is hoped may be speedily removed.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) JOSEPH HOWE.

7. At the same time his Lordship also received a letter from Lord Lisgar to the following effect:

*Governor General Sir John Young to Bishop Taché.*

OTTAWA, Feb. 16, 1870.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I am anxious to express to you before you set out the deep sense of obligation which I feel is due to you for giving up your residence at Rome, leaving the great and interesting affairs in which you were engaged there, and undertaking at this inclement season the long voyage across the Atlantic and a long journey across this continent, for the purpose of rendering service to Her Majesty's Government, and engaging in a mission in the cause of peace and civilization. Lord Granville was anxious to avail himself of your valuable assistance from the outset, and I am heartily glad that you have proved willing to afford it so promptly and generously. You are fully in possession of the views of my Government; and the Imperial Government, as I informed you, is earnest in the desire to see the North-West Territory united to the Dominion on equitable conditions. I need not attempt to furnish you with any instructions for your guidance, beyond those contained in the telegraphic message sent me by Lord Granville on the part of the British Cabinet, in the Proclamation which I drew up in accordance with that message, and in the letters which I addressed to Governor McTavish, your Vicar General, and Mr. Smith. In this last letter I wrote: "All who have complaints to make or wishes to express, to address themselves to me as Her Majesty's Representative, and you may state, with the utmost confidence, that the Imperial Government has no intention of acting otherwise or permitting others to act otherwise than in perfect good faith towards the inhabitants of the Red River District and of the North-West.

The people may rely that respect and attention will be extended to the

different religious persuasions, that title to every description of property will be carefully guarded, and that all the franchises which have subsisted, or which the people may prove themselves qualified to exercise, shall be duly continued or liberally conferred.

In declaring the desire and determination of Her Majesty's Cabinet, you may safely use the terms of the ancient formula, that right shall be done in all cases.

I wish you, my dear Lord Bishop, a safe journey, and success in your benevolent mission.

Believe me, with all respect,

Faithfully yours,

(Signed,)

JOHN YOUNG.

Right Rev. Bishop Taché.

To this was added a private letter from Sir John Macdonald, which will be found at page 19 of the Canadian Blue Book, and which, towards its conclusion, contained the following paragraph :

“Should the question arise as to the consumption of any stores or goods belonging to the Hudson Bay Company by the insurgents, you are authorized to inform the leaders that if the Company's Government is restored, not only will there be a general amnesty granted, but in case the Company should claim the payment for such stores, that the Canadian Government will stand between the insurgents and all harm.”

8. At the time these communications were made to Archbishop Taché no news had arrived of Riel's proceedings in regard to Scott. In the meantime a convention of forty of the representative inhabitants of the North-West had been organized for the purpose of hearing what Messrs. Donald Smith, Thibault and De Salaberry had been commissioned to say on behalf of the Canadian Government, and in consequence of the representations made by Mr. Smith, the convention determined to select and send to Ottawa three delegates, for the purpose of communicating the demands of the people in the North-West to the Dominion authorities, and of effecting a settlement of the terms upon which they were to enter Confederation. After this business was concluded, the Convention proceeded to the erection of the so-called Provisional Government, of which Riel was named the President. These occurrences took place on the 10th February.

9. On the 4th March, Scott was shot.

10. On the 9th March, Archbishop Taché arrived at Red River, and in a letter of June 9th, 1870, he informed the Secretary of State, Mr. Howe, that he had promised, in the name of the Imperial and Provincial Governments, both to the insurgents generally, and to Riel and Lepine in particular, a full amnesty for every breach of the law of which they had been guilty, including the murder of Scott. On receipt of this communication Mr. Howe replied to Archbishop Taché in the following terms :—

*Honorable Joseph Howe to Archbishop Taché.*

“OTTAWA, 4th July, 1870.

“MY LORD,—Your letter of the 9th June, which reached me yesterday, has been laid before the Privy Council, and has received their consideration.



Your Lordship states that personally you felt no hesitation in giving, in the name of the Canadian Government, an assurance of a complete amnesty.

Your Lordship has no doubt read the debate and explanations which took place in Parliament during the discussion of the Manitoba Bill. The question of amnesty was brought forward, and the answers and explanations given by the Ministers in the House of Commons were that the Canadian Government had no power to grant such an amnesty, and that the exercise of the prerogative of mercy rested solely with Her Majesty the Queen.

The Rev. Father Ritchot and Mr. Scott must, on their arrival, have informed your Lordship that, in the repeated interviews which they had with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier, they were distinctly informed that the Government of the Dominion had no power as a Government to grant an amnesty; and I would add that this Government is not in a position to interfere with the free action of Her Majesty in the exercise of the Royal clemency.

Her Majesty's Imperial Ministers can alone advise the Queen on such an important matter when called upon to do so. No doubt can be entertained that Her Majesty, advised by her Ministers, will on a calm review of all the circumstances discharge the duty of this high responsibility in a temperate and judicial spirit.

The foregoing explanations are given to your Lordship in order that it may be well understood that the responsibility of the assurance given by your Lordship of a complete amnesty cannot in any way attach itself to the Canadian Government.

The conversations to which your Lordship alludes as having taken place between your Lordship and some Members of the Canadian Cabinet, when your Lordship was in Ottawa about the middle of the month of February last, must necessarily have taken place with reference to the proclamation issued by His Excellency the Governor General, on the 6th December last, by command of Her Majesty, in which His Excellency announced that in case of their immediate and peaceable dispersion, he would order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law at Red River.

Though I have felt it my duty to be thus explicit in dealing with the principal subject of your letter, I trust I need not assure you that your zealous and valuable exertions to calm the public mind in the North-West are duly appreciated here, and I am confident that when you regard the obstructions which have been interposed to the adoption of a liberal and enlightened policy for Manitoba, you will not be disposed to relax your exertions until that policy is formally established.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) JOSEPH HOWE.

Right Reverend The Bishop of St. Boniface,  
Red River."

11. Such are the circumstances out of which has arisen the "Amnesty question,"—a controversy which for these last three years has agitated the Dominion

and embarrassed its successive Governments; Archbishop Taché contending that both the Imperial and Colonial Governments were bound by the promises of immunity he gave to Riel and his associates; while the late Governor General, Her Majesty's Government, and the present and late Canadian Administrations, have declined to recognize the force of any such obligation.

12. Last session, at the instance of those who may be supposed to coincide with the Bishop's view of the case, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to enquire into "the causes which retarded the granting of the amnesty announced in the proclamation of the Governor General of Canada, and also whether and to what extent other promises of amnesty have ever been made." A copy of the evidence taken by the committee, together with their report, I transmit by this mail. Although these documents supply the best materials for the elucidation of the two points above referred to, it may be convenient that I should subjoin a short summary of the merits of the case as it presents itself to my understanding, though without pretending to exhaust the argument on either side.

13. A full and complete amnesty to Riel and the authors of Scott's death appears to be claimed on five several grounds.

First.—Archbishop Taché claims an amnesty on the plea that he went to Red River as a plenipotentiary, empowered both by the Imperial and the Dominion Governments to secure the tranquillity of the country by the issue of such assurances of immunity to those engaged in the recent disturbances as he should deem fit. In support of this view he founds himself, as he himself states, on pages 33-4 of the Canada Blue Book, First, as regards the Imperial Government, on Lord Lisgar's letter and proclamation, and secondly, as regards the Local Government, on the paragraph I have already quoted in Sir John Macdonald's communication of the 16th February, 1870. I confess I do not think that his Lordship's argument can be sustained. In the first place, the Archbishop's claim to such extensive powers is certainly invalid. The nature of his position is clearly defined in Mr. Howe's official despatch of the 16th February, 1870. The instructions already conveyed to Messrs. Thibault, de Salaberry, and Smith, are communicated to him as additional guides for his conduct, and he is further invited to associate himself, and to act conjointly with these persons. There are, therefore, no grounds for regarding the mission or powers of the Bishop as differing either in character or extent from those entrusted to the gentlemen who had preceded him; and there is certainly no intimation in his instructions that he was authorized to promulgate a pardon in the Queen's name for a capital felony,—still less can it be contended that he was empowered to expunge, on his own mere motion, a principal term from a Royal Proclamation. Mr. Smith and his colleagues had been already furnished with Lord Lisgar's Proclamation, but so far from considering that document as conveying a warrant of immunity to Riel, Mr. Smith expressly states that after the murder of Scott he refused to speak with him. On a reference, moreover, to the wording of the only sentence in Lord Lisgar's Proclamation which proffers grace to the insurgents, it becomes self-evident that it had in contemplation those minor political offences of which news had reached the ears of the Government when the document was framed.

14. That this was its intention becomes even more apparent when we read the



sentence in Sir John Macdonald's letter, to which the Bishop next appeals. In that communication Sir John Macdonald says:—"Should the question arise as to the consumption of any stores or goods belonging to the Hudson Bay Company by the insurgents, you are authorized to inform the leaders that if the Company's Government is restored, not only will there be a general amnesty granted, but in case the Company should claim the payment for such stores, that the Canadian Government will stand between the insurgents and all harm." It would seem impossible to expand the permission thus conveyed to the Bishop by Sir John, to promise the rebels protection from the monetary demands of the Hudson Bay Company, into an authority to condone such a savage murder as that of Scott's. But even were this point to be conceded, there would still remain an insurmountable difficulty in the way of proving Monseigneur Taché's case. The terms of pardon, both in Lord Lisgar's Proclamation and Sir John's letter, were made conditional, in the one, "on the immediate and peaceable obedience and dispersion of the insurgents," and in the other, "on the restoration of the Company's Government."

15. But none of these requirements were complied with. Scott was put to death some weeks after the arrival of Messrs. de Salaberry, Thibault, and Smith, to whom the proclamation had been originally confided, and by whom its contents, at all events, must have been communicated to Riel before the accomplishment of that tragedy; and though immediately after the Bishop's advent, and at his instance, one half of the English prisoners were released, the rest were kept in prison for more than a week longer; Riel and his associates still remained in arms, continued to prey upon the goods within their reach, and persisted in the exercise of their illegal authority. It is true many considerations may be adduced to mitigate the culpability of the latter portion of these proceedings; but be that as it may, they manifestly barred the effect of the conditional promises of forgiveness which the Bishop, even from his own point of view, was alone authorized to announce.

16. I understand His Lordship further to plead that the ultimate negotiations, which secured to the North-West the constitutional rights they enjoy under the Manitoba Act, directly flowed from the assurances of complete amnesty which he promulgated; but although it would be difficult to exaggerate either the purity of the motives by which this Prelate was actuated in all that he did and said, or to over-estimate the self-sacrificing patriotism which induced him to tear himself from the attractions of Rome, in order to encounter the hardships of a winter journey, for the sake of his fellow countrymen in Red River, or to deny that his exhortations and remonstrances had an immediate and beneficial effect in restraining Riel and his companions, and in superinducing a feeling of security in Winnipeg, it must still be remembered that the people of the North-West had chosen their delegates, and had consented to treat with the Canadian Government some weeks before the Bishop had appeared upon the scene. In conclusion, it is to be noted that immediately Mr. Howe, the Secretary of State, received the information of the promise made by His Lordship to Riel and Lepine, he at once warned him that he had done so on his own responsibility, and without the authority of the Canadian Government.

17. The Archbishop refers to a private letter of Sir George Cartier's as having

neutralized the language of Mr. Howe's official communication ; but to doctrine of this description I cannot subscribe. In the first place, I do not think the letter in question bears the interpretation put upon it by the Archbishop ; and even if it did, it must be held that no private communication made by a single member of an Administration without the cognizance of his colleagues, can override an official despatch written in their name and on their behalf by the head of the Department specially responsible for the conduct of the business in hand. Were such a view to prevail, every Government, and the Crown itself, would be at the mercy of any inconsiderate, rash or treacherous member of a ministry.

18. The view taken by Sir John Macdonald, who was Premier at the time that the Archbishop left for the North-West, of his Lordship's powers and of the nature of his mission, is set forth, in the honorable gentleman's evidence at page 100 of the Canadian Blue Book, and I need not say is entirely confirmatory of the conceptions I have derived from the written instructions the Archbishop received and the correspondence which took place with him.

19. Under these circumstances, I am of opinion that the Crown is not committed to the pardon of the murderers of Scott, upon the ground that the Archbishop was in any sense authorized to make a promise to that effect.

20. The next plea urged by those who demand a full and complete amnesty, is based upon the occurrences which took place during the visit of Judge Black and Messrs. Ritchot and Scott to Ottawa, in April, 1870, as delegates from the people of the North-West, and on the alleged purport of the conversations which took place between Archbishop Taché, Lord Lisgar, and Sir George Cartier, at Niagara. With respect to the transactions of this date, we have unfortunately no public correspondence or other official intercommunications in which they have been recorded, and so far as regards the individual statements of the personages concerned, there is unhappily a direct conflict of assertion.

21. On the one hand, Abbé Ritchot and the Archbishop state positively that an amnesty to Riel was explicitly promised both by Lord Lisgar, Sir Clinton Murdoch, Sir John Macdonald, and Sir George Cartier. On the other hand, this statement is denied in the most emphatic manner by each and all of these gentlemen. The Abbé Ritchot's affidavit, in which a history of his interviews with the Governor General and other members of the Administration is set forth with considerable particularity, will be found at page seventy-two of the Canadian Blue Book. The denial of the correctness of the Abbé Ritchot's asseverations is conveyed, first, in a despatch to Lord Kimberley from Lord Lisgar, dated 25th April, 1872, and in a letter from the same nobleman to Sir George Cartier, dated the 21st February, 1873, page 104 of the Blue Book ; in a letter from Sir Clinton Murdoch to Mr. Herbert, dated 5th March, 1873, on page 104, and again in another letter of the 6th March of the same year ; in a letter from Sir George Cartier to Sir John Macdonald, dated 8th February, 1873 ; and in Sir John Macdonald's evidence, page 107. But a still more significant light is thrown upon what occurred, by a despatch from Sir Clinton Murdoch to Sir Frederick Rogers, dated 28th April, 1870, page 193 of the Blue Book. This communication was contemporary with the event recorded. The statement made was not a reply to any leading question, nor evoked by any special reference. It was simply a narrative drawn



up for the information of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, as to the purport of Sir Clinton Murdoch's conversation with his interlocutor, the Abbé Ritchot, immediately after the interview had occurred. In the fifth paragraph of that document, page 193 of the Blue Book, Sir Clinton Murdoch says :—  
 “The 19th condition would secure an indemnity to Riel and his abettors for the execution of Scott, and to all others for the plunder of the Hudson Bay Company's stores, and for other damages committed during the disturbances ; concessions which this Government could not venture even if it had the power to grant, while the condition which, though not contained in the terms, was conveyed to Judge Black and the other delegates in writing, that whatever was agreed to here must be subject to confirmation by the Provisional Government, would have involved a recognition of the authority of Riel and his associates.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Under these circumstances there was no choice but to reject these terms.”

22. Of course, it is a very invidious office to pronounce an opinion as to the respective accuracy of statements so conflicting, emanating from such eminent personages, and adduced, I have no doubt, by every individual concerned in the most perfect good faith ; but when it is remembered that Lord Lisgar had not even the power to make the promise which he is alleged to have given, and that he and Sir Clinton Murdoch and Sir John Macdonald are so perfectly in accord as to what passed, one can only conclude that the Abbé Ritchot, through the unfortunate circumstance of these conversations having been conducted in a language with which he was not familiar, must have derived a totally wrong impression of what had been said.

23. This view of the case is in a great measure confirmed by the evidence of Mr. Sulte, page 181 of the Blue Book, in which he states that one day Father Ritchot said to him in reference to his recent interview with Lord Lisgar,—“as I “do not understand English very well, I am not satisfied with what His Excellency “said to me at our interview.” From this it may be gathered that the reverend gentleman has shown some precipitancy in consigning to an affidavit so elaborate a record of a conversation of which he himself admits he carried away an imperfect apprehension.

24. Cognate to this branch of the enquiry are the allegations advanced by Archbishop Taché as to his interview with Lord Lisgar at Niagara, 23rd July, 1870. The Archbishop does not appear to maintain that upon this occasion Lord Lisgar made him any specific promise, but he says that His Excellency, being unwilling to enter into any discussion upon Red River affairs, referred him to Sir George Cartier, and that Sir George Cartier then repeated those assurances, as on Lord Lisgar's behalf, to which the Archbishop attaches so much importance. As the facts connected with this incident are fully set forth in the Archbishop's statement on page 40 of the Blue Book, I need not further refer to them.

25. With regard, however, to Sir George Cartier's general attitude, language, and correspondence, in reference to the whole of this subject, I am ready to admit that there appears to have been a certain amount of ambiguity and want of explicitness in his utterances, which undoubtedly encouraged the Archbishop, Father Ritchot and others, to entertain larger expectations in respect to the extent of the suggested amnesty than he was justified in exciting.

26. I do not for a moment imagine that Sir George Cartier intended to mislead these gentlemen, but he evidently himself leant to the opinion that the clemency of the Crown might be extended with advantage to Riel and his associates ; and his naturally sanguine temperament led him to anticipate that as the public excitement calmed down, and years went by, he would have sufficient influence to obtain immunity for those in whose behalf the Archbishop and Abbé Ritchot were interesting themselves. As a consequence, the tenor of his language implied that if only matters were peaceably settled in Red River, and the population quietly submitted to the new order of things, a settlement would ultimately be arrived at satisfactory to all parties. But though this forecast of events was in his mind, and colored his thoughts and language, it does not appear from the evidence, that he ever made any specific promise in respect of the murderers of Scott. On the contrary, he was always very careful to state that the power of granting a pardon to them did not reside with the Canadian Government, but with the Queen and her Imperial advisers. As Sir John Macdonald observes, he and the Abbé Ritchot and the Archbishop appear to have been moving "in different planes." Both make use of the word "amnesty," but Sir George always referred to an "amnesty" as applicable to the general body of insurgents, and to political offences, whereas the Archbishop and the Abbé were solely preoccupied with the thought of securing an "amnesty" for Riel and his fellows. Be this, however, as it may, to my apprehension it cannot be for a moment contended that Sir George Cartier's casual conversations and private letters can bind the Imperial Government.

27. The third plea on account of which a full and plenary amnesty is demanded is that the authorities who ordered Scott's execution were a *de facto* Government, duly constituted by the will of the community, and that it was consequently a legitimate proceeding, and only reprehensible as an error of judgment. I think it but fair, in reference to those who hold this opinion, to call your Lordship's attention to the fact that the Convention which erected the so-called Provisional Government and placed Riel at its head, was composed of a number of French and English delegates, fairly elected from the population at large ; that persons of very great respectability were members of it, and took part in its proceedings ; that Mr. Donald Smith, the Canadian Commissioner, and the person who was instructed to take up the Government of the North-West on behalf of the Hudson Bay Company in the event of Governor McTavish being precluded by ill-health from exercising his functions, appeared before it as the exponent of the views of the Canadian Government ; and that the delegates it chose were subsequently recognized as duly authorized to treat with the Dominion Executive on behalf of the North-West community. An attempt has been made to show that these delegates really held their appointment from Riel, and were to be considered as commissioned by his Government. This, however, was not so ; they were selected, and the terms they were instructed to demand were settled, before the election of Riel to the so-called Presidency. On the other hand, it is to be noted that when the proposal to constitute a Provisional Government was mooted in the Convention, a certain portion of the English Deputies declined to take part in the proceedings, until they had ascertained whether or no Governor McTavish, the legal ruler of the territory, still considered himself vested with authority. A



deputation accordingly was appointed to wait upon him in his sick chamber, for this gentleman had unfortunately during many previous weeks been suffering from the mortal disease of which he soon after died. In reply to their inquiries, Governor McTavish told them that he considered his jurisdiction had been abolished by the Proclamation of Mr. McDougall, that he was "a dead man," and that they had, therefore, better construct a Government of their own to maintain the peace of the country. Returning to their colleagues, the deputation announced to the Convention what Governor McTavish had said, and, as a result, Riel and his colleagues were nominated to their respective offices. But though these proceedings thus received a certain sanction at the hands of the representatives of the population of the North-West, it does not appear to me to affect Riel's culpability with respect to Scott. In the first place, as has been very clearly laid down by the Chief Justice of Manitoba, in his charge to the jury on the Lepine trial, it is not possible for any lawful executive authority to spring into existence within Her Majesty's Dominions, unless it emanate from Herself. Without, however, laying too much stress upon the purely legal aspect of this part of the question, it is very evident that the killing of Scott was not an exercise of jurisdiction known to any form of law, but an inhuman slaughter of an innocent man, aggravated by circumstances of extraordinary brutality. In company with a certain number of other Englishmen, Scott had started from a place called Portage la Prairie, with the view apparently of endeavoring to rescue a number of persons who up to this time Riel had been holding prisoners in Fort Garry, but at the entreaty of those who were anxious to prevent the outburst of Civil War, the party were induced to give up their project and to return home. Scott and his companions were captured as they were passing back to their own part of the country. The utmost alleged against Scott is that he used violent language in prison, and that he had alluded to an intention of capturing Riel and retaining him as a hostage for the release of the prisoners already referred to; but even these allegations were not proved, nor, had they been proved ten times over, could they have rendered him liable to serious punishment. Even the decencies of an ordinary drum head court martial were disregarded. The trial, if it can be so termed, was conducted in the absence of the accused, who was confronted with no witnesses, nor furnished with any indictment, nor allowed to plead for his life. The further details of the tragedy are so horrible, if the statements in the evidence can be relied on, that I will not shock your Lordship by repeating them; suffice it to say, that all the special pleading in the world will not prove the killing of Scott to be anything else than a cruel, wicked, and unnecessary crime, nor, had the origin of Riel's authority been even less questionable, would it have invested him with the right of taking away the life of a fellow-citizen in so reckless and arbitrary a manner. I have, therefore, no hesitation in concluding that any claim for the extension of an amnesty to Riel founded on the assumption that the murder of Scott was a judicial execution by a legitimately constituted authority, must be disallowed.

28. A fourth consideration occasionally urged, though not with any very great persistence, by the apologists of Riel, is that when Sir Garnet Wolseley's forces had taken possession of the Territory of Red River, a man of the name of Goulet,

one of those who had been concerned in the murder of Scott, was pursued by certain persons, of whom two belonged to a Canadian regiment, until he was frightened into the river and drowned in his attempt to swim across it. How far the foregoing is an accurate account of this transaction I know not. If a murderous assault of this description can be brought home in a court of justice to any individuals, they ought, of course, to be dealt with in due course of law; but it is idle to allege such a circumstance as exonerating the authors of another deed of blood.

29. There is a further plea which has been sometimes urged, not indeed as of itself sufficient to command an amnesty, but as communicating a cumulative force to those already mentioned, namely, the transmission of money to Riel from the Government of the day on condition of his leaving the country, and his subsequent resignation of his seat for Provencher in order to make room for Sir George Cartier; but with transactions of this nature the Imperial Government cannot be expected to concern itself.

30. I therefore pass on to the fifth consideration, which is adduced as a reason why the Imperial Government should concede an amnesty to the murderers of Scott; and to the plea which I am about to exhibit, I must ask your Lordship to give your earnest attention, as it appears to me to involve the consideration of a semi-legal question of very great moment, the ultimate decision of which will not only affect the case of Riel, but also that of the prisoner Lepine, now left for execution in Winnipeg gaol.

31. In the year 1871, a rumor prevailed in the Province of Manitoba—at that time incorporated with the Dominion, and under the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's Lieutenant Governor, the Honorable Mr. Archibald—that a considerable body of Fenians were gathered along its southern frontier, and were prepared to make a very formidable irruption over the border. In order to understand the gravity of the situation, it must be remembered that the leader of this movement was a man of the name of O'Donoghue, who had been associated with Riel in his insurrectionary movement. A very considerable probability consequently existed that O'Donoghue and his people might be acting in concert with the French leaders of the previous revolt. Mr. Archibald was alone, cut off by distance from the advice and countenance of the central authorities, and thrown entirely upon his own resources. He had no military forces worth speaking of with which to confront the invaders, and he was administering a Province inhabited by distinct nationalities and distracted by differences of religious faith. Only a few months before, a considerable proportion of its population had been arrayed in arms against the Queen's authority and their fellow-subjects. Under these circumstances it can be readily understood that a person in Mr. Archibald's situation would feel it his primary duty to sacrifice every other interest to the defence of the Province over which he presided, and to the safety of the population for whose welfare he was responsible. Acting upon these considerations Governor Archibald determined to appeal to the loyalty of the French Metis and their leaders; but these last were no others than Riel, Lepine, etc., the very men for whose apprehension writs had been issued on a capital charge. Notwithstanding the anomaly of such a procedure, Mr. Archibald concluded to enter into relations with these persons. The account of what he



did and the reasons which guided his conduct are set forth in a very perspicuous manner in a narrative which will be found at page 139 of the Blue Book.

32. From the statements therein contained it will be observed that the Lieutenant Governor reviewed the troops which had been collected under the command of Riel, Lepine and their companions, that he accepted their services, that he promised them at least a temporary immunity from molestation on account of the crime of which they were accused, that he shook hands with them, that he received a letter signed by them, and that through his Secretary he addressed to them an official reply, complimenting them on the loyalty they had shown and the assistance they had rendered. He further states that he has convinced himself—though Sir John Macdonald appears to have had misgivings on this point—that this exhibition of fidelity was genuine and *bond fide*, and that it largely contributed to the preservation of Her Majesty's Dominions from insult and invasion. In short, he is satisfied, to use his own language, that "if the Dominion has at this moment a Province to defend and not one to conquer, they owe it to the policy of forbearance. If I had driven the French half-breeds into the hands of the enemy, O'Donoghue would have been joined by all the population between the Assiniboine and the frontier, Fort Garry would have passed into the hands of an armed mob, and the English settlers to the north of the Assiniboine would have suffered horrors it makes me shudder to contemplate."

33. Of course I am not prepared to say whether or no the Lieutenant Governor's appreciation of the necessities of his situation, and of the consequences of a different line of action, are correct or not; but if such be the deliberate opinion of an undoubtedly able, prudent and conscientious man,—of a person whose successful administration of Manitoba has been rewarded by promotion to a more important post, I do not think it is competent for us to go behind it, or to act upon a different assumption.

34. The legal, or rather constitutional, question then arises, to what extent is the Crown of England committed by the acts and declarations of its Lieutenant?—those acts and declarations never having been disavowed or repudiated by the central authority of the Dominion, or by the representative of the Home Government. Although my experience in such matters does not enable me to speak with any great authority, I confess I should have difficulty in convincing myself that after the Governor of a Province has put arms into the hands of a subject, and has invited him to risk his life—for that, of course, is the implied contingency, in defence of Her Majesty's crown and dignity, and for the protection of her territory,—with a full knowledge at the time that the individual in question was amenable to the law for crimes previously committed,—the Executive is any longer in a position to pursue the person thus dealt with as a felon. The acceptance of the service might be held, I imagine, to bar the prosecution of the offender; for, undesirable as it may be that a great criminal should go unpunished, it would be still more pernicious that the Government of the country should show a want of fidelity to its engagements, or exhibit a narrow spirit in its interpretation of them. It is in this apprehension that I have ventured to call especial attention to this last of the pleas for "amnesty."

35. I must ask your Lordship to remember that in the foregoing brief observ-

ations, I have attempted to deal with but a few of the facts and incidents displayed in the evidence ; neither do I pretend to have reproduced with anything approaching completeness the various arguments which either have been or may be adduced in support of the conflicting views of the contending parties. But my shortcomings in this respect will be more than supplied by the materials collected in the accompanying Blue Book, where each individual in any way implicated in these transactions has had an opportunity of explaining his conduct and enforcing his opinions. My only object has been to save your Lordship trouble by a preliminary co-ordination of the elements of the controversy. In order, however, that the defence may not lack all the assistance to which it may be legitimately entitled, I have thought it right to enclose two very able papers marked A and B, which have been framed for the purpose of embodying within a short compass the views of those who have convinced themselves that the various circumstances referred to require the issue of an amnesty.

36. I have further the honor to append a petition addressed to me by the Catholic Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Quebec, drawn up in the same sense.

37. Perhaps my duty as regards the matter in hand will not be altogether completed unless I transmit to your Lordship some idea of the general view taken of this question by the population at large. With regard to the French section of Her Majesty's subjects, I may say that although there are probably few of them who do not regard the death of Scott as a regrettable event, they are united to a man in the opinion that the part played by Riel in the North-West was that of a brave and spirited patriot ; that it is principally to him and to those who acted with him that Manitoba owes her present privileges of self-government and her parity of rank and standing with her sister Provinces. They are equally convinced that the Government of Canada and of Her Majesty are bound by the promises of the Archbishop, and that the government Riel established at Red River was authoritative and legitimate ; nor do I think will they ever be persuaded that the language held by Sir George Cartier did not imply a direct and explicit assurance of immunity to the murderers of Scott, on their submission to the new order of things established under the auspices of the Manitoba Act, and by the advent of Lieutenant Governor Archibald at Fort Garry.

38. On the other hand, a considerable portion of the people of Ontario resent the notion that a Catholic Archbishop should have usurped a plenary power of pardon in respect of men who had so cruelly put to death an innocent fellow countryman of their own. They regard Riel as a disloyal rebel, as well as a murderer, and they would look upon the escape either of him or of Lepine from punishment as an almost intolerable miscarriage of justice. At the same time the larger proportion of them feel that various circumstances have occurred to complicate the situation, and to render the Capital Sentence impossible of execution, and even amongst the more extreme section of those who are animated by sentiments of intense sympathy for Scott, there is to be observed, as far as I can judge from the newspapers, a moderation and reasonableness which does them considerable credit.

39. It only remains for me to add that even should it be decided that the



obligations imposed upon us by the procedure of Lieutenant Governor Archibald are less compromising than I am inclined to consider them, and that the Crown is quite untrammelled in its action, I still think that the various circumstances I have referred to in this despatch require the capital sentence of Lepine to be commuted by the clemency of Her Majesty into a much milder punishment. This commutation, when the proper time arrives, I propose to order on my own responsibility, under the powers accorded to me by my instructions.

40. On the other hand, I feel very strongly that it would shock the public sense of justice were Riel to be visited with a lesser penalty than his associate. In the estimation of all those who consider the killing of Scott a crime, Riel is held to be the principal culprit, and, as a matter of fact, whatever promises were made by Lieutenant Governor Archibald to Riel were also extended to Lepine. If, therefore, the latter is required to undergo a term of imprisonment, it appears to me that the Executive will be precluded from exercising any clemency towards Riel, until he shall have surrendered himself to justice, and, on conviction, have submitted to a similar penalty.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

DUFFERIN.

The Right Honorable

The Earl of Carnarvon,

&c., &c., &c.

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To this despatch the Colonial Minister replied as follows :—

DOWNING STREET, *7th January, 1875.*

MY LORD,—I received, on the 29th ultimo, your despatch No. 305 of the 10th December, transmitting a copy of an Order in Council, in which your Ministers request that Her Majesty's Government will deal, in such a way as existing circumstances may seem to justify, with the whole question of the offences committed by Riel, Lepine and others in the North-West Territories of the Dominion, in 1869 and 1870.

2. This question has now passed into a stage requiring that it should be disposed of without delay, inasmuch as Lepine, one of the principal parties to the brutal and atrocious murder which formed the most notorious feature of the rebellion in Manitoba, now lies under sentence of death for that crime, and it has become necessary to decide not only whether the extreme penalty of the law should be inflicted in his case, but also what course should be taken in the corresponding case of Riel, in the event of his submitting himself, or being brought to justice.

3. I fully recognize the force of the considerations which lead the Dominion Government to think that this is a case with which it is difficult, for several reasons into which I need not now enter in detail, for the Local Administration to deal ; and I should have been prepared to instruct you formally on the subject, if, after considering the question in the altered aspect in which it is now presented to me, I were of opinion that such a course would be the most convenient.

4. There are, however, obvious objections, notwithstanding the full confidence which Her Majesty's Government are able to place in the completeness and impar-

tiality of your very able exposition of the circumstances connected with this case, to their undertaking the decision of a question which can be thoroughly understood in all its bearings by those only who, residing on the spot, are familiar with every detail of it.

It is on account of the almost insuperable difficulty of ensuring a just and prudent decision on the part of persons who live at a distance, and are of necessity imperfectly acquainted with facts and opinions, that the Queen delegates to the Governors of Her Colonies the administration of the prerogative of mercy in regard to cases arising within them; and I am clearly of opinion that in the thirty-ninth paragraph of your despatch you rightly indicate, as I have already intimated to you by telegraph, the course which it would be most correct to follow, namely, that, acting under the powers vested in you by the Royal Instructions, you should yourself determine whether the sentence passed on Lepine should be carried out or modified. You observe that you propose to act in this matter on your own responsibility; and I believe that by proceeding in that manner in the present instance, that is to say, by relieving your Ministers, under the very peculiar circumstances in which they are placed, from the obligation under which they would lie, if the question were an ordinary one, of tendering advice to you respecting it, and by deciding according to your own individual judgment, you will best meet the requirements of the case.

5. But although, for the reasons which I have stated, I think it preferable that such action as may be taken should be formally and technically your own and not that of Her Majesty's Government, I am quite willing to give you that assistance and support, which, as I gather from the third paragraph of your despatch, you and your Ministers consider that a dispassionate review of the whole question, accompanied by some expression of opinion on the part of this Government, would render; and I do this the more readily because it is pre-eminently a question as to which an impartial expression of carefully considered opinion from an authority which, although not directly connected with the many personal, political, religious, and national feelings that have been aroused, is not the less deeply interested in the maintenance of a harmonious relationship between the members of the Dominion, may be useful.

6. I will, therefore, at once proceed to state briefly the conclusion at which I have arrived on the whole subject, and which I have laid before Her Majesty as, in my humble opinion, combining justice and mercy in the highest degree compatible with those conditions of public policy which cannot be wholly overlooked; and it is with much satisfaction that I find myself able to agree with the course which you have yourself determined to be proper in the event of the considerations which have appeared to justify an amnesty not being found on examinations such as to warrant the entire condonation of the crimes which have been committed.

7. Following then the order in which you have treated the subject, I may observe, in the first place, that it is obvious that neither the Proclamation intended to be issued, but from certain causes not published, at Fort Garry in 1869, nor the correspondence cited in paragraphs 4 to 7 of your despatch, are in any way applicable to the condition of affairs which arose when, some time subsequently, the atrocious murder of Scott was committed. Nor can anything promised to the



murderers (although in good faith) by Archbishop Taché, nor any impression or understanding that he or others may have formed of the purport of conversations or communications with individual Ministers, be deemed to have in any way pledged the Crown to extend an amnesty to acts which had not even been heard of by the Dominion Government, when he received the letters instructing him as to his proceedings at Fort Garry, and which on full examination could not fail to appear to be such as the Queen (if the Imperial Government should be required to act) could not be advised to leave unpunished. As Archbishop Taché's connection with this affair constitutes the first of the five reasons alleged for amnesty, I will now dispose of it by observing that with all respect for his honesty and good intentions, it is impossible to admit that he had any sufficient ground for believing that the Crown, or the Colonial Government acting for the Crown, did or could delegate to him, or to any other unofficial person, or indeed to any one, as to a Plenipotentiary, an unlimited power of pardoning crimes, of whatever atrocity, not even known to have been committed. And your opinion that the Crown is in no way committed by any promises given by Archbishop Taché is the only one which I can consider tenable.

8. As to the second plea, based upon alleged conversations held in 1870 by Abbé Ritchot, Archbishop Taché, and others, with the Governor General and Members of the Dominion Government, I had occasion some time ago to examine the statements made on both sides, and I formed then, and still hold the distinct opinion that the misapprehension on the part of Abbé Ritchot (from whatever cause it proceeded) of the statements made to him, was so complete as to have led him entirely to misrepresent not only the views but the language of the Governor General and of other officers of the Government. If I in any degree qualify this statement in so far as it may be applicable to certain inaccurate or too encouraging observations which may have fallen from the late Sir George Cartier, and which may possibly (although of this there is no adequate evidence) have been such as reasonably to lead Abbé Ritchot to entertain too sanguine a hope as to the result of his advocacy, I must at the same time place on record my belief that Sir G. Cartier is sufficiently shown to have recollected the extent of his powers and of his duty to his Government, and to have on one occasion at least clearly explained that he could not promise or guarantee any pardon.

9. The third plea, that the murderers of Scott represented a *de facto* Government, and are consequently excusable on political grounds, is one which I cannot for a moment entertain. There could be within the Queen's possessions in North America no power or pretence of establishing a *de facto* Government, independent of, or defying Her Majesty and Her officers, which could aspire to any such immunity as that claimed; and any argument based on the view of such a state of things being possible, is, in my opinion, not even worthy of discussion.

10. Nor am I able to take into consideration the grounds alleged, in the fourth place, in the 28th and 29th paragraphs of your despatch. They seem to me to have no bearing on the question at issue. I proceed therefore at once to the fifth place, which is based upon the dealings of Lieutenant Governor Archibald with the murderers of Scott, when (in 1871), with very inadequate means at his disposal, he felt himself constrained to avail himself of everything within his reach to repel the Fenian invasion, then seriously threatening his Province.

11. Admitting that Mr. Archibald dealt with these persons as with any other members of the community, received valuable assistance from them, and not only formally thanked them, but promised them a temporary immunity from the consequences of their crime, I feel no hesitation in concluding that neither these transactions, nor even any further promise (if he had made one) of endeavoring to procure for them an amnesty, can be held to have placed the Crown under any obligation absolutely to condone so disgraceful a crime as that which they had committed.

12. Mr. Archibald cannot, in my opinion, be held to have represented the Crown in such a way as to have had any power of pledging its future action in regard to such transactions as those now under review. The Lieutenant Governors of the Provinces of the Dominion, however important locally their functions may be, are a part of the Colonial Administrative Staff, and are more immediately responsible to the Governor General in Council. They do not hold commissions from the Crown, and neither in power nor privilege resemble those Governors, or even Lieutenant Governors of Colonies to whom, after special consideration of their personal fitness, the Queen, under the Great Seal and Her own hand and signet, delegates portions of Her prerogatives and issues Her own instructions. But I do not desire to lay stress upon this point, because in dealing with ignorant and half educated people, it is obviously desirable that due recognition should, as far as possible, be given to any acts or promises which may reasonably be thought to bind or pledge either the Colonial or Imperial Government.

But, thinking, as I do, that the services rendered by these offenders in 1871 deserve to carry considerable weight, and should be liberally taken into consideration when justice has to be executed with respect to their previous offences; and admitting, indeed, that it is as impossible to permit the extreme sentence of death to be inflicted upon persons who have been recognized and dealt with as they have, as it is to allow them to go unpunished, I feel that the question which I have to consider is, not whether they should be amnestied (for that is not to be heard of), but what kind of punishment will be just and reasonable in all the peculiar and conflicting circumstances of their case.

13. One of them has now been found guilty of murder by a jury, the composition of which was such as to secure an impartial consideration of everything that could be fairly urged on his behalf. And whilst I entirely concur in the justice of the verdict in Lepine's case, I cannot entertain the opinion that Riel, whose guilt was certainly not less, could be subjected to any less punishment than that which may be inflicted on Lepine.

14. On the whole, after a most anxious consideration of the whole question, I have come to the conclusion that you will act with both clemency and justice if you carry out the view expressed in the concluding portion of your despatch, that the capital sentence of Lepine should be commuted. You do not state what amount of imprisonment you would consider a proper commutation, but I assume that you contemplate a term sufficient to mark distinctly the sense which both the Crown and all right-minded men must entertain that his offence has been such as cannot be allowed to pass without substantial punishment. Whenever Riel submits himself, or is brought to justice, it would seem right that he should suffer similar punishment to that of Lepine.



15. I have now explained to you the view taken by Her Majesty's Government of the difficult question with which you are called upon to deal. You will remember that my predecessor intimated to you that Her Majesty's advisers were of opinion that the murder of Scott must be excepted from the list of offences connected with the Red River disturbances for which an amnesty could be granted. And I feel confident that, as in the commencement of your despatch you encourage me to hope, a loyal acquiescence will be secured among the large majority of the Queen's Canadian subjects, in the opinion that although a murder such as that of Scott cannot be allowed to go unpunished, on the ground that it was connected with political disturbances, yet, in so far as it did result from political circumstances, those who were guilty of it may be deemed to have earned a merciful consideration through their subsequent good service to the State, and that for those services their lives should be spared. You will readily understand that in thus expressing to you a distinct opinion on the part of Her Majesty's Government, I am conveying the assurance of that support from without, which you have desired, and on which you may rely in the difficult circumstances in which you are placed.

There yet remains a further question, whether it should not be a condition of any commutation of sentence, that those actually concerned in the murder of Scott should be deprived of the power of taking part in political affairs within the Dominion. It has been a source of much pain to many who, like myself, take pride in the public institutions of Canada, to hear of the Legislature being disgraced by the election to the House of Commons and the presence within its walls of a criminal like Riel; and I wholly fail to understand how any section of the Canadian people, of whatever race or creed, can so far mistake the true character of these unhappy proceedings as to throw over them the color of patriotism. I should not therefore think it unreasonable, while it would undoubtedly conduce to a higher tone of constitutional morality, that the liberation of the criminals after the expiration of their commuted sentence, should be accompanied by some stringent conditions as to their good conduct, if they remain in any part of Canada, and by their total exclusion from any participation in political or parliamentary life.

Anticipating that your Ministers will share this opinion, I request you to consult them as to the manner in which such political disability as I have referred to may best be enforced.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

CARNARVON.

Governor General, The Right Honorable  
The Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B.,  
&c., &c., &c.

The following telegrams and despatches closed the correspondence :

TELEGRAMS.

*The Earl of Carnarvon to the Earl of Dufferin, Jan. 14, 1875.*

My despatch on Lepine sent last week approves your dispensing with Ministers' advice in accordance with your powers under instructions, intimates that

neither amnesty nor entire pardon possible, but commutation approved. Riel should have similar punishment. Political disability desirable. Telegraph if you desire further information.

CARNARVON.

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*The Earl of Dufferin to the Earl of Carnarvon, January 20, 1875.*

Guided by the considerations set forth in my despatch to your Lordship of the 10th December, I directed my Minister of Justice, on the fifteenth of January, to take steps for the commutation of the capital sentence on Lepine into two years' imprisonment and the forfeiture of his political rights.

DUFFERIN.

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*The Earl of Carnarvon to the Earl of Dufferin, Governor General, Canada, January 26.*

I fully approve course taken by you in Lepine's case.

CARNARVON.

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GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *January 15, 1875.*

SIR,—I am commanded by the Governor General to inform you that His Excellency has had under his full and anxious consideration the evidence and other documents connected with the trial of Ambroise Lepine, who has been capitally convicted before the Court of Assize held at Winnipeg, on the 10th day of October, 1874, of the murder of Thomas Scott, on the 4th March, 1870, at Fort Garry.

Although His Excellency entirely agrees with the finding of the Jury, and considers that the crime, of which the prisoner Lepine has been convicted, was nothing less than a cruel and unjustifiable murder, he is of opinion that subsequent circumstances, and, notably, the relations into which the Provincial authorities of Manitoba entered with the prisoner and his associates, are such as, in a great degree, to fetter the hands of justice.

It further appears to His Excellency that the case has passed beyond the province of Departmental administration, and that it will be best dealt with under the Royal Instructions, which authorize the Governor General, in certain capital cases, to dispense with the advice of his Ministers, and to exercise the prerogative of the Crown according to his independent judgment, and on his own personal responsibility.

I have it, therefore, in command to inform you that it is His Excellency's pleasure that the capital sentence passed upon the prisoner Lepine be commuted into two years of imprisonment in gaol from the date of conviction, and the permanent forfeiture of his political rights.

His Excellency desires that the necessary instrument for giving effect to this commutation be forthwith prepared.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

H. C. FLETCHER,

*Governor General's Secretary.*

To the Honorable the Minister of Justice,

Ottawa.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA, *January 18, 1875.*

MY LORD,—In further reference to previous correspondence, I have the honor to enclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a communication I have addressed to the Honorable Telephore Fournier, my Minister of Justice, instructing him to commute the capital sentence recently passed on Ambroise Lepine into imprisonment for two years in gaol, and the permanent forfeiture of his political rights.

2. In thus dispensing with the advice of my responsible Ministers, and exercising the Queen's prerogative according to my own judgment, I am aware I have undertaken a very grave responsibility, more especially as the facts and considerations by which the issue has to be determined are of a very complex and embarrassing character. Upon these, however, I will not enlarge as they have already been fully set forth in former despatches.

3. I am quite convinced that the matter is one which, in the general interests of his country, will have been best dealt with by my direct action.

4. Although the commuted sentence may appear very inadequate to the enormity of the crime, of which it is the punishment, I believe it to be such as will best satisfy the conflicting exigencies of the case.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed,) DUFFERIN.

To the Right Honorable

The Secretary of State for the Colonies.

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MONTREAL, *January 29, 1875.*

MY LORD,—I have the honor to enclose, for your Lordship's information, a number of extracts and leading articles from the various newspapers in the Dominion, both French and English, on the commutation of the capital sentence passed on Ambroise Lepine.

2. It cannot but give satisfaction to your Lordship to perceive with what general acquiescence the terms of the commutation have been accepted. Although the circumstances of the case deeply touched the feelings of both the English and French sections of the population, and afforded ample room for controversy and differences of opinion, there has been scarcely anything approaching to angry or violent comment either upon the one side or the other. It has been universally felt that the subject was one of very great difficulty, and the moderation exhibited in all quarters is of the happiest augury for the future.

3. Personally I cannot help feeling deeply sensible of the confidence exhibited by the population, with whom I have the happiness of being connected, in the impartiality and soundness of the decision it has become my duty to arrive at in connection with this grave and momentous matter.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) DUFFERIN.

The Right Honorable The Earl of Carnarvon,  
Colonial Office.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA, *February 3, 1875.*

MY LORD,—In continuation of my correspondence in reference to the case of Lepine, I have the honor to inform your Lordship that I have received numerous petitions praying for a commutation of his sentence. These petitions, with very few exceptions, have been drawn up in the several towns and villages of the Province of Quebec, and the signatures show that the petitioners were in almost all cases of French origin. The number of petitions received amount to two hundred and fifty-two (252), bearing fifty-eight thousand five hundred and sixty-eight signatures (58,568).

I observe that several of the signatures are in the same handwriting, but I have reason to believe that they have been in most, if not in all cases, appended by the priest or other person engaged in preparing the petition, at the desire of those whose names they bear.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) DUFFERIN.

The Right Honorable The Earl of Carnarvon,  
&c., &c., &c.

The course pursued by Lord Dufferin in thus acting without the advice of his Ministers, and thereby relieving them from all responsibility, did not pass unchallenged. Sir John Macdonald expressed the difficulty in a line when he said: "If this be proper, a man may be hung in Canada without any one being responsible for it;" but Sir John never pressed any objection to His Excellency's action. In England the matter was brought up in the House of Lords, as a grave constitutional question, and it was discussed in connection with the practice in New South Wales as then lately adopted in the case of one Gardiner. The Earl of Belmore, on the 16th April,\* in his place in the Lords, drew the attention of the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Carnarvon, to the conditions under which the power of granting pardons was in future to be exercised by the Governors of those colonies which have Responsible Government. The subject, he said, was one of, perhaps, not very great interest to their Lordships, but it was one, not only of interest, but of very great importance to the Colonies.

"He would have to refer to both Canada and New South Wales, but he did not mean to express any opinion on the merits of the case of Lepine, and still less was it his intention to criticize the conduct of the Governor General of Canada. He was merely going to show what had been done by the Governor of New South Wales in respect of the remission of sentences, and he was about to do this because he thought there was a constitutional question of considerable importance involved in the contrast between the mode of procedure in the two cases. The Canadian

\* 223 Hansard, 1065.



case was shortly this :—Lepine was convicted about November last of having been accessory to the murder of Thos. Scott, during the insurrection at Fort Garry some time before, and was sentenced to be hanged. Circumstances caused a good deal of excitement of a party nature, and there was great difference of opinion as to whether that sentence should be carried out. Finally, his noble friend Lord Dufferin solved the difficulty by commuting the sentence to two years' imprisonment. It appeared that the noble Lord had taken that course on his own responsibility. Now, if Lord Dufferin had remitted the sentence after consulting his Council, he was no doubt doing what every Governor had a right to do in capital cases, even where Responsible Government existed; but if, as implied by the *Times'* correspondent, in a letter published on the 5th November, he had acted as he had done in order to relieve his Ministry of the responsibility of offering advice, either the noble Earl's commission must give him greater powers than his (the Earl of Belmore's) had given him as Governor of New South Wales, or else he (Lord Dufferin) must take a much more extended view of his powers than he (the Earl of Belmore) had done. Their Lordships would observe that there was a marked distinction between a Governor acting without the advice of his Council, and a Governor, after having received such advice, exercising his own judgment upon it, though that judgment might be contrary to it. The latter was all that, when Governor of New South Wales, he supposed it to be in his power, or that of any other Governor in similar circumstances, to do. But it would appear that Lord Dufferin claimed the power of acting on his own judgment in cases of supreme importance. He (the Earl of Belmore) was not aware whether that power was disputed, and he thought it was much better that the prerogative should be exercised in that way than that the contrary practice should prevail of the Governor deferring in all cases to the judgment of the Colonial Ministry, which he understood it was proposed should be the rule in future in New South Wales."

Lord Lisgar, after discussing the New South Wales case, said :—

"As to the case of Lepine, he differed from the noble Earl opposite, and thought that Lord Dufferin was deserving of high praise. He had come forward at the right time, and in the right spirit, and by his mode of action put an end to what had threatened at one time to be an acrimonious and interminable quarrel between the French-speaking and the English-speaking population of the Dominion."

The Earl of Carnarvon said :—

"I shall say as little as possible on the question of Lepine, because I agree with those who think that it touches on most delicate ground, and that any imprudence with respect to it here might conjure up a good deal of the bad feeling which existed in Canada, and which the discretion and prudence and wisdom of my noble friend Lord Dufferin had succeeded in allaying. My noble friend found himself in a most difficult position, and he has conducted himself with a tact, ability and judgment which entitled him to, and have procured for him, general approval." \* \* \* "The question," his Lordship continued, "divested of local details, is one of considerable importance, if—as I understand it—that question is, how the prerogative of mercy is to be exercised in the larger colonies. The question may be thus presented—first, whether the prerogative is to be exercised

by the Governor himself; or, next, whether it is to be exercised by the Colonial Minister; or, lastly, whether it is to be exercised by the Governor with the concurrence of the Minister." \* \* \* "I think if you study the official papers carefully, you will find that, in reality, there is very little difference among those who have held the seats of the Colonial Office with respect to the responsibility in the exercise of the prerogative of mercy. In a despatch written by my noble friend opposite (Earl Granville) on the 4th October, 1869, when he filled the office of Colonial Secretary, writing to the Governor of New South Wales, he says: 'The responsibility of deciding upon such applications rests with the Governor, and he has undoubtedly a right to act upon his own independent judgment. But, unless any Imperial interest or feeling is involved, as might be the case in a matter of treason, or slave-trading, or in matters in which foreigners might be concerned, the Governor would be bound to allow great weight to the recommendation of his Ministry.' On the 1st November, 1871, my noble friend (the Earl of Kimberley) who succeeded my noble friend (Earl Granville) wrote thus: 'The Governor, as invested with a portion of the Queen's prerogative, is bound to examine personally each case in which he is called upon to exercise the power entrusted to him, although, in a Colony under Responsible Government, he will, of course, pay due regard to the advice of his Ministers, who are responsible to the Colony for the proper administration of justice and the prevention of crime, and will not grant any pardon without receiving their advice thereupon.'" \* \* \* "The noble Lord (Lord Lisgar) has quoted a passage from my despatch of the 7th October, 1874, which is quite in accordance with what is laid down by my two noble friends in the extracts I have just quoted; and as a further proof of the concurrence on the part of myself and my noble friends, perhaps I may be allowed to read a passage in another despatch of mine to Sir Hercules Robinson, written on the same day: 'You will, I apprehend, have no difficulty in conforming to the clear rule laid down in your instructions, which is based on this principle—namely, that, on the one hand, the Governor, to whom personally the Queen delegates a very high prerogative, cannot in any way be relieved from the duty of judging for himself in every case in which that prerogative is proposed to be exercised, while, on the other hand, he is bound, before deciding, to pay the most careful attention to the advice of his Ministers, or that one of them who, in the matter under consideration, may be selected to represent his colleagues.' I quite admit that, at times, the exercise of the prerogative of mercy may be one of great difficulty. Difficulties will arise in its exercise on the responsibility of the Governor, but, on the other hand, one very great advantage of making him the depository of the Crown in this respect is that he stands apart and is not subject to those influences which have been referred to by my noble friend who last addressed your Lordships. In the larger colonies where there is the fullest freedom of Political Government, nice distinctions will have to be drawn; but I believe that the men who are appointed Governors of these Colonies will be competent to draw these distinctions. No doubt, it may be objected to the system of the Governor consulting the Minister, and still acting on his own judgment, that it sets up a double responsibility. In reply, I submit that in this case a concurrent responsibility is better. On the one hand, the Governor will not be relieved of his responsibility to the



Crown, and on the other hand, the Local Government will not be relieved of its responsibility to its own Parliament ; so that, while this Colonial Parliament may punish the Minister for improper advice, the Crown may punish the Governor for an improper decision. The fact is, that in these matters we can be too logical. In the way I have just indicated you may reconcile differences and overcome difficulties which cannot be counteracted by logical means." \* \* \* "As to the Canadian case, I am not at present prepared to lay the papers referring to it on the table of your Lordships' House. I may remind your Lordships that Lepine was concerned as principal in the murder of a man named Scott—was brought to trial, convicted, and had sentence of death passed on him. It was a political murder, and Lord Dufferin very wisely commuted the sentence into two years' imprisonment. My noble friend (the Earl of Belmore) had observed that Lord Dufferin in this case acted without the advice of his Ministers. But, having to deal with that sentence, Lord Dufferin found himself on an entirely different footing from that occupied by Sir Hercules Robinson in the case of Gardiner. The case of Lepine rested on wholly exceptional grounds. Those of your Lordships who are acquainted with the facts will remember that the circumstances arose in a particular part of the North-West which was not a portion of the Canadian Territory. That of itself would have been a distinction. But there was more than that. Every one is aware of the passionate feelings which the case excited. The case of Gardiner is one which has happened over and over again, and which, in all probability, will happen over and over again ; but the case of Lepine is one which has not happened before, and is not likely to happen again in the lifetime of any one of us. But I may go one step further, and say that though, on the other hand, there may not be any formal record in the shape of a minute of the Colonial Government of any circumstances between Lord Dufferin and the Colonial Government in reference to the remission of the sentence, on the other hand, full and ample communication did pass between them on the subject. He was perfectly aware of all the information the Colonial Government could give him, and of the opinion which they entertained, just as much as if all this had been embodied in a formal shape. In conclusion, I have only to say that I think my noble friend Lord Dufferin was fully justified in the course he took, and that I am fully prepared to give him all the support in my power."

Earl Kimberley said :—

"I have heard with pleasure the testimony of my noble friend opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) as to the way in which my noble friend Lord Dufferin dealt with this extremely difficult matter. I think that no more difficult question has ever risen in Canada, or none more trying to the firmness, patience and discretion of the Governor General. It is gratifying to find that, so far as we can learn from the public sources of information, his action appears to have given satisfaction in Canada, and if that be so, he deserves the credit of having relieved Canada from a serious difficulty. I concur with everything said by my noble friend as to the exceptional nature of this Lepine case. It is so exceptional in its character that no one can suppose any general principle will be affected by the action of the Governor General. As regards the general question of the exercise of the prerogative of mercy by Colonial Governors, that certainly does involve the exercise of one of the most delicate functions of the machinery of Colonial Government, and the noble

Earl opposite was quite right in saying that, in matters of this kind, we ought not to be too logical. Constitutional Government in this country has not grown up by means of a rigorous application of the principles of logic, but rather by a happy application of good sense on the part of men who proved themselves equal to deal with emergencies. I think my noble friend, the Secretary for the Colonies, has laid down the rule quite correctly in his final despatch."

The Earl of Belmore, in reply, said :—

"His noble friend opposite (Lord Lisgar) was mistaken in supposing that he differed from Lord Dufferin in respect to the Lepine case. From his limited knowledge of the case, he was led to believe that Lord Dufferin had acted quite rightly, and had only done what the noble Lord (Lord Lisgar) would have done had he still been Governor General, and what he himself might probably have done had it been his lot to fill that position."

The serious Lepine difficulty was thus settled,—but the larger and very delicate question—that of a general amnesty to all those implicated in the North-West troubles of 1870—was still in abeyance, and formed the fruitful source of bitterness throughout the Dominion. It will be seen that this too was dealt with at the Session of February, 1875.

Active steps were taken during this year (1874) to settle the difficulties with British Columbia. It will be recollected that she had come into the Confederacy in 1871, under certain conditions, the chief of which was that the Canadian Pacific Railway should be commenced within two years, and completed in ten. Four years had passed away, and not a sod had been turned in that Province in connection with the great road. The Province was disappointed and indignant. The Dominion Government had been frequently urged to carry out the compact; the matter had been periodically and perseveringly pressed upon the notice of Parliament; the Columbian press was incessant in its utterances of dissatisfaction, and the Province was doubtless steadily falling into a dangerous condition. Mr. Mackenzie saw that something must be done to allay the ill-feeling, and satisfy the demands of the complaining country.

The first official complaint was made on the 26th July, 1873, when his Honor the Lieutenant Governor of the Province, Mr. Trutch, addressed a note to the Hon. Mr. Aikins, Secretary of State for Canada, enclosing for submission to His Excellency the Governor General a minute of his Executive Council, representing the non-fulfilment by the Dominion Government of the 11th Section\* of the terms of Union, expressing regret that the railway had not been

\* This is the clause binding the Dominion to commence the Pacific Railway within two years from the date of entering the Confederacy, 20th July, 1871.



commenced, and strongly protesting against the breach of a condition of the terms so highly important to the Province. No notice was taken of this by the Dominion Ministry.\* On the 24th November, 1873, the Lieutenant Governor again draws their attention to the matter, and prays a reply. The minute of Council accompanying this despatch states that:

“Beyond the acknowledgment of receipt, no reply has been made by the Dominion Government to the complaint of the 26th July.”

And adds:

“That the Government of British Columbia, looking at the actual position of affairs, felt compelled to await the action of the Parliament of Canada expected shortly to meet, and which did meet on the 23rd October last past. But the Parliament of Canada has been prorogued, not to meet until February next, without making provision for the construction of the Pacific Railway. That the Legislative Assembly of the Province stands called to meet at Victoria on the 18th December next, and that the non-fulfilment by the Dominion Government of the terms of Union has caused a strong feeling of anxiety and discouragement to exist throughout the Province.”

This produced a reply in the form of a minute of the Dominion Council of the 23rd December, 1873, the pith of which is contained in the following words:

“The Committee of Council respectfully recommend that the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia be informed that this Government is giving its most earnest consideration to the project for the construction of the Pacific Railway, an outline of which was given in the speech delivered by Mr. Mackenzie at Sarnia, on the 25th November, a scheme which they believe will be acceptable to the whole Dominion, including British Columbia, and that they hope to be able within a short time to communicate more definitely with that Province on the subject.”

On the 23rd February, 1874, a minute of the Council of British Columbia was approved by the Lieutenant Governor, which, after referring to an address of the Legislative Assembly respecting the breach of the railway clause contained in the terms of Union, proceeded as follows:

“On the 25th July last, and again on the 24th November last, strong protests and representations on the subject of the address were forwarded to the Dominion Government, but no reply of an assuring character has yet been received by the Province. The result of this silence has been one of painful and growing dissatisfaction. The Committee feel that a strong but respectful protest against the course pursued by the Dominion Government should be once more forwarded to His Excellency the Governor General.”

\* The agitation of the Pacific Railway charges will sufficiently account for this apparent neglect.

The following is the address of the House of Assembly referred to in this minute of Council :

*To His Honor the Honorable Joseph William Trutch, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of British Columbia.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR,—We, Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British Columbia, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your Honor with our respectful request that your Honor will be pleased to take into consideration the following resolution of the House.

Whereas, on the 20th July, 1871, the Colony of British Columbia was united to and became part of the Dominion of Canada, in accordance with certain terms, and whereas by Section 11 of the said terms, the Government of the Dominion undertook to secure the commencement, simultaneously within two years from the date of Union of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as may be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific,—and whereas the two years therein referred to expired on the 20th July last, and the construction of the said railway was not then, and has not since been commenced, causing thereby serious loss and injury to the people of this Province, be it therefore *Resolved*, That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, respectfully requesting him to protest on behalf of the Legislature and people of this Province against the infraction of this most important clause of the Terms of Union, and to impress upon the present Administration the absolute necessity of commencing the actual construction of the railway from the seaboard of British Columbia early in the present year.

(Signed,) J. ROLAND HETT,

9th February, 1874.

*Clerk of the Assembly.*

The Dominion Ministry were compelled to move, and finding it impossible to carry out the terms of Union, they determined to send an agent to negotiate for new ones. Mr. James D. Edgar was selected for this purpose. He was furnished with letters of introduction, one to Mr. Trutch, the Lieutenant Governor,\* and the other to Mr. Walkem, the Attorney General, and leader of the Provincial Government. His functions are set out in the letter of instructions given him by Mr. Mackenzie, a copy of which will be found in his report. The result of Mr. Edgar's mission is described in this document, which is re-produced in full.

\* This letter, as appears from the statement of Mr. Mackenzie in the House, made on the 31st March, 1875, was, for some unexplained reason, never delivered.



*To the Honorable the Secretary of State for Canada :*

TORONTO, *June 17, 1874.*

SIR,—I have the honor to report that, in the month of February last, I was requested by the Canadian Government to proceed to the Province of British Columbia on their behalf. My mission was for the purpose of ascertaining the true state of feeling in the Province upon the subject of certain changes which were deemed necessary in the mode and in the limit of time for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as well as to attend to any other business required, and to act as Canadian agent in bringing about some such feasible arrangement as might meet the general approval of the Local Government and the people of British Columbia, in place of the original conditions respecting the commencement and completion of the railway that are contained in the Eleventh Article of the terms of Union. In that clause the language referring to railway construction is as follows :—

“The Government of the Dominion undertake to secure the commencement “simultaneously, within two years from the date of Union, of the construction of “a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point “as may be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific, to connect “the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada ; and further “to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from the date of the “Union.”

The views and policy of his Government upon the question of the Canadian Pacific Railway were communicated to me in several interviews by the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, and I also had the benefit of conversations upon the same subject with many members of the Administration before I left Ottawa. On the eve of my departure, I received from the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie certain further instructions and directions for my guidance which were contained in the following letter :—

OTTAWA, *Feb. 19, 1874.*

MY DEAR SIR,—In your conversations with leading men in and out of the Government in Columbia, it will be well to let them understand that in proposing to take longer time than is provided for constructing the railway we are actuated solely by an urgent necessity ; that we are as anxious as possible to reach the object sought by all, viz. : the construction of the road.

We are, however, advised by our Engineers that it is a physical impossibility to construct the road in that time—that is, within the time provided by the terms of Union, and that any attempt to do so can only result in very great useless expense and financial disorder. You can point out that the surveys for the Inter-colonial Railway were begun in 1864, and the work carried on uninterruptedly ever since, and although the utmost expedition was used, it will still require eighteen months to complete it.

If it required so much time in a settled country to build 500 miles of railway, with facilities every where for procuring all supplies, one may conceive the time and labor required to construct a line five times that length through a country all but totally unsettled.

You will point out that it is because we desire to act in good faith towards Columbia that we at once avow our inability to carry out the exact conditions of the terms of Union; that it would have been an easy matter for us to say nothing about, or carelessly to have assumed the task of finishing the road before the month of July, 1881.

Acting, however, from a desire to deal frankly and honestly with British Columbia, we considered what we could do to afford at the earliest possible date some means of travel across the continent preliminary to, and in advance of a complete line of railway.

You will point out that, as part of the Dominion, it is as much in their interests as in ours to pursue a careful judicious policy, also that in assuming a disposition, in spite of all reason, to insist on impossibilities, they are only setting at defiance all the rest of the Dominion and the laws of nature. That by insisting on "*the pound of flesh*" they will only stimulate a feeling on the part of people generally to avoid in future giving anything but "*the pound of flesh*."

You will remember that the Dominion is bound to reach the "*seaboard of the Pacific*" only, not Victoria or Esquimault, and you will convey an intimation to them that any further extension beyond the waters of Bute Inlet, or whatever other portion of the sea waters may be reached, may depend entirely on the spirit shown by themselves in assenting to a reasonable extension of time, or a modification of the terms originally agreed to.

You will also put them in remembrance of the terms they themselves proposed, which terms were assented to by their Local Legislature, and point out that it was only the insane act of the Administration here, which gave such conditions of Union to Columbia; that it could only have been because that Administration sought additional means of procuring extension of patronage immediately before the general election, and saw in coming contracts the means of carrying the elections, that the Province obtained on paper, terms, which at the time were known to be impossible of fulfilment.

If you find any favorable disposition among the leading men of the Province towards affording a generous consideration to the obvious necessity of giving a sufficient time for the pushing the road through Columbia, you will endeavor to ascertain what value they attach to such consideration. You will point out that the action of this Government in the matter of the graving dock, and the agreement to advance in cash the balance of the amount of debt, with which Columbia was allowed to enter the Confederation, shewed that it was not considering itself bound to the exact terms of Union, but was willing to go beyond them when the necessities of the Province seemed to demand such action, and that we not unnaturally expect similar action on the part of the Province.

In the event of your finding that there is a willingness to accept a proposition to extend the time for the building of the road, you will endeavor to obtain some proposition from them, directly or indirectly, and communicate this to us by cypher telegraph at once.

If on the other hand they make or indicate no proposition, you will telegraph to us what you think would be acceptable, but wait a reply before making any proposition.



In the event of the leading men evincing a disposition to negotiate, you will endeavor to secure something like a combination of parties to sanction any proposition likely to be generally acceptable.

It will be well that you should take some means of ascertaining the popular view of the railway question. This may be done by mingling among the people, and allowing them to speak freely while you listen; remembering in taking impressions that your audience may be impressed by special local considerations rather than general questions.

It will be well not to confine yourself to the vicinity of the Government offices, or Victoria, but to cross to the mainland, and visit the people at Westminster, and other towns and villages on the lower reaches of the Frazer. It may be that you will find there a disposition manifested to negotiate at Ottawa, in which case you will advise us of the existence of such a desire. You will take special care not to admit in any way that we are bound to build the railway to Esquimault, or to any other place on the Island, and while you do not at all threaten not to build there, to let them understand that this is wholly and purely a concession, and that its construction must be contingent on a reasonable course being pursued regarding other parts of the scheme.

It may be that the Local Government may desire to constitute the members for the Commons a deputation to discuss matters here; if this be the case, you will still remain until we shall communicate with you.

You will take every opportunity of noting the various matters connected with the Dominion business in accordance with instructions that will be sent.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed,)

A. MACKENZIE.

J. D. Edgar, Esq., Toronto.

When I received the above letter I lost no time, and starting upon my journey, and leaving Toronto, February 23rd, I arrived upon March 9th at Victoria, the capital of British Columbia. On the day that I landed in Victoria, the Hon. Mr. Walkem, leader of the Local Government, called upon me, and I made him aware of the object of my mission. Upon the same day I handed him Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's letter of 16th February (Appendix A), also informing him that I had letters from His Excellency the Governor General to his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, which were next day delivered. Very soon afterwards Mr. Walkem introduced me to his colleagues as the representative of the Canadian Government.

Upon my arrival in the Province, I found that an intense interest was manifested by all the population in whatever related to the question of railway construction. It is difficult at a distance to conceive the importance that is attached to the railway by the British Columbians. On account of the vast constructive expenditure, and the sparseness of the population who would participate in the immediate benefits derivable from it, an interest of a direct and personal character is felt upon this subject. The entire white population of the Province, according to the census of 1870, was 8576 souls. Of this number there were upon the mainland 3401, and upon Vancouver Island, 5175. The white population to-day has probably increased to 10,000. With the exception, perhaps, of the gold miners, who are

confined to the mainland, there is no class in the Province that would not derive immediate personal advantages from the railway construction expenditure. Those in business, in trade, and in agriculture would feel the stimulus instantly; while those of means and leisure would be enriched by the increase in the value of their property. The circumstances of the early settlement of the Province gave it a population of peculiar intelligence; and the fact that most of the rougher kind of labor is performed by Chinamen and Indians, has afforded in an especial way to the people of Victoria, the Provincial Metropolis, leisure and opportunity for the fullest discussion of their great question of the day. Their keen intelligence and zeal in public affairs suggests a parallel in the history of some of the minor States of ancient Greece or Italy. Although a strong feeling of jealousy of the greatness of Victoria undoubtedly exists in parts of the mainland, yet that town is the chief centre of public opinion. Its population is almost equal to the whole of the rest of the Province, and in its midst are the head-quarters of Government, of the courts, of the churches, and of trade. Within three miles there is the fine harbor of Esquimault, with its arsenal and British ships of war.

To Victoria the question of the location of the railway terminus is all important, because there is nothing in the terms of Union which settles that there shall be any portion of the line upon Vancouver Island. A revocable Order in Council, and the intrinsic merits claimed for the Island location, are the grounds upon which they hope to secure the terminus at Esquimault. When it became well understood that the surveys were not yet so far advanced as to warrant the Canadian Government in fixing the permanent route and Western terminus of the railway, it was strongly urged upon me by many persons in Victoria that the construction of the line of railway should be at once undertaken by the Dominion from the harbor of Esquimault to the port of Nanaimo, on the east coast of Vancouver Island, a distance of about seventy miles. It was argued that at whatever point upon the mainland the Pacific Railway might be brought to the coast, a steam ferry thence to Nanaimo might be established, and would render their portion of railway a means of connection with Esquimault, which is said to be the finest harbor upon the shores of the Northern Pacific. It was also insisted that from its opening there would be a considerable and profitable traffic over this line in the carriage of coal to Esquimault for the mines at Nanaimo and Departure Bay.

Moreover, it was contended that in view of the admitted impossibility to complete the construction of the trans-continental railway within the time originally limited, some substantial concessions should be made to the people of the Island, as compensation for their disappointment and prospective losses.

A contention similar to the last mentioned one was also pressed upon me warmly by leading men of the mainland, who considered that they were now entitled to have some definite understanding arrived at, not so much in regard to the ultimate completion, as to the early, vigorous, and continuous construction of the railway upon the mainland. It was represented that those engaged in agriculture and stock raising in the interior parts of the country were almost without a market for their produce, partly because the gold miners were leaving in considerable numbers, and partly for the reason that in anticipation of railway construction they had raised more crops than usual. The great distance to the coast, and the stupendous moun-



tain ranges to be traversed, prevented them from getting the bulky products of their land to the Island markets of Victoria or Nanaimo. Being familiar with the difficulties to be met with by engineers in seeking for a railway route through their country, the mainland people were not disposed to blame the Dominion for insisting upon further time and surveys before fixing the location. Their immediate necessities also induced them to attach more importance to the securing of an early and steady expenditure amongst themselves than to the maintaining of any arbitrary time limit for completion, while they also expressed their perfect appreciation of the agreement that a vigorous expenditure of itself involves an accomplishment of the work within a reasonable period.

In the Provincial Constitution of British Columbia the working of representative institutions and Responsible Parliamentary Government may be studied in a simple form. The system is elaborated out of, perhaps, slender materials, but has been courageously fashioned after the model of the British Constitution. The people are represented by a House of twenty-five members, of whom thirteen are elected from the mainland, and twelve from the Island. In this House sit the Ministers of the Crown, four in number, two being Island members and two from the mainland. The deliberations are presided over by a Speaker, and due respect for the dignity of the Assembly is maintained by a Sergeant-at-Arms.

Although I had not the fortune to be in the country when the House was in session, I was able to discover among the gentlemen who hold seats a considerable number of much experience, and somewhat above the average intelligence of Provincial legislators. To those accustomed to older Canadian constituencies, each with populations varying usually from fifteen to thirty thousand souls, it is somewhat novel to see the smallness of electoral districts in British Columbia. Yet it would be quite unfair to fix the number of electors as the standard of the intelligence of the representative, for one of the ablest of the Provincial Ministers, after an exciting contest at the last election, succeeded in polling but sixteen votes in his constituency, whilst his opponent suffered a decisive defeat, having polled exactly half that number.

The Session of the Provincial Legislature had terminated on the 2nd March, a week before my arrival, and the House had unanimously agreed to a resolution upon the subject of the eleventh, or railway clause, in the terms of Union with the Dominion, which was calculated to have an important bearing upon all negotiations with the Local Government for a change in that clause. The language of the resolution is as follows:—"That in view of the importance of the Railway Clause of "the terms of Union between Canada and British Columbia being faithfully carried "out by Canada, this House is of opinion that no alteration in the said clause "should be permitted by the Government of this Province *until the same has been "submitted to the people for endorsement.*" When I ascertained that this resolution had been passed, that the Provincial Parliament had yet more than a year to run, and that the Ministry had in it a sufficient working majority, it at once became apparent that any proposals to alter the railway clause could possess few attractions in the eyes of the party in power. While prepared to admit that the Province would be most reasonable, and would not be disposed to insist at all upon the original time limit for completion, yet members of the Administration, looking at

it from their own point of view, very naturally urged that this was a peculiarly unfortunate time to seek any alterations. I also discovered that the first Act of the Provincial Statute Book of 1873-4 contained elements of danger to the continued harmony between the General and Local Governments. This Act became necessary to authorize the Provincial to receive from the Dominion Government the large sums of money, both for the Esquimault graving dock, and for other public works, which the Local Government petitioned the Dominion Government to advance, and which requests the latter complied with as concessions to the Province in excess of what could be claimed under Articles two and twelve of the terms of Union. A saving clause or proviso was inserted in this Act containing very strong language concerning the rights and wrongs of British Columbia as regards the railway, and adding :—" This Act shall not have any force or effect unless the above proviso " be inserted, in the same words, in any Act of Parliament of Canada which may " be passed for the purposes of this Act."

A profound anxiety was at once manifested by Mr. Walkem and his colleagues to ascertain through me if the Canadian Ministry would propose to Parliament to adopt the words of this proviso. When I sought to get from them some proposals or suggestions as to their terms of the concessions that should be made to British Columbia, in consideration of a change in the railway terms, I was continually met by an urgent inquiry as to what was to be done about that clause. As early as the 16th March, I was informed by telegram that the Dominion Government would not adopt the language of the proviso in their bill, but would make the concessions as originally agreed, and without conditions affecting the railway terms. The announcement of this was received by the Local Ministers with alarm and disappointment, and it afterwards became still more difficult to get a satisfactory discussion of an alteration of railway terms with any of them. Orders in Council were passed by the Local Government upon the subject, and I was continually urged to press upon the Dominion Government the anxiety of the Provincial Ministry for the adoption of the saving clause, and I took many opportunities of doing so. This pressure continued without intermission until the 25th April, when, at the request of Mr. Walkem, I sent a despatch to Mr. Mackenzie on behalf of the former, and in his own language urging the adoption of the saving clause.

When, according to instructions, I endeavored to ascertain from Local Ministers if their unwillingness to submit proposals as to railway to the people arose entirely from our refusal to adopt the saving clause, I found that even such a concession would not induce them to bring about an appeal to the people.

According to instructions received, it was my aim from the very first to take every means of ascertaining the popular view of the railway question. Indeed when it was understood that the Canadian Government had delegated me upon this and general matters, the politeness and hospitable attentions of all classes soon rendered it an easy matter to form some estimate of public opinion. All were as willing to communicate as I was anxious to receive their various views and information. I paid two brief visits to the mainland, meeting with people of New Westminster, Hope, Yale, and some few other places, and I was so fortunate as to meet,



at one time or another, nearly all the members of the Local Legislature, and many other persons of local prominence from the mainland.

The Lieutenant Governor and the Hon. Captain Hare, Senior Naval Officer at Esquimault, kindly afforded me an opportunity of visiting the east coast of the island, in company with them, on board H. M. S. *Myrmidon*.

In discussing the question of the time for the completion of the railway, I elicited a very general expression of opinion that there was no great importance attached to any particular period for completion, but that serious disappointment had been felt at the failure to commence the work of actual construction by July of last year. Much anxiety was felt for an announcement of the policy of Canada upon the subject of the railway, and an extreme desire prevailed to have a definite understanding arrived at as to what the Province could expect in place of the original railway terms, which were all but universally admitted to be incapable of literal fulfilment.

The public agitation in Victoria, of February last, might have been mistaken for a movement to insist upon "The terms, the whole terms, and nothing but the terms," or to seek some disloyal alternative. Indeed a portion of the community, who did not sympathize with the excitement, so interpreted it. Yet I was assured by the leaders of that agitation that no such motives or intentions influenced them. The people had been aroused, by what were deemed suspicious circumstances, to fear that efforts would be made, or were being made, to secure from the Local Government an agreement to change the railway terms without a submission to the people who had directly sanctioned the original terms. The local contradictions had scarcely been accepted as satisfactory upon this point, but my denial of it on the part of the Ottawa Government, coupled with the announcement that the latter would not seek to secure any alteration without the sanction of the people of the Province, set that difficulty very much at rest.

Notwithstanding the attitude that was assumed by the Provincial Government against the submission of a proposal, or the opening of negotiations to alter the railway terms, it was quite apparent that popular feeling, all over the Province, was strongly in favor of some definite settlement being arrived at upon the question. The notorious and admitted failure of the original scheme of railway construction had unsettled the business of the country, and the whole community, including even those who would have been the most exacting in bargaining with Canada for new terms, were anxious to have a proposal made and to have a full opportunity for discussing and accepting or rejecting it.

I felt, therefore, that I should take an early opportunity of arriving at the views of the Local Government upon the subject. I was given an appointment by Mr. Walkem in the first week of April, and then confidentially discussed with his Ministry the whole question of alteration in the railway terms. I may mention that upon this occasion no difficulty was raised as to my authority to represent the General Government.

At this time there was considerable irritation displayed by Ministers upon the subject at the saving clause before alluded to; they would not admit any necessity for a present settlement of the railway question, but still persisted that next year, or some future time, should be awaited for the making of any such propositions; and

they were particularly careful to avoid saying what concessions in their opinion would be acceptable to the Province in lieu of the original terms. The attitude of the Local Ministry rendered it more important than ever that the popular feeling should be accurately ascertained, and it was my aim to discover it by unreserved discussion with as many men as possible of the different parties and localities.

It was now quite apparent that the Local Ministers were determined to be obstructive, and it became all the more necessary to satisfy the people in so far as their views were found to be reasonable. After receiving from me the best information I could supply, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie directed me to make the Provincial Government certain proposals which were so arranged as to give large and certain advantages to the mainland equally with the Island; and on the 6th May, I was instructed to put them formally in writing and give them to the Local Premier and a copy to the Lieutenant Governor. Upon the 8th May I had prepared, and I read over to Mr. Walkem, the letter of that date containing the proposals (Appendix B), and upon the following day I handed it to him, and furnished a copy to his Honor the Lieutenant Governor as directed, accompanied with a short note. I had made arrangements for another visit to the mainland to ascertain something more of the feeling there, while the Provincial Government were having the proposals under consideration. Before sailing for New Westminster, however, I received a letter from Mr. Walkem in which he raised objections to recognizing me as the agent of the General Government. It struck me as so peculiar a communication on Mr. Walkem's part, after he and his colleagues had recognized me as such agent almost every day for two months, that I felt it would be better not to be too hasty in accepting that as a serious and final reply to the proposals, but to await the lapse of a few days to be occupied by me in visiting New Westminster, Burrard's Inlet, Yale, and some other places on the mainland. Upon returning to Victoria on Saturday, 16th May, I was waited upon by a deputation of leading gentlemen, connected with both sides of local politics, who informed me that it had been announced in the House of Commons at Ottawa, by Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, that proposals had been made on behalf of his Ministry, through myself, to the Provincial Government as to the alteration of the railway terms; and yet that it was denied by members of the Local Ministry, and by their newspaper organ, that any proposals whatever had been made. They represented that the popular feeling was very much excited upon the subject, and that the people were anxious to have the earliest opportunity of considering and deciding upon the question, and I was asked to inform them whether such proposals had been made. Upon receiving an affirmative reply they took their leave, and shortly afterwards, as the intelligence spread, considerable excitement was manifested at the treatment the proposals were receiving at the hands of Local Ministers.

In order to afford Mr. Walkem another opportunity to reply to the proposals, or to consider them, if he were at all desirous of doing so, I again addressed him, and in a letter of 18th May, endeavored to point out that he could not ignore the communication of 8th May, and reiterated the request on behalf of the Government of Canada, that the proposals should receive the consideration to which they were entitled. In reply to this I received the letter (Appendix F), and upon the 19th May, under directions from Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, I left Victoria upon my return journey without any further official communication with the Local Ministry.



I may be permitted to mention that his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, throughout the whole of my visit, was always most obliging in giving me upon all public questions very full information, which his large experience in the Province rendered of the highest value. He also manifested an earnest wish to see a definite and amicable settlement of the railway question speedily arrived at between the General and Provincial Governments.

In accordance with the direction contained in the last paragraph of Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's letter to me of the 19th February, I took every opportunity, during my stay in British Columbia, of noting various matters connected with Dominion business and interests. In several despatches to Heads of Departments, as well as in verbal communications with Ministers, I have already called attention to some important subjects of that kind, and I propose to have the honor of communicating in separate reports or despatches upon several other points of interest and importance connected with Dominion affairs in the Pacific Province.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) J. D. EDGAR.

The following are the Appendices A, B, and F, referred to in the report :

#### APPENDIX A.

OTTAWA, *Feb.* 19, 1874.

DEAR SIR,—Allow me to introduce Mr. James D. Edgar, of Toronto, who visits your Province on public business for the Government. Mr. Edgar will confer with yourself and other members of the Government of Columbia on the question lately agitating the public mind in Columbia, and will be glad to receive your views regarding the policy of the Government on the construction of the railway.

But for the meeting of Parliament in four weeks, some members of the Government would have visited your Province, but Mr. Edgar, as a public man, is well known here, and fully understands the questions he will discuss with you.

I need not, I am sure, assure you of my own sincere desire to do all I can, not only to act justly but generously to Columbia.

It is in your interest, and in the interest of the Dominion, that we should both act with a reasonable appreciation of difficulties which are unavoidable, and devise means to remove them, or overcome them.

We have induced Mr. Edgar to go to Columbia, as we thought you would prefer a full conference with an agent to a tedious and possibly unsatisfactory correspondence.

I am, &c.,

(Signed,) A. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Geo. A. Walkem,  
Attorney General, Victoria.

## APPENDIX B.

VICTORIA, B.C., *May 8, 1874.*

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that I have been instructed by the Premier of Canada to make you aware of the views of his Administration upon the subject of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in order that British Columbia may have full opportunity of considering and deciding upon a question so closely affecting her material interests. The scheme originally adopted for the carrying out of this work has, for a variety of reasons, proved unsuccessful, and to devise a plan for a more certain accomplishment has been the aim of the Dominion Cabinet. The chief difficulty to be encountered in attempting to carry out the existing system of construction is to be found in the stipulation as to completion of the railway by the month of July, 1881. In proposing to take a longer time for constructing the railway, the Canadian Government are actuated solely by an urgent necessity. They are advised by their engineers that the physical difficulties are so much greater than was expected that it is an impossibility to construct the railway within the time limited by the terms of Union, and that any attempt to do so can only result in wasteful expenditure and financial embarrassment. It is because they desire to act in good faith towards British Columbia that the Canadian Ministry at once avow the difficulty of carrying out the exact terms of Union, whilst they have no desire to avoid the full responsibility of Canada to complete the railway by all means in her power and at the earliest practicable date.

The eleventh Article of the terms of Union embodies the bold proposition that the railway should be commenced in two and completed in ten years from the date of Union, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada. Feeling the impossibility of complying with this time limit for completion, the Government is prepared to make new stipulations and to enter into additional obligations of a definite character, for the benefit of the Province. They propose to commence construction from Esquimault to Nanaimo immediately, and to push that portion of railway on to completion with the utmost vigor and in the shortest practicable time.

The engineering difficulties on the mainland have unfortunately turned out to be so serious that further surveys must necessarily be made before the best route can be determined upon. The Government have already asked Parliament for a large sum for the purpose of carrying on these surveys, and no expenditure will be spared to achieve the most speedy and reliable selection of a permanent location of the line upon the mainland. It is useless to propose an actual construction being undertaken before the location has been determined upon; but in order to afford as much benefit from the works of construction from the very first as can possibly be derived by the people of the interior, the Government would immediately open up a road, and build a telegraph line along the whole length of the railway in the Province, and carry telegraph wire across the continent. It is believed that the mere commencement to build a railway at the seaboard, as stipulated for in the existing terms, would give but little satisfaction to the producers living upon the east side of the Cascade Mountains, who would be unable



without a road being first constructed, to find a market all along the whole extent of the railway, wherever construction was progressing. It would then be the aim of the Government to strain every nerve to push forward the construction of the railway; and they would endeavor at the same time so to arrange the expenditure that the legitimate advantages derivable from it would, as much as possible, fall into the hands of our own producers. In addition to constructing the road to facilitate transport along the located line, they are anxious to avail themselves of the large supplies of all kinds of provisions now existing, or capable of being produced, in the interior, and would proceed from the very first with all the works of construction in that portion of the country that their energy could sanction.

It is to be observed that while the terms of Union contemplated the completion of the whole railway within a certain number of years, they made no provisions of any certainty of expenditure in any particular time, or in any particular portion of the line. To predicate the highest expenditure, which in any one year might be warranted in a particular portion of a great work like this, is certainly difficult; and it is still more difficult to arrive at the lowest fixed annual sum, which in every year and under all circumstances might be judiciously expended as a minimum in local construction. To a country like British Columbia, it is conceded, however, to be an important point that not only the prompt and vigorous commencement, but also the continuous prosecution of the work of construction within the limits of the Province should be guaranteed. In order therefore to secure an absolute certainty in this direction, and although the length of line within the Province is estimated at only about one-fifth of the whole length, the Dominion Government are disposed to concede to British Columbia that the moment the surveys and road on the mainland can be completed, there shall be in each and every year, and even under the most unfavorable circumstances, during the construction of the railway, a minimum expenditure upon works of construction within the Province of at least one million and five hundred thousand dollars. That this will secure the continuous progress of the works in the Province without any intermission is quite apparent, and it must also be perfectly clear that so large an annual sum could not be expended by any Dominion Administration in a remote district without holding out to the country some early prospect of a return for it, and at the same time showing that they were proceeding with the works with sufficient rapidity to bring the investment into an early condition to earn something. In reference to this point, I may be permitted to refer to the fact that the delegates from British Columbia who negotiated the terms of Union were instructed by the Provincial Legislature to accept an undertaking from Canada to build the railway with a guaranteed annual expenditure in the Province upon construction of one million of dollars, to begin at the end of three years after Union. We must assume that this guarantee of continuous construction was only abandoned by the delegates upon a conviction of both the sincerity and the feasibility of the offer of early completion that was made to them. I trust that the proposals of the Dominion Cabinet, which I have sketched above, will be considered and accepted by British Columbia, as an earnest effort on the part of the former to carry out the spirit of the obligations to the Province.

The leader of the Canadian Government has instructed me to place these matters before you, as leader of the Provincial Administration, and at the same time to furnish

a copy to his Honor the Lieutenant Governor. The substance of these proposals has been sent to me by telegraphic cypher, and based upon that, I have the honor of communicating them to you. The Dominion Government would be glad to have the consideration this proposal entertained by your Administration, and to learn the conclusion of the Government of British Columbia upon the subject.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) J. D. EDGAR.

Hon. George A. Walkem, M.P.P.,  
Attorney General.

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#### APPENDIX F.

VICTORIA, *May 18, 1874.*

SIR,—In reply to your letter of this date, I must express my surprise and regret that you should have taken umbrage at the contents of my letter of the 11th inst. Mr. Mackenzie in an official, and his only letter to me respecting your visit has expressly narrowed and confined the object of your mission to the holding of a personal interview with my colleagues and myself in order that our “ views regarding “ the policy of the Government on the construction of the railway should be ascertained without tedious and possibly unsatisfactory correspondence ”—I quote his words. These things having been done, the special aim desired, I may be permitted to think, has been attained by Mr. Mackenzie.

When, however, you proceed further, and propose changes to this Government of the gravest importance to the Province, I must be pardoned for considering it my duty in my public capacity to ask for your official authority for appearing in the *role* of an agent contracting for the Dominion of Canada. This information I have not yet received.

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) GEO. A. WALKEM.

J. D. Edgar, Esq.

Mr. Edgar's mission had failed. It is useless minutely to enquire into the reasons of the failure ; but it is clear from the correspondence that the British Columbia Government had not the confidence either in that of the Dominion or in its agent necessary in negotiations so delicate and important.

The Earl of Carnarvon having been informed of the result of the mission, and of the appointment of two of the Columbia Ministry to England for the purpose of laying the grievances of the Province before the Imperial authorities, thus writes to His Excellency the Governor General :



DOWNING STREET, *June 18, 1874.*

MY LORD,—The intimation which I have received by telegraph of the departure from British Columbia of the President of the Council and Attorney General of that Province, sent to this country for the purpose of appealing against the course proposed by your Government, and sanctioned by the Dominion Parliament, in regard to the Pacific Railway, together with the reports of the proceedings in that Parliament and other informal communications, have led me to apprehend that the difference of opinion which has unfortunately occurred may not only prove difficult to adjust, but may not impossibly, if it remains long unsettled, give rise to feelings of dissatisfaction and to disagreements, the existence of which within the Dominion would be a matter for serious regret.

2. It is not my wish, nor is it a part of my ordinary duty, to interfere in these questions. They appear to me to be such as it should be within the province and competency of the Dominion Government and Legislature to bring to a satisfactory solution, and you will readily understand that Her Majesty's Government would be very reluctant to take any action which might be construed as expressing a doubt of the anxiety of the Dominion Government and Parliament to give the fullest consideration to such representation as may be made on the part of British Columbia, and to deal in the fairest and most liberal spirit with what may be established as being the just claims of that Province.

3. At the same time, I am strongly impressed with the importance of neglecting no means that can properly be adopted for effecting the speedy and amicable settlement of a question which cannot without risk and obvious disadvantage to all parties remain the subject of prolonged and it may be, acrimonious discussion, and it has occurred to me that as in the original terms and conditions of the admission of British Columbia into the Union, certain points (as for example the amount of land to be appropriated for the Indians, and the pensions to be assigned to public officers deprived of employment) were reserved for the decision of the Secretary of State, so in the present case it may possibly be acceptable to both parties that I would tender my good offices in determining the new points which have presented themselves for settlement. I accordingly addressed a telegram to you yesterday to the effect that I greatly regretted that a difference should exist between the Dominion and the Province in regard to the railway, and that if both Governments should unite in desiring to refer to any arbitration all matters in controversy, binding themselves to accept such decision as I may think fair and just, I would not decline to undertake this service.

4. The duty which, under a sense of the importance of the interests concerned, I have thus offered to discharge is, of course, a responsible and difficult one, which I could not assume unless by the desire of both parties, nor unless it would be fully agreed that my decision, whatever it may be, shall be accepted without any question or demur. If it is desired that I shall act in this matter, it will be convenient for each party to prepare a statement to be communicated to the other party, and after a reasonable interval a counter statement, and that on these written documents I shall, reserving, of course, to myself, the power of calling for any other information to guide me in arriving at my conclusion, give my final decision.

5. I request you to transmit a copy of this despatch with the utmost possible speed to the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia.

In order to meet the statements of the British Columbian delegates to England the Dominion Ministry transmitted to the Colonial Secretary the following minute of Council, dated 8th July, 1874 :

“ The Committee of Council, after due deliberation, consider that the proposed mission of Mr. Walkem, Attorney General of British Columbia, to England on behalf of the Government of that Province, to complain to the Imperial Government of the non-fulfilment by the Dominion Government of the terms of Union, and the telegraphic message\* of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies with reference to the said mission, in which he offers his good offices in arriving at some understanding between British Columbia and the Dominion, render it desirable that a brief statement should be submitted showing the position of the question, and the action taken by the present Government of Canada in relation thereto.

The Order in Council under which British Columbia was admitted into the Union provided in the 11th Section that :

\* ‘ The Government of the Dominion undertake to secure the commencement simultaneously, within two years from the date of the Union, of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as may be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada ; and further to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from the date of the Union.’

The passage of such a provision was very strongly opposed in Parliament, the Government of the day securing only a majority of ten in support of the measure. In order to induce even this majority to sustain them, the following resolution was proposed and carried by the Government :

‘ That the railway referred to in the address to Her Majesty concerning the Union of British Columbia with Canada, adopted by this House on Saturday, the 1st April instant, should be constructed and worked by private enterprise, and not by the Dominion Government, and that the public aid to be given to secure that undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land, and such subsidy in money or other aid *not increasing the present rate of taxation*, as the Parliament of Canada shall hereafter determine.’

The late Government were compelled by their followers in the House to adopt this resolution regarding the taxation consequent on the obligation to build the railway as the condition of obtaining their support. Even with this qualifying resolution promised, the section respecting the railway was carried but by a majority of ten, the usual majority being from fifty to seventy.

It is impossible to conceive how such terms could even have been proposed, as it was quite clear to every person that they were incapable of fulfilment, especially as the British Columbia Legislature never asked such extravagant terms. The clause of the terms adopted by that body having reference to the railway was as follows :—

\* This message is a brief outline of the offer above set out in full in the Earl of Carnarvon’s despatch of 18th June, 1874.



‘ Inasmuch as no real union can subsist between this colony and Canada without the speedy establishment of communication across the Rocky Mountains by coach road and railway, the Dominion shall within three years from the date of Union construct and open for traffic such coach road from some point on the line of the Main Trunk Road of this colony to Fort Garry, of similar character to the said Main Trunk Road ; and shall further engage to use all means in her power to complete such railway communication at the earliest practicable date, and that surveys to determine the proper line for such railway shall be at once commenced ; and that a sum not less than one million dollars shall be expended in every year from and after three years from the date of Union in actually constructing the initial sections of such railway from the seaboard of British Columbia to connect with the railway system of Canada.’

Mr. Trutch, the delegate of the British Columbia Government, present in Ottawa during the discussions on the terms of Union, expressed himself as follows at a public meeting, in order to reassure those who were apprehensive of the consequences of so rash an assumption of such serious obligations ;—

‘ When he came to Ottawa with his co-delegates last year, they entered into a computation with the Privy Council as to the cost and time it would take to build the line, and they came to the conclusion that it could be built on the terms proposed in ten years. If they had said twelve or eighteen years, that time would have been accepted with equal readiness, as all that was understood was that the line should be built as soon as possible. British Columbia had entered into a partnership with Canada, and they were united to construct certain public works, but every one would protest against anything by which it should be understood that the Government were to borrow one hundred millions of dollars, or to tax the people of Canada and British Columbia to carry out those works within a certain time. (Loud cheers.) He had been accused of having made a very Jewish bargain ; but not even Shylock would have demanded his “ pound of flesh ” if it had to be cut from his own body.’ (Laughter and cheers.)

These expressions show very clearly that the terms agreed to were directory rather than mandatory, and were to be interpreted by circumstances, the essence of the engagement being such diligence as was consistent with moderate expenditure, and no increase in the then rate of taxation.

When the present Government assumed office in November, 1873, the condition of affairs regarding the railway was as follows :—A sum of over a million of dollars had been expended in prosecuting the surveys, over one-half of which was spent in British Columbia, but the engineers had not been able to locate any portion of the line.

A Company, under the Presidency of Sir Hugh Allan, had been formed by the late Government to construct the line. That Company had undertaken to complete the railway for a grant of thirty millions of money and a grant of twenty thousand acres of land per mile, retaining possession of the railway when built as their own property. The President and a delegation of the Directors of this Company visited England to make financial arrangements to enable them to commence the work of construction. Their mission proved a total failure. Their failure was so complete that soon after the return of Sir Hugh Allan and his co-delegates from

England, they relinquished their charter, and the Government paid them the sum of one million dollars, which had been deposited with the Receiver General under the terms of the agreement.

The British Columbia Government had also complained that the commencement of the works of construction had not been made within the time provided. Sir John A. Macdonald, however, gave an informal opinion that the terms as to commencement were sufficiently and substantially kept by the active prosecution of the surveys.

This Government had therefore to provide some other method for the prosecution of the work, to endeavor to keep substantially good faith with British Columbia, to avoid further taxation, and, if possible, secure the consent and co-operation of the Government and people of British Columbia.

The new bill, which has since become law, was prepared, which enables the Government (with the approval of Parliament) to get the work executed in one or several contracts, by a company or companies, which may or may not become proprietors of the line after it is constructed.

Mr. James D. Edgar was despatched on a special mission to the Province of British Columbia, charged to confer with the Government, and also to visit all classes or parties, and ascertain their views, and to submit any proposal he might be directed to make to the local authorities or to receive any proposition from them and forward the same to Ottawa for consideration. A copy of the instructions sent to Mr. Edgar, and copies of certain telegrams already forwarded, and Mr. Edgar's report accompanying this minute, explain sufficiently the nature and result of Mr. Edgar's mission. It was at first expected that a good understanding would be arrived at, and judging from circumstances, local political complications alone prevented some arrangement being come to.

The reason alleged for refusing to consider the proposition Mr. Edgar was finally directed to make, that Mr. Edgar was not accredited by this Government, was evidently a mere technical pretence. All that Mr. Edgar had to do was simply to present the proposals and ascertain on the spot whether they would be entertained by the Government.

If satisfactory to them, the Dominion Government would, as a matter of course, have them sanctioned in due form; or if any counter proposition had been made, instructions would be given to Mr. Edgar concerning them.

The propositions made by Mr. Edgar involved an immediate heavy expenditure in British Columbia not contemplated by the terms of Union, namely, the construction of a railway on Vancouver's Island, from the Port of Esquimalt to Nanaimo, as compensation to the most populous part of the Province for the requirement of a longer time for completing the line on the mainland. The proposals also embraced an obligation to construct a road or trail and telegraph line across the continent at once, and an expenditure of not less than a million and a half within the Province annually on the railway works on the mainland, irrespective of the amounts which might be spent east of the Rocky Mountains, being a half more than the entire sum British Columbia demanded in the first instance as the annual expenditure on the whole road.

In order to enable the Government to carry out the proposals, which it was



hoped the British Columbia Government would have accepted, the average rate of taxation was raised at the late Session about fifteen per cent. The customs duties being raised from fifteen per cent. to seventeen and a half per cent., and the excise duties on spirits and tobacco a corresponding rate, both involving additional taxation exceeding three millions of dollars on the transactions of the year.

The public feeling of the whole Dominion has been expressed so strongly against the fatal extravagance involved in the terms agreed to by the late Government, that no Government could live that would attempt or rather pretend to attempt their literal fulfilment. Public opinion would not go beyond the proposal made through Mr. Edgar to the Government.

There is also reason to believe that local political exigencies alone induce the Government of British Columbia not to entertain these proposals.

Since these propositions have been before the people, meetings have been had on Vancouver's Island and on the mainland, when the action of the Local Government was condemned, and a call made to accept the proposals offered. A very influential portion of the local press has also declared in favor of the course pursued by the Dominion Government.

It may not be out of place to mention that the action of the Dominion Government regarding the graving dock shows a desire to do everything that can fairly be asked, whether there be an obligation or not under the terms of the Union. The Dominion was only bound to guarantee the interest on one hundred thousand pounds at five per cent. for ten years after the dock should be constructed. The Local Government found it impossible to obtain any contractor to undertake the work on the terms they were able to offer, based on the Dominion guarantee, and they solicited this Government to assist otherwise. This was agreed to, and Parliamentary authority was obtained at the late Session to enable the Governor General in Council to advance \$250,000 as the work progressed.

The report of Mr. Edgar will fully explain the object and effect of his mission as the agent of the Government. The Committee advise, therefore, that a copy of the said report and appendices be transmitted to the Right Honorable Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, with this minute."

In addition to this statement the Dominion Ministry forwarded to the Home Office this further statement of their case :

"The Committee of Council have had under consideration the despatch from the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, No. 110, relative to the proposed mission of a member of the British Columbia Government to England, for the purpose of complaining of the alleged non-fulfilment of the terms of Union between that Province and the Dominion as to the construction of the Pacific Railway, and containing an offer on the part of Lord Carnarvon in the following terms : ' If both Governments should unite in desiring to refer to my arbitration all matters in controversy, binding themselves to accept such decision as I may think fair and just, I would not decline to undertake this service ; ' and further stating that he could not assume such duty ' unless by the desire of both parties, and unless it should be fully agreed that my decision, whatever it may be, shall be accepted without any question or demur ; ' concluding with a request that in the

event of this offer being accepted, a statement of the case should be prepared by each Government to be submitted for consideration.

The Committee advise that Lord Carnarvon be informed that the papers already transmitted to the Colonial Office, with the minute of Council of July 8, having special reference to Mr. Walkem's communication in Ottawa of the 15th July, convey substantially all that this Government have to say upon the subject ; and that the Government would gladly accept his Lordship's offer, if it were possible to define, with any degree of exactitude, the matter in dispute.

When the present Government assumed office, they found that the British Columbia Government had protested against the non-commencement of works of construction on the railway on or before the 20th day of July, 1873, as agreed to in the eleventh section of the Order in Council relating to the Union. They also found that the means taken by the late Dominion Government for proceeding with the works of construction had totally failed, although the works preliminary to an actual commencement had been prosecuted with all possible despatch.

There can be no question of the extreme difficulty involved in the survey of a line of railway across an uninhabited continent, a distance of twenty-five hundred miles. To properly complete this survey and ascertain the best route for the railway would require not two years simply, but at least five or six years, as all experience of works of this magnitude and character both in the Dominion and elsewhere has sufficiently demonstrated.

The expenditure which had taken place up to that time was very large, exceeding one million of dollars, and yet the engineers had been quite unable to locate any portion of the line in the more difficult parts of the country to be traversed.

Under these circumstances the Government conceive that there was no reasonable or just cause of complaint on the part of the British Columbia Government.

No other steps could have been taken further than prosecuting the surveys until the assembling of Parliament towards the close of the month of March of this year.

The Government were then prepared with a new bill, taking ample powers for proceeding with the works as expeditiously as the circumstances of the country would permit. No complaint, official or otherwise, has been made as to the sufficiency of this measure to accomplish the object in view. It was distinctly understood by the British Columbia delegation at the time the terms of Union were agreed upon that the taxation of the country was not to be increased on account of this work beyond the rate then existing.

So anxious, however, were the present Government to remove any possible cause of complaint, that they did take means to increase the taxation very materially in order to place themselves in a position to make arrangements for the prosecution of the initial and difficult portions of the line as soon as it was possible to do so,—and at the same time, a special confidential agent was deputed to British Columbia for the express purpose of conferring with the Government of that Province, and to endeavor to arrive at some understanding as to a course to be pursued which could be satisfactory to British Columbia and meet the circumstances of the Dominion.

It should be mentioned that before the late Government left office, it had been



distinctly understood, as one of the results of the visit to England by the Directors of the Allan Company, that an extension of time of at least four years would be absolutely necessary.

Mr. Walkem, of British Columbia, quite understood this, and there is reason to believe that it would have been assented to by all parties.

The proposal made through Mr. Edgar to the British Columbia Government is one which the Dominion Government think should have been accepted as reasonable and just, and as one quite in accordance with the moral obligations imposed on this Government, if not with the actual letter of the agreement.

It must be remembered that British Columbia earnestly petitioned the Dominion Government to modify the terms of Union in its own favor in relation to the construction of the graving dock. The Dominion Government cordially assented to provide the money for the construction of the work, instead of abiding by the agreement to guarantee merely the Provincial bonds for ten years, as provided by the terms of Union. This at once shows the liberality of the Dominion Government, and their willingness to consider and meet exceptional circumstances wherever they existed. And this manifestation of liberality on the part of this Government they conceive should have been reciprocated in other matters by the Provincial Government.

The Dominion Government were also willing to exceed the terms of Union by constructing a railway on the Island of Vancouver, although they were bound only to reach the *seaboard* of the Pacific.

At the present time the only violation of the terms of the compact which can be alleged, is that the works of construction were not actually commenced on the 20th July, 1873. But it is doubtful if even that allegation can be upheld.

It was all but impossible to proceed more rapidly with the work of survey, and a very extravagant expenditure was the result of the haste already shown in endeavoring to locate the line.

This may be understood from the fact that the surveys of the Intercolonial Railway, 500 miles long, occupied not less than four years, though the route was through a settled country, and they were then very incomplete, causing subsequent serious embarrassments to the contractors, and the presentation by them of endless claims for compensation.

Mr. Walkem in his conversations admits frankly that the literal fulfilment of the terms for the completion of the line on a certain day in 1881 cannot be expected. The only questions, therefore, that can now arise are, (1) whether due diligence and expedition have been exerted by the Dominion Government in the prosecution of the works, and (2) whether the offers of compensation for the alleged non-fulfilment of the terms were just and fair.

While expressing a very strong conviction that everything has been done that could possibly be done under the circumstances, and that the Dominion Government have shown a disposition to go far beyond the spirit of the engagement entered into with British Columbia, considering the expressions of opinion by Mr. Trutch as the delegate of British Columbia at the time of the Union, and the facts set forth in the several documents already forwarded to the Colonial Office, the committee advise that Lord Carnarvon be informed they would gladly submit the question to

him for his decision as to whether the exertions of the Government, the diligence shown, and the offers made, have or have not been fair and just and in accordance with the spirit of the agreement.

The Committee advise that a copy of this minute be forwarded to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

The Colonial Secretary having heard both parties now proceeds to give his opinion on the statements up to this period laid before him :

DOWNING STREET, *16th August, 1874.*

MY LORD,—With reference to my despatch, No. 110, of the 18th June, I have now to acquaint you that I have seen Mr. Walkem, the Premier of British Columbia, deputed by his Government to represent to me the claims of the Province relative to the delays which have occurred in the construction of the Pacific Railway ; the completion of which works within a certain understood time was one of the principal considerations that influenced the Union of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada in 1871 ; I will only add on this head that Mr. Walkem laid his case before me in temperate and reasonable terms.

2. I have also received a telegram from the Lieut. Governor of British Columbia, stating that upon the advice of his responsible Ministers he accepts, on behalf of British Columbia, the arbitration which I thought it my duty to offer, and the conditions of which I explained to your Lordship in my despatch of the 18th June.

3. I have further received your despatch of the 31st July, enclosing copy of the Report of the Canadian Privy Council of the 23rd July, in which your Ministers express their readiness to submit for my decision the question whether the exertions of the Dominion Government in the prosecution of the work, the diligence shown and the offers made by them to British Columbia, have or have not been fair and just and in accordance with the spirit of the agreement entered into between Canada and British Columbia at the date of the Union.

4. I appreciate the confidence which has been thus placed in me by both parties to this controversy, and, so far as lies in my power, I am most desirous of contributing to the settlement of a difference, which although hitherto conducted with great moderation, and in a conciliatory spirit on both sides, might easily assume more serious dimensions.

5. I feel sure that the Dominion Government will agree with me that the sooner this controversy can be closed the better, and that to arrange matters amicably, and with as little resort as possible to formal procedure, will best promote that object, and will be most congenial to the feelings of all parties.

6. With this view, I will proceed to state the case as I understand it, and the impressions which I have formed as to the course that ought to be taken.

The proposals made by Mr. Edgar, on behalf of the Canadian Government, to the Provincial Government of British Columbia, may be stated as follows :—

(1.) To commence at once, and finish as soon as possible, a railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo.

(2.) To spare no expense in settling as speedily as possible the line to be taken by the railway on the mainland.

(3.) To make at once a waggon road and line of telegraph along the whole



length of the railway in British Columbia, and to continue the telegraph across the continent.

(4.) The moment the surveys and road on the mainland are completed, to spend a minimum amount of \$1,500,000 annually upon the construction of the Railway within the Province.

7. I am under the impression, after conversing with Mr. Walkem, that he is not fully empowered on the part of British Columbia to make specific proposals to the Government of Canada, or to me, as to what terms British Columbia would be willing to accept, but he has stated very clearly, in conversation at this office, the objections entertained by his Government and in the Province to the proposals of your Government; and they, or a considerable part of them, are fully set forth in the petition to the Queen, of which, as it has been published in the Colonial press, you no doubt have a copy.

8. Taking each point *seriatim*, as numbered in the last preceding paragraph but one, I understand it to be urged:—

(1.) That nothing is being done by the Dominion Government towards commencing and pushing on a railway from Esquimaux to Nanaimo.

(2.) That the surveying parties on the mainland are numerically very weak; and that there is no expectation in British Columbia, or guarantee given on the part of the Dominion, that the surveys will be proceeded with as speedily as possible.

(3.) That the people of British Columbia do not desire the waggon road offered by the Dominion Government, as it would be useless to them; and that even the telegraph proposed to be made along the line of the railway cannot, of course, be made until the route to be taken by the railway is settled.

(4.) That “the moment the surveys are completed,” is not only an altogether uncertain, but, at the present rate of proceeding, a very remote period of time, and that an expenditure of \$1,500,000 a year on the railway within the Province will not carry the line to the boundary of British Columbia before a very distant date.

9. Mr. Walkem further urges that by section 11 of the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1874, it is competent to the Dominion House of Commons to reject at any time the contract for a section of the railway, and thus to prevent the continuous construction of the work.

10. Referring first to this latter point, I do not understand that it is alleged by Mr. Walkem, nor do I for a moment apprehend that the proviso was introduced with any belief that it would delay the construction of the railway. I conceive that all that was intended by it was to retain the power of exercising an adequate supervision over the financial details of the scheme; nevertheless, the objection stated by Mr. Walkem appears to me one which the Dominion Government should seriously consider, as their policy in so important a matter ought not to be left open to criticism, and British Columbia may fairly ask, according to the letter and the spirit of past engagements, for every reasonable security that the railway will be completed as speedily as possible.

11. Strong as are, doubtless, the objections urged by Mr. Walkem to the proposals which I understand Mr. Edgar to have made on behalf of your Ministers, and important as is the subject-matter of controversy, I, as at present advised, can

see no reason why the views of both parties should not be reconciled to their satisfaction and with justice to all interests concerned.

12. On the one hand, I cannot entertain the least doubt of the sincere intention of the Canadian Government and Parliament to adhere as closely as possible to the pledges given to British Columbia at the time of the Union; to do that which is just and liberal towards the Province, and in fact to maintain the good faith of the Dominion in the spirit if not in the letter of the original agreement under circumstances which I admit to be of no ordinary difficulty.

13. On the other hand, however, it would be unfair to deny that the objections stated by Mr. Walkem have a certain foundation and force, and I have every confidence, in order to obtain the settlement of a question of such vital importance to the interests of the whole Dominion, the Canadian Government will be willing to make some reasonable concessions such as may satisfy the local requirements of British Columbia, and yet in no way detract from the high position which the Dominion Parliament and Government ought in my judgment to occupy.

14. I am of opinion, therefore, on a general review of all the considerations of the case, and as an impartial but most friendly adviser, who, if I may be allowed to say so, has the interests of both parties and the prosperity of the whole Dominion deeply at heart, that the following proposals would not be other than a fair basis of adjustment.

(1.) That the section of the railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo should be begun at once.

(2.) That the Dominion Government should greatly increase the strength of the surveying parties on the mainland, and that they should undertake to expend on the surveys if necessary for the speedy completion of the work, if not an equal share to that which they would expend on the railway itself if it were in actual course of construction, at all events some considerable definite minimum amount.

(3.) Inasmuch as the proposed waggon road does not seem to be desired by British Columbia, the Canadian Government and Parliament may be fairly relieved of the expense and labor involved in their offer; and desirable as in my opinion the construction of the telegraph across the continent will be, it perhaps is a question whether it may not be postponed till the line to be taken by the railway is definitely settled.

(4.) The offer made by the Dominion Government to spend a minimum amount of \$1,500,000 annually on the railway within British Columbia, as soon as the surveys and waggon road are completed, appears to me to be hardly as definite as the large interests involved on both sides seem to require. I think that some short and fixed time should be assigned within which the surveys should be completed; failing which, some compensation should become due to British Columbia for the delay.

15. Looking, further, to all the delays which have taken place, and which may yet perhaps occur; looking also to the public expectations that have been held out of the completion of the railway, if not within the original period of ten years, fixed by the terms of Union, at all events within fourteen years from 1871, I cannot but think that the annual minimum expenditure of \$1,500,000 offered by



the Dominion Government for the construction of the railway in the Province, is hardly adequate. In order to make the proposal not only fair but, as I know is the wish of your Ministers, liberal, I would suggest for their consideration whether the amount should not be fixed at a higher rate, say, for instance, at \$2,000,000 a year.

16. The really important point, however, not only in the interests of the Province but for the credit of the Dominion and the advantage of the Empire at large, is to assume the completion of the railway at some definite period, which, from causes over which your Ministers have had no control, must now, I admit, be much more distant than had been originally contemplated, and I am disposed to suggest as a reasonable arrangement, and one neither unfair to the Dominion nor to British Columbia, that the year 1890 should be agreed upon for this purpose. In making this suggestion, I, of course, conclude that the Dominion Government will readily use all reasonable efforts to complete the line before any extreme limit of time that may be fixed. A postponement to the very distant period which I have mentioned could not fail to be a serious disappointment to the people of the Province, and to all interested in its welfare, and I should not have suggested it were it not for the full confidence which I felt in the determination of your Ministers to do not merely the least that they may be obliged, but the utmost that they may be able, in redemption of the obligations which they have inherited.

17. I have now only to repeat the strong desire which I feel to be of service in a matter, the settlement of which may be either simple or difficult according to the spirit in which it is approached, a question directly bearing upon the terms of Union, may, if both parties to it will waive some portion of their own views and opinions, be well entrusted to the Imperial authority which presided over that Union, and not improperly, perhaps, to the individual Minister whose fortune it was to consider and in some degree to shape the details of the original settlement under which the Provinces of British North America were confederated, and British Columbia ultimately brought into connection with them. If indeed the expression of a personal feeling may, in such a case as this, be indulged, I may perhaps be allowed to say how sincerely I prize the recollection of the share which I was then permitted to have in that great work, how deeply I should grieve to see any disagreement or difference impair the harmony which has been so conspicuously maintained by the wisdom and good feeling of all parties, and how entirely your Lordship and your Ministers may count upon my best efforts in furtherance of every measure that can contribute to the strength and honor of the Dominion of Canada.

18. It will be very convenient if your Government should feel able to reply by telegraph, stating generally whether the modifications which I have proposed, and which seem to me consistent with the present conditions of the question and with the true construction of the policy adopted by them, are in the main acceptable to them, in order that no unnecessary delay may take place in bringing this matter to a conclusion.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

CARNARVON.

Governor General The Right Honorable  
The Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B.

This decision of the Earl of Carnarvon was thus accepted by the Dominion Government in the minute of Council dated 17th September, 1874 :

“ The Committee of Council have had under consideration the despatch of the Right Honorable Lord Carnarvon relating to the complaints of the British Columbia Government with respect to the Pacific Railway, and suggesting certain modifications of the proposals made by the Dominion Government, through Mr. Edgar, on the 8th May last.

These proposals were prompted by a desire to provide against further difficulty, in view of the then well ascertained fact that the terms of Union had become impossible of literal fulfilment, on the one hand, and on the other hand giving due weight to the very strong feeling entertained against the fatal extravagance which these terms involved to the country. The proposals may thus be summarized :—

1. To build a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, on Vancouver Island, in excess of the terms of Union, and to begin the work immediately.

2. To commence the construction of the railway on the mainland as soon as the surveys could be completed, and to expend on the work not less than one and a half millions annually.

3. To take the necessary steps, meanwhile, to secure the construction of a telegraph line across the continent on the located line for the railway, at the same time cutting out the railway track and building thereon a trail or road, which would become available as part of the permanent works.

The arrangement proposed by Lord Carnarvon embodies some amendments. His Lordship suggests :—

1st. The immediate construction, as proposed, of the short line on Vancouver Island.

2nd. After the location of the line the expenditure of two millions on the mainland, instead of one and a half millions.

3rd. The increase of the engineering force to double the number now employed ; the expenditure on the survey, if not of an amount equal to the proposed annual expenditure on construction, of some other specific sum ; the prescribing of a limited time for the completion of the survey ; and the payment of a sum of money as compensation in the event of its not being so completed.

4th. The guarantee of the completion of the entire railway in 1890.

It is also suggested that the construction of the telegraph line and road need not be proceeded with, as Mr. Walkem does not consider either as of any use to the Province.

The Committee recommend that the first consideration, which is precisely what was previously offered, be again concurred in.

In regard to the second proposal, the Committee recommend that Lord Carnarvon be informed (if it be found impossible to obtain a settlement of the question by the acceptance of the former offer) that the Government will consent that after the completion of the survey, the average annual minimum expenditure on the mainland shall be two millions. There is every reason to believe now that a majority of the people of Columbia would accept the propositions previously made. Judg-



ing from a petition sent from the mainland, signed by 644 names (a copy of which petition is enclosed), there is almost an entire unanimity there in favor of these proposals, and assurances were given very lately by gentlemen of the highest position on the Island that the course of the Local Government would not meet general approval there. An application was made by one prominent gentleman, an ex-member of Parliament, to the Government here, to know if the proposals made would still be adhered to, he pledging himself to secure their acceptance by the bulk of the people.

It is therefore earnestly hoped that no change will be considered necessary, as it will be difficult to induce the country to accept any further concessions.

The third condition requires an increase of the engineer force employed on the surveying service ; the completion of the survey within a specific time ; and in case that time should be exceeded, the payment to the Province of a money compensation.

The Committee respectfully submit that the result arrived at by the foregoing suggestion is already being accomplished with the utmost despatch admitted by the circumstances of the case.

The Chief Engineer was instructed to provide all the assistance he required in order to complete the surveys within the shortest possible period, and he engaged a large force ; a force larger indeed than can with profit be employed until the route is definitely determined.

Whatever may be the route finally chosen, the line will of necessity traverse a country with exceedingly rough topographical features for a distance of five or six hundred miles from the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains to the extreme limit of the Province on the Pacific.

The country is an immense plateau, which maintains its general elevation to within a few miles of the sea, but often rises into unshapely mountain ranges ; some of these ranges tower to a height of over 9000 feet.

The boundary of the plateau on the west is the Cascade Range ; this forms a huge sea wall along the coast, and has interposed a much more formidable obstacle to the surveyors than the Rocky Mountains. Attempts have been made at five or six points to pierce the barrier, but, except at the Fraser River and at Bute Inlet, without success.

From the results of last year's explorations the Bute Inlet route seemed on the whole to be the best, but it is not unassociated with serious difficulties. For a distance of twenty miles the ascent or grade is about 150 feet to the mile.

The straits which form the approach to the harbor from seaward are encumbered by islands, and when reached the harbor is found to be destitute of anchorage. The dangers of navigation are increased not alone by the precipitations and rocky shores, but by the rapidity of the tide which rushes through the narrow channels with a velocity of from seven to nine miles an hour.

It was supposed when work was resumed last spring that a practicable route would be found from the point where Fleming's line touches the north branch of the Thompson River westward towards what is known as Big Bend, on the Fraser River, from which no serious impediment exists until the commencement of the rapid descent to the sea at Bute Inlet is reached. Had this supposition proved correct, it is probable the Government might have been prepared at the end of

this year to proceed with the exact location of the line. But the explorations carried on to the close of July last resulted in the discovery of a high range of mountains which fill the country from near the junction of the Clearwater with the Thompson northward to the great bend of the Fraser; and, without a very long detour south or north, they bar the way to the west. The Chief Engineer therefore advised a re-examination of the Fraser Valley, or, more correctly speaking, ravine, inasmuch as no broad valley anywhere exists, the rivers in their courses having cleft ways for themselves through the rocks, which in some cases they have pierced to a depth of 1500 feet by a width of not more than a single mile, thus giving as the normal condition exceedingly precipitous banks. This new examination of the Fraser River Route will occupy at least the whole season.

A memorandum from the Chief Engineer will give the strength of the force and show its distribution. Nearly two seasons were passed in examining the Rocky Mountain Range and the Valley of the Columbia in the endeavor to obtain a favorable pass. The result was that the explorers were driven north to what is known as Jasper House Pass.

These facts are mentioned to give some idea of the enormous labor involved, and the impossibility of placing a large force in the field to do engineering work, when it is not yet known where the engineering work is to be done. The exploratory survey must be tolerably complete before the exact location of any portion of the line can be contemplated or possible, and before plans can be made of bridges and other works of construction required; and nothing but the urgency of the contract so imprudently entered into with British Columbia would otherwise have induced the Government to employ more than half the force now engaged.

As pointed out in previous memorandum, the expenditure to the end of last year in British Columbia alone was considerably over half a million of money more than the whole expenditure upon the 2000 miles eastward of that Province.

The Chief Engineer was informed last winter that it was the desire of the Government to have the utmost expedition used in prosecuting and completing the surveys; and in the engagements which he has entered into these directions have been fully considered.

The fourth condition involves another precise engagement to have the whole of the railway communication finished in 1890. There are the strongest possible objections to again adopting a precise time for the completion of the lines. The eastern portion of the line, except so far as the mere letter of the conditions is concerned, affects only the provinces east of Manitoba, and the Government have not been persuaded either of the wisdom or the necessity of immediately constructing that portion of the railway which traverses the country from the west end of Lake Superior to the proposed eastern terminus on Lake Nipissing near Georgian Bay, nor is it conceived that the people of British Columbia could, with any show of reason whatever, insist that this portion of the work should be completed within any definite time, inasmuch as, if the people who are chiefly if not wholly affected by this branch of the undertaking are satisfied, it is maintained that the people of British Columbia would practically have no right of speech in the matter.

It is intended by the Government that the utmost diligence shall be manifested in obtaining a speedy line of communication by rail and water from Lake Superior



westward, completing the various links of railway as fast as possible, consistent with that prudent course which a comparatively poor and sparsely settled country should adopt.

There can be no doubt that it would be an extremely difficult task to obtain the sanction of the Canadian Parliament to any specific bargain as to time, considering the consequences which have already resulted from the unwise adoption of a limited period in the terms of Union for the completion of so vast an undertaking, the extent of which must necessarily be very imperfectly understood by people at a distance. The Committee advise that Lord Carnarvon be informed that, while in no case could the Government undertake the completion of the whole line in the time mentioned, an extreme unwillingness exists to another limitation of time; but if it be found absolutely necessary to secure a present settlement of the controversy by further concessions, a pledge may be given that the portion west of Lake Superior will be completed so as to afford connection by rail with existing lines of railway through a portion of the United States and by Canadian waters during the season of navigation by the year 1890 as suggested.

With regard to the ameliorating proposal to dispense with the formation of a road or trail across the country, and the construction of a telegraph line, on the representation of the British Columbia delegate that neither is considered necessary, it is proper to remark that it is impossible to dispense with the clearing out of a track and the formation of a road of some sort in order to get in the supplies for the railway, and the proposal was, that as soon as the general route of the railway could be determined and the location ascertained, a width of two chains should be cleared out in the wooded districts, a telegraph line erected, and that a sort of road passable for horses and rough vehicles should be formed and brought into existence, not as a road independent of the railway, but as an auxiliary to and a necessary preliminary to railway construction, the cost incurred forming part indeed of the construction of the railway itself.

In so vast a country where there are no postal facilities, and where there can be no rapid postal communications for many years hence, it is absolutely essential that a telegraph line should be erected along the proposed route, as the only means by which the Government and contractors could maintain any communication. The offer therefore to dispense with a telegraph line is one which cannot be considered as in any way whatever affording relief to the Dominion, the undertaking to construct the telegraph line must rather be looked upon as an earnest of the desire of the Government to do every thing in reason, in order to keep within the spirit of its engagements.

The intention of the Government will be seen from the following quotations from the Act of last Session :—

‘A line of electric telegraph shall be constructed in advance of the said railway and branches along their whole extent respectively as soon as practicable after the location of the line shall have been determined upon.’

Having dealt with the modifications suggested by Lord Carnarvon, it is proper to notice *seriatim* the several grounds of complaint as stated in the despatch.

1st. ‘That nothing is being done by the Dominion Government towards commencing and pushing on a railway from Esquimaux to Nanaimo.’

The Dominion has no engagement to build such a railway, and therefore there can be no just complaint that it is not commenced. The construction of such a railway was offered only as compensation for delay in fulfilling the engagement to build a railway to the 'Pacific seaboard.'

2nd. 'That the surveying parties on the mainland are numerically weak, and that there is no expectation in British Columbia, or guarantee given, that the surveys will be proceeded with as speedily as possible.'

On this point it is sufficient to state that, as remarked elsewhere, the utmost expedition possible has been used, and that the allegations in the petition are incorrect.

3rd. 'That the people of British Columbia do not desire the waggon road offered by the Dominion Government, as it would be useless to them; and that even the telegraph proposed to be made along the line of the railway cannot of course be made until the route to be taken by the railway is settled.'

It may be noticed in connection with this extraordinary statement that the construction of such a road was one of the conditions imposed by the Local Legislature in their resolutions adopted as the basis whereon to negotiate the terms of Union. It would therefore seem that such a declaration now is intended more to lessen the value of the proposals made to British Columbia than to indicate public sentiment in the Province. As pointed out elsewhere, the work is practically a part of railway construction, and it is also confidently believed will be of very great advantage to the people generally.

4th. Mr. Walkem further urges 'That by Sec. 11 of the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1874, it is competent to the Dominion House of Commons to reject at any time the contract for a section of the railway, and thus to prevent the continuous construction of the work.'

This is simply a complaint that the present Government provided for Parliamentary supervision over the letting of such vast contracts. It was contended by the opposition in 1872 that in the matter of a contract for so large a work, for which the Dominion was to pay thirty millions of dollars, and allot nearly sixty million acres of land, the formal sanction of Parliament should be obtained. Accordingly, when it became their duty under altered political circumstances to submit a new measure to Parliament, in lieu of the one which had failed of success, they were bound to secure by statutory enactments full control to Parliament over the letting of the contract or contracts.

In all extraordinary contracts entered into by the Government of England or Canada, this course has been followed: as, for instance, in contracts for the conveyance of mails by ocean steamers.

It will also be apparent that no Government decision could prevent future Parliamentary action.

The insertion of this section therefore is in pursuance of a well settled public policy, not to permit the executive too extensive powers without specific Parliamentary sanction; and even the present Opposition demanded that the restriction should apply to minor works on the branches provided for in the Act.

Neither the Canadian Government nor Parliament can be suspected of having inserted such a clause for the improper purpose of using it to retard progress otherwise possible. Nothing has occurred which could justify such a suspicion.



Since the passage of the Act, the Government have placed the grading of the Pembina Branch under contract and hope soon to place the Nipissing Branch under contract. The contracts for the telegraph lines from Fort William to the existing telegraphic stations in British Columbia will be closed in a few days.

It only remains to say that the Government, in making the new proposals to British Columbia, were actuated by an anxious desire to put an end to all controversy, and to do what is fair and just under very extraordinary circumstances, and that these proposals embraced the most liberal terms that public opinion would justify them in offering.

It is proper, further, to remark that there has been no just cause of complaint at all, inasmuch as the report of the Chief Engineer shows that nothing more could have been done to forward the work.

The Act passed last Session is a very complete one, and amply provides for the construction of the railway subject to the Parliamentary supervision referred to.

The lot of British Columbia is cast in with the other North American Provinces, and it becomes the duty of all the confederated Provinces to consider to some extent the general welfare. It is especially the duty of the smaller Provinces to defer somewhat to the opinions of the old and populous Provinces from which the revenue for the building of all such works is derived."

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*Copy of Petition.*

"That in view of the action taken by an association calling itself "The Terms of Union Preservation League," meeting in the City of Victoria, on Vancouver Island, in petitioning Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen, relative to the non-fulfilment of one of the conditions of the terms of Union, and affirming in said petition that Esquimalt, on Vancouver Island, had been decided to be the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that a portion of the line had been located between the harbor of Esquimalt and Seymour Narrows, and praying that Her Majesty act as Arbitrator, and see that justice be done to British Columbia, we, the undersigned, respectfully submit as follows :

"That in our opinion, the order of the Privy Council of Canada, of 7th June, 1873, is in no way binding upon your Excellency's present Government, and that a line of railway along the seaboard of Vancouver Island to Esquimalt is no part of the terms of Union.

"That in any arrangement which may be entered into for an extension of time for the commencement or completion of the railway, any consideration granted by the Dominion of Canada to the Province of British Columbia should be such as would be generally advantageous to the whole Province, and not of a merely local nature, benefiting only a section thereof.

"That the league referred to, acting under the impression that further surveys may detract from the favorable opinion now entertained by the Engineers of the Bute Inlet route, are desirous of forcing your Excellency's Government into an immediate selection.

"That we consider it would be unwise, impolitic, and unjust to select any line for the railway until time be given for a thorough survey of the different routes on

the mainland, believing, as we do, that such survey must result in the selection of Fraser Valley route, which is the only one that connects the fertile districts of the interior with the seaboard.

“That as it is evident that the surveys are not yet sufficiently advanced to allow of an intelligent decision on the question of route being arrived at, we consider that a vigorous and immediate prosecution of the surveys by your Excellency’s Government, to be followed in 1875 by the commencement of construction on the mainland, will be a faithful carrying out of the spirit of the terms of Union.

“Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your Excellency take the views expressed in this our petition into your most favorable consideration.”

Mr. Walkem supplemented his case by the following letter to the Earl of Carnarvon :

“LONDON, *October 31, 1874.*

MY LORD,—I now beg leave respectfully to offer for your Lordship’s consideration a recapitulation and review of the main points of the question at issue between Canada and British Columbia, respecting the breach by the former of the railway agreement in the terms of Union.

Although I have been favored by your Lordship with many and lengthened interviews on the subject, I hope that the grave nature of the interests committed to my care, as well as the important influence which your Lordship’s action at the present time is sure to exercise upon the political and industrial growth of the Province, will be a sufficient excuse for again troubling you.

A written communication of the kind proposed may also usefully serve to define more clearly some of the views which I have advocated on behalf of the Province.

Before proceeding further, I trust that I may be permitted to tender the expression of my grateful sense of the attention with which your Lordship has been pleased to receive, not only the statement of the case of British Columbia, as set forth in the petition of its Government, but also the comments upon it which I have from time to time made.

The Provincial Government will be glad to learn—what your Lordship has been good enough to state—that you have been gratified with the temperate spirit in which their case has been presented for the consideration of Her Majesty’s Government.

It was, as I had the honor to mention at my first interview, with a strong feeling of regret, that the Government of the Province felt themselves under the necessity of seeking the advice and intervention of Her Majesty’s Government in this matter. The Provincial Government desired to work in harmony with the Dominion Government, and I may safely say that such intervention would not have been sought had a sufficient effort been made by the Dominion to comply with the spirit of the railway agreement.

The key to the general policy of Her Majesty’s Government, in relation to British North America, is, so far as I understand, to be found in the preamble of the Act of Confederation, which briefly declares that ‘Union would conduce to the welfare of the Provinces \* \* \* federally united \* \* \* and promote the interests of the British Empire.’ The Imperial policy thus declared has also been the



policy of Canada. British Columbia, likewise, has endeavored on her part loyally to follow it. It is from a due regard for the principles laid down in the Confederation Act, and from a natural and, I hope, proper desire to protect her own special interests as a Province, that British Columbia has protested against the non-fulfilment by Canada of the railway agreement of the terms of Union.

This railway agreement, while purposely and in part framed, as I shall hereafter show, to promote the interests of British Columbia, is not an agreement for the construction of a railway within merely provincial limits for simply provincial purposes. It is an agreement of a much more comprehensive character, designed, in fact, mainly to advance, and indeed to effect, a real union and consolidation of the British Possessions on the Continent of North America. In the attainment of this great end, British Columbia is, owing to her present isolation, especially interested.

A short reference to a few facts, which led to the Union of the Province with Canada, will best explain her true position.

In pursuance of the general Confederation policy declared in 1867, Her Majesty's Government, in 1869, addressed a despatch to the Governor of British Columbia, expressing a desire that British Columbia should be incorporated with Canada. This despatch not only re-states the principles set forth in the Confederation Act but also shows in what respect they are peculiarly applicable to British Columbia. The following is a quotation from the despatch :—

'Her Majesty's Government,' writes the Secretary of State, 'anticipate that the interests of every Province of British North America will be more advanced, enabling the wealth, credit, and intelligence of the whole to be brought to bear on every part, than by encouraging each in the contracted policy of taking care of itself, possibly at the expense of its neighbor.

'Most especially is this true in the case of internal transit. It is evident that the establishment of a British line of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans is far more feasible by the operations of a single Government responsible for the progress of both shores of the continent, than by a bargain negotiated between separate, perhaps in some respects rival, Governments and Legislatures. The San Francisco of British North America would, under these circumstances, hold a greater commercial and political position than would be attainable by the capital of the isolated colony of British Columbia.

'Her Majesty's Government are aware that the distance between Ottawa and Victoria presents a real difficulty in the way of immediate Union. But that very difficulty will not be without its advantages, if it renders easy communication indispensable, and forces onwards the operations which are to complete it. In any case it is an understood inconvenience, and a diminishing one, and it appears far better to accept it as a temporary drawback on the advantages of Union, than to wait for those obstacles, often more intractable, which are sure to spring up after a neglected opportunity.'

Here four propositions are laid down :—

1st. That the Canadian Federal system is based upon a union of the 'wealth, credit and intelligence' of the several Provinces, which will, when properly applied, promote the welfare of each.

2nd. That to secure this result, 'easy \* \* \* internal \* \* \* communication' through British territory 'is indispensable.'

3rd. That the absence of this 'easy \* \* \* internal \* \* \* communication,' and 'the distance between Ottawa and Victoria' constitute 'a real difficulty in the way of immediate union.'

4th. That this 'real difficulty' will operate as a mere 'temporary drawback on the advantages of Union,' as it will be sure to 'force onwards' those 'operations' necessary to remove it.

It is to hasten the removal of this 'temporary drawback,' and to 'force onwards,' in the sense of the above despatch, these necessary operations which have been long deferred, that the Government of British Columbia have sought the intervention of Her Majesty's Government.

The strength of the above propositions, viewed in connection with the general Confederation policy, was fully recognized by the then Government of the Dominion. They agreed with Her Majesty's Government, that without 'easy communication' and 'internal transit' between Ottawa and Victoria, the union of British Columbia and Canada could not be effective. Afterwards, when the whole matter was practically studied by the Government of the Dominion, it seems to have been their decided opinion that 'easy communication' across the Continent could mean nothing less than a railway; and that, with respect to British Columbia, the 'temporary drawback on the advantages' of Confederation, mentioned by Her Majesty's Government, should not be allowed to last for more than ten years from the date of Union.

Hence the Dominion undertook 'to secure the commencement simultaneously' on the 20th July, 1873, 'of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as may be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada; and further, to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from' July, 1871. And British Columbia, on her part, entered into certain obligations in favor of the Dominion, with regard to the public lands of the Province. The word 'simultaneously,' which appears in this agreement, was designedly inserted with two objects:—

1st. That Canada should commence construction works at the two most available points, and thus ensure the early and rapid progress of the railway; and

2nd. That the admitted disadvantages under which British Columbia would labor until the completion of the main line should to some extent be counterbalanced by the benefits of early expenditure upon railway works in the Province.

The agreement thus entered into was inserted in, and formed the most essential part of the terms of Union mutually accepted, in 1871, by British Columbia and Canada. These terms were placed before the people of the Province at a general election. They were shortly afterwards considered and formerly approved by the Provincial Legislature. They were subsequently fully debated, and accepted by both Houses of the Parliament of Canada; and they were finally sanctioned and ratified by Her Majesty in Council. No question, therefore, could have been more thoroughly ventilated; no conclusion more deliberately arrived at. As a strong practical proof of the continued interest felt by Her Majesty's Government in the



success of the Confederation thus established, the Imperial Parliament in July, 1873, guaranteed a loan of £3,600,000, to be raised by Canada mainly for the construction, among other public works, of the Canada Pacific Railway.

It may now be useful to present to your Lordship a brief statement of the manner in which the conditions of the Railway Agreement have been observed.

The petition of the Government of British Columbia shows the following facts:—

That the Province has fulfilled her part of the agreement; and has endeavored to aid the Dominion Government to carry out their part;

That the Dominion Government have not, during the three years succeeding Union, made due effort to complete the railway surveys in British Columbia;

That the Dominion Government did not, on the 20th July, 1873, commence the 'simultaneous' railway construction provided for in the agreement;

That they also have hitherto failed to commence any railway construction whatsoever in the Province, though they might have commenced such construction, as they admitted in May last that they were then in a position to begin the railway.

Some further circumstances connected with these matters are detailed in the petition. It is therein shown that in June, 1873, the Dominion Government selected the Harbor of Esquimaux, on the Pacific, as the western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway; that they at the same time decided that a portion of the main line should be 'located' between the terminus and Seymour Narrows; that some weeks prior to the day named in the agreement for the commencement of the construction of the main line, they secured from the Provincial Government 'in furtherance of such construction' a reserve of a valuable tract of land lying along this projected line and some 3000 square miles in area; that, as already stated, no construction whatsoever was or has been commenced within the Province; that the land so reserved has been thus rendered comparatively valueless to the Province, as it has ever since been closed to settlement and to the investment of capital.

Against the continuance of the above state of things, the Province, through its Legislature and its Government, from time to time entered protest after protest, but without effect, and without even eliciting any reply from the Dominion Government beyond a formal acknowledgment of the receipt of the despatch enclosing each protest. The last protest was forwarded in February of the present year. Subsequently the correspondence took place which is appended to the petition. From the questions raised by this correspondence, all those which are unimportant may be usefully eliminated. I propose, therefore (subject, perhaps, to a slight digression, where necessary), to confine my observations to the principal points in a letter from Mr. Edgar to myself, which contains certain proposals as regards railway matters.

The Provincial Government did not at the time understand that these proposals were officially made. They were subsequently withdrawn by the Dominion Government, and only at the moment of such withdrawal declared by them to have been made with their authority and on their behalf. The above letter, which thus became invested though but for a brief time with an authoritative character, is valuable as the only official intimation to the Provincial Government

of the policy of the present Dominion Government on the subject of the Pacific Railway. In addition to certain proposals or offers to British Columbia, the letter contains important statements, and some specific admissions, which favor the Provincial case.

I shall discuss these offers *seriatim*, and endeavor to ascertain their value taken in connection with the conditions attached to them, which conditions, as I shall afterwards show, virtually amount to a surrender by British Columbia of her existing railway agreement. I shall then offer some comments upon the above statements and admissions, using generally, as far as may be, the language in which they are expressed in the letter, in order to lessen the danger on my part of any inadvertent misconstruction of their meaning.

The offers made are as follows:—

No. 1. The Dominion will ‘commence construction from Esquimalt to Nanaimo immediately, and push that portion of railway on to completion within the shortest practicable time.’

The offer to commence work immediately at Esquimalt (which, as already stated, was selected as the western terminus of the main line by an order of the Privy Council of Canada as far back as June, 1873,) is simply an offer to do what the Dominion was bound to have done in July, 1873, and what they might have done at any time since, and which they admit in this letter was quite practicable in May last. The offer, your Lordships will notice, is a very limited one. No definite provision is made for the extension of the main line beyond Nanaimo (about 60 miles from Esquimalt); nor, indeed, is any definite period fixed for the completion of even this short portion of the railway, which would take neither much time nor money to construct. The promise to complete it ‘in the shortest practicable time,’—a promise in effect attached to all the offers in the letter,—is one which, slightly qualified, is implied in the present, and in every other agreement of a similar character, in which no stipulation is inserted for the performance of work within a given time. The phrase is much too elastic in its meaning to admit of any definite interpretation. It may, for the present, therefore, be fairly omitted from special consideration, except as some evidence of a general intention on the part of the Dominion Government. I must assume, what the language conveys, that the words ‘the portion of railway,’ means the Esquimalt and Nanaimo portion or part of the main railway which is the only railway referred to in the letter. This would tend to show that the position of the terminus is not questioned. No other allusion to the terminus is made in the letter.

No. 2. The Dominion will prosecute and complete the surveys, and then determine ‘the location of the line upon the mainland.’

This promise is reasonable on the face of it, but it is very vague. In May last the Government of the Dominion informed the Provincial Government that ‘there was no reason to believe that it would be possible to complete the surveys before the close of the year, 1874.’ The reasonable inference deducible from this statement is, obviously, that the surveys would be finished at the end of 1874. If a longer period had been deemed necessary for the purpose, that the fact would have been stated. Considering the intimation thus given, and looking to the long interval of time that has elapsed without any decision as to the route having



been arrived at, it might have been expected that the letter would have positively guaranteed the completion, in 1874, of these and all other indispensable surveys within the Province at least, and have further placed beyond conjecture the commencement of construction works early in 1875. I have been informed by a railway engineer here that, as a matter of practice, the exploratory surveys settle the general bearing or course of a line of railway, and that the subsequent location surveys may be proceeded with at several points along such line simultaneously, and the work of construction be commenced at those points without waiting for the actual location of the whole line. Such being the case, there is no valid reason, in view of all the facts above stated, why this practice should not be followed with respect to the Pacific Railway. The general course of the railway, within the Province at least, should be determined this year, and location surveys, immediately followed by actual construction, should be commenced early in 1875, at various points on the mainland and on the island. This is what British Columbia above all things desires, and any definite arrangement which will secure her wants in this respect will give the Province much satisfaction.

No. 3. The Dominion will 'open up a road and build a telegraph line along the whole length of the railway in the Province, and carry the telegraph wire across the continent.'

The performance of this offer, both as to the road and the telegraph line, would depend, in point of time, upon the performance of the preceding offer (No. 2), as the above works would, according to the letter, only be commenced after the completion of the surveys and the location (within the Province) of the whole line along which they are proposed to be constructed. The fact is known to your Lordship that the road here meant is a waggon road intended, for a time at least, to supply the place of the railway. A personal knowledge of the country justifies me in stating that a very large portion of the £50,000 or £60,000 required for its construction would be money simply thrown away. I can also unhesitatingly state that the road would, even as a temporary substitute for the railway, be wholly unacceptable to the Province at large, including the farmers and producers of the 'interior,' in whose interests, and for whose benefit, it is alleged that the offer is especially made. For the transport of supplies and to meet engineering necessities along the line as railway works progress, a merely passable road is necessary and must be constructed; this, in fact, is all that is required. The telegraph line, when finished, would be useful, but its construction is a question which should be treated independently of the railway agreement. The railway is what is required, and the people of the Province would prefer seeing the time and money which are proposed to be expended on the above works appropriated to the large and infinitely more beneficial enterprise.

No. 4. When the 'surveys and road on the mainland can be completed, there shall be in each and every year \* \* \* \* during the construction of the railway, a minimum expenditure upon the works of construction within the Province of at least \$1,500,000,' and the Dominion 'will proceed from the very first with all the works of construction,' on the mainland, 'that their engineers could sanction.'

The expenditure above proposed may be considered, first, in relation to its

amount ; and next, with reference to the date of its commencement. The amount falls far short of what British Columbia has been led to expect. The cost of the line in British Columbia has been roughly estimated at \$35,000,000 (£7,000,000). Assuming this estimate to be correct, and that ten years would see the completion of the railway, the Province, in accepting the terms of Union, had a fair expectation of an average yearly expenditure within her limits of, say, \$3,500,000 (£700,000). After a delay of over three years, with its consequent loss to the Province, it is now proposed by the letter that this amount shall be reduced to the sum of \$1,500,000 (£300,000). Again, dividing the whole cost \$35,000,000 (£7,000,000), by this sum, a period of twenty-three and a half years would be obtained as the time required for the completion of the Provincial section of the line alone, and this period would be only computed from the date when expenditure would be commenced, and not from the date of the letter. It is true that the expenditure proposed is to represent a minimum outlay, which, after several years, might for obvious reasons increase with the progress of the work, but I submit that in estimating the value of this or of any similar proposal, the actual figures given—and not contingent amounts which might never be spent—must be the bases of calculation.

Moreover, not only is the proposed expenditure inadequate, but the period when it is to be begun is left largely open to doubt. The letter states that the expenditure will follow the completion 'along the whole length of the railway in the Province,' of the waggon road mentioned in offer No. 3. The completion of this road, in turn, has to depend upon the completion of all the surveys, and upon the location of the whole line on the mainland (see offer No. 2) ; and the completion of these surveys and the location of this line are, in point of time, wholly left open to uncertainty. It is stated that from the 'very first' construction work on the mainland will be done at such places as the sanction of the engineers will warrant, but this sanction will naturally be deferred until the expenditure, which has been proposed to cover construction work generally, should be commenced. Taken throughout, no offer could well be more indefinite than the above.

Adding all the uncertainties mentioned to the fixed period of 23½ years (or even to a reduced period), it would appear that the above offer may be described as one for the postponement of the completion of the line within the Province for a lengthened period, possibly until some time in the next century.

Your Lordship will observe, what I must consider an important matter, that all the preceding offers refer, and are strictly confined to the British Columbian portion of the railway. The letter is wholly silent as to the extension of the line beyond the eastern frontier of the Province. British Columbia is thus by implication virtually requested to surrender one of the elements most important to her in the contract, namely, the right to insist upon all rail communication with the Eastern Provinces.

I shall now, as proposed, make a few comments upon certain statements and admissions contained in the letter. Probably the most important of the former is the statement that the Dominion Government 'are advised by their engineers that the physical difficulties are so much greater than was expected, that it is an impossibility to construct a railway within the time limited by the terms of Union,



and that any attempt to do so can only result in wasteful expenditure and financial embarrassment.' Upon this point the Provincial Government are without any information save what is afforded by the last report as published of the Chief Engineer of the Dominion Government. A reference to this report would lead the reader to a rather contrary conclusion to that above expressed. On page 34, section 5, the Chief Engineer makes the following statements:—'It may indeed be now accepted as a certainty, that a route has been found generally possessing favorable engineering features, with the exception of a short section approaching the Pacific coast; which route, taking its entire length, including the exceptional section alluded to, will, on the average, show lighter work, and will require less costly structures than have been necessary on many of the railways now in operation in the Dominion.' It is worthy of notice that this report, so favorable to the enterprise, is dated only some four months prior to the date of the letter now under discussion. During the interval between these dates, all surveys in the Province had been suspended. I may further remind your Lordship that the charter for the construction and completion of the railway in ten years from 1871, according to the terms of Union, was keenly competed for by two separate combinations, including men of great railway experience, large capital, and high position in the Dominion. These companies, apparently, did not consider the undertaking to make the railway within the stipulated time impracticable. On the contrary, up to February, 1873, so eager was the competition, and so powerful were the organizations in point of wealth, influence and ability, that the Dominion Government decided to give the charter to neither; and upon the two companies failing to amalgamate, as suggested by the Government, the Government, under certain powers conferred by Parliament, formed a new company, based upon the principle that each Province should be represented in the undertaking. To this new company a charter was granted on the 5th February, 1873. With the political or other causes which subsequently led to the surrender of the charter, it is not my duty to deal. The strong fact remains that two responsible and rival companies were willing, and a third undertook, to construct a through line of railway to connect the east and west of the Dominion in eight years from February, 1873. Neither in the prospectus of the successful company nor in the voluminous correspondence which took place previously between the two unsuccessful companies on the subject of their respective claims to the charter, and of their proposed amalgamation, was any doubt expressed as to the possibility of fulfilling this time obligation. Had such a doubt existed, it is fair to infer that the Dominion Government would have requested the assistance of the Province to remove it. No such request was, however, made.

With respect to the statement before your Lordship that the chartered company considered an extension of four years necessary to place the financial success of the enterprise beyond doubt, the Provincial Government are without any information save what is contained in, or may be inferred from, the last paragraph of section 8 of the charter granted to the Company, which reads as follows:—'The Company shall complete the whole railway within ten years from the said 20th July, 1871, unless the last mentioned period shall be enlarged by Act of Parliament, in which case the company shall complete the whole railway within such extended period.' Admitting, for the sake of argument, however, that such extension of four years

was deemed necessary, the completion of the line would not have been deferred beyond 1885. The extract already quoted from the Engineer's Report, dated, as it is, about twelve months after the date of the charter, and made after a further knowledge of the country had been acquired, tends strongly to confirm the views of the respective companies that the completion of the railway was practicable in 1881, or at the furthest in 1885.

The value of the above facts and correspondence is material, as showing, in the first place, that it was considered all important that a definite period should be assigned for the execution of a work upon which Confederation hinges; and in the next place, that 1881, or at most 1885, was a reasonable definition of that period.

The Province, after all her disappointments, above all things desires that the 'prompt commencement, continuous prosecution,' and early completion of the railway shall be definitely assured or, in the language of the letter, 'be guaranteed.' The Provincial Government, therefore, strongly but respectfully resist the contention of the Dominion Government that the commencement, prosecution and completion of the line shall be left open to a doubtful and indefinite period.

The further opening statement in the letter, that the Dominion Government are willing 'to enter into additional obligations of a definite character for the benefit of the Province,' may be said to have been disposed of as the nature and character of these 'obligations' have, in the analysis made of the offers, been already examined. I shall therefore pass on to what I have termed the admissions in the letter. The most important of these is an admission which may be inferred from the offer made by the Dominion Government to 'commence railway construction immediately from Esquimaux to Nanaimo.' Here it is admitted that the Dominion Government were in a position, at least in May last (the date of the letter), if not before, to have begun the railway in the Province. There is, and has been, therefore no excuse for delay in pushing forward the work.

Of scarcely less importance is a second admission, which reads as follows: 'To a country like British Columbia it is conceded, however, to be an important point that not only the prompt and vigorous commencement, but also the continuous prosecution of the work of construction within the limits of the Province, should be guaranteed.'

To these two admissions may be added a third, and last: the Dominion Government, while conceding that railway construction should be commenced at the seaboard of the Province, consider it most important that every effort should be made by them to push forward the construction of the railway on the mainland, in order that the legitimate advantages of expenditure should, as far as possible, fall into the hands of the farmers and producers of the interior.

This is an object which the Provincial Government have much at heart, and strongly desire to see realized.

With the clear and just sense which the Dominion Government thus appear to have of what is due to the Province; with their full appreciation, on the one hand, of the wants of the interior, and on the other, of the requirements of the Island, it might have been expected that they would, as 'a Government responsible for the progress of both shores of the continent,' at least have given some more definite as well as some practical meaning to their expressions of solicitude for the welfare of the people of the Province.



I have thus dwelt upon the letter at a considerable length, as your Lordship's attention has been specially directed to it in connection with the present case. I conceive the following to be a synopsis of its offers and conditions: Canada will commence, on the Island, immediate construction of the railway at Esquimaux, and finish about sixty miles of it (time of completion indefinite). On the mainland she will prosecute the surveys for the remainder of the line, and finish these surveys (time also indefinite). She will thereafter 'locate' the line falling within the Province (time also indefinite). When this can be achieved, she will make along this 'located' line, a waggon road (which the Province does not want), and a telegraph line (which the Province has not asked for), and will carry the latter across the continent (time of completion of both road and telegraph line indefinite). Ultimately, after the completion of the surveys and of the road, but not before, Canada will begin, and will continue railway works in the Province, and spend thereon, year by year, not less than £300,000 (whether this sum will include the Esquimaux line or not is doubtful. It is the only expenditure offered. As I have shown your Lordship, Canada thus proposes to ensure to the Province the completion of the line within her limits in twenty-three and a half years, or less, dating from the unknown period at which the offered expenditure can be commenced). Canada will do all this work 'in the shortest time practicable,' a phrase a shade stronger than the words 'with due diligence,' three words, the construction of which has given rise to much doubt, and to much painful litigation. In consideration of these offers (if accepted), British Columbia shall, (1st) abandon all claim to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway within a definite time; and (2nd) shall (virtually though not quite so expressed) surrender her right to, and interest in, the completion of about 2,000 miles of the line necessary to connect the eastern frontier with Eastern Canada. Apart from the very objectionable features of the last two conditions, the indefinite character of the above proposals made to the Province is in marked contrast to the statement of the Dominion Government that, 'to a country like British Columbia,' it is important that the early completion of the railway within her limits should be ensured; and, therefore, that a guarantee should be given by the Dominion Government for 'its prompt commencement' (which depends on the prompt completion of the surveys) and also for 'its continuous construction' (which depends on yearly specific expenditure). This concludes my remarks upon the letter.

I have endeavored to place before your Lordship a full history of the position of British Columbia with respect to Confederation. A very unsatisfactory state of affairs has been disclosed, if the question be regarded simply as a question between the Dominion and one of her Provinces. On the part of the Dominion there have been delays, default, and avowal of default, followed by offers and conditions such as I have described.

The peculiar situation of British Columbia, her remoteness, her weak political position, her dependence on the good faith of the Dominion, the hopes that have been held out and deferred, the grievous loss that has ensued, the consequent utter prostration of her interests, all these give her claims upon Canada which the present Dominion Government have, as already shown, to a certain extent acknowledged in words. These claims the Provincial Government hope

will not be overlooked by your Lordship in considering the reasonable measure of justice to which the Province is entitled under the terms of Union. The Province has not expected anything that is unreasonable, and does not do so now. It is her urgent desire that matters should be forthwith placed on a fair business-like footing, and above all, on a footing of certainty, with proper safeguards to ensure that certainty, so that a good and cordial understanding may be restored and not again be disturbed."

The Earl of Carnarvon having now fully heard both parties, proceeds in the following despatch to His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin to give his final decision, subsequently well known as the "Carnarvon Terms."

DOWNING STREET, *November 17, 1874.*

MY LORD,—I duly received your despatch of the 18th September, inclosing an Order in Council setting forth the views of your Ministers as to the proposals contained in my despatch of the 16th August, for the settlement of the controversy between Canada and British Columbia respecting the Pacific Railway. I subsequently again saw Mr. Walkem, and at his request I have delayed the announcement of the terms which, in my opinion, may properly be laid down as fair and reasonable, until the receipt of a further written communication from him, which has now reached me, and a copy of which I enclose.

The statements thus placed before me are so clear and complete as to assist me materially in appreciating the position in which the question now stands, and in judging without hesitation what modification of the original terms should be adopted. And I would here express my satisfaction at the temperate and forbearing manner in which points involving most important consequences have been argued on both sides, and the pleasure which I feel in being able to think that asperity of feeling or language may have been, in some degree, avoided through the opportunity of submitting the whole case to the independent judgment of one who may at least claim to have the interests of both parties equally at heart.

I explained very fully in my despatch of the 16th August, the opinion which I entertained on each of the principal questions at issue, and I need now add but little to the simple statement of my decision. That decision is necessarily, as both parties are aware, in the nature of a compromise, and as such it may perhaps fall short of giving complete satisfaction to either. If, on the one hand, your Ministers, as you inform me, consent with reluctance to the further concessions which at an earlier stage I suggested, they will not, on the other hand, fail to bear in mind that even after those concessions are made British Columbia will receive considerably less than was promised to her as the condition of entering the Dominion. I prefer rather to reflect that under the amended terms now to be established, British Columbia will, after all, receive very great and substantial advantages from its union with Canada, while the Dominion will be relieved of a considerable part of those obligations which were assumed in the first instance without a sufficient knowledge of the local conditions under which so enormous and difficult an undertaking was to be carried into effect, and to fulfil which would seriously embarrass the resources of even so prosperous a country as Canada.



Adhering then to the same order in which, on the 16th August, I stated the principal points on which it appeared to me that a better understanding should be defined, I now proceed to announce the conclusions at which I have arrived. They are :—

1. That the railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo shall be commenced as soon as possible, and completed with all practicable despatch.

2. That the surveys on the mainland shall be pushed on with the utmost vigor. On this point, after considering the representations of your Ministers, I feel that I have no alternative but to rely, as I do most fully and readily, upon their assurances that no legitimate effort or expense will be spared, first to determine the best route for the line, and secondly to proceed with the details of the engineering work. It would be distasteful to me, if, indeed, it were not impossible, to prescribe strictly any minimum of time or expenditure with regard to work of so uncertain a nature ; but happily, it is equally impossible for me to doubt that your Government will loyally do its best in every way to accelerate the completion of a duty left freely to its sense of honor and justice.

3. That the waggon road and telegraph line shall be immediately constructed. There seems here to be some difference of opinion as to the special value to the Province of the undertaking to complete these two works ; but after considering what has been said, I am of opinion that they should both be proceeded with at once, as indeed is suggested by your Ministers.

4. That \$2,000,000 a year, and not \$1,500,000, shall be the minimum expenditure on railway works within the Province from the date at which the surveys are sufficiently completed to enable that amount to be expended on construction. In naming this amount I understand that, it being alike the interest and the wish of the Dominion Government to urge on with all speed the completion of the works now to be undertaken, the annual expenditure will be as much in excess of the minimum of \$2,000,000 as in any year may be found practicable.

5. Lastly, that on or before the 31st December, 1890, the railway shall be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific seaboard to a point at the western end of Lake Superior, at which it will fall into connection with existing lines of railway through a portion of the United States, and also with the navigation on Canadian waters. To proceed at present with the remainder of the railway extending by the country northward of Lake Superior, to the existing Canadian lines, ought not, in my opinion, to be required, and the time for undertaking that work must be determined by the development of settlement and the changing circumstances of the country. The day is, however, I hope, not very distant when a continuous line of railway through Canadian territory will be practicable, and I therefore look upon this portion of the scheme as postponed rather than abandoned.

In order to inform Mr. Walkem of the conclusions at which I have arrived, I have thought it convenient to give him a copy of this despatch, although I have not communicated to him any other part of the correspondence which has passed between your Lordship and me.

It will, of course, be obvious that the conclusions which I have now conveyed to you upholds, in the main, and subject only to some modifications of detail, the policy adopted by your Government with respect to this most embarrassing ques-

tion. On acceding to office your Ministers found it in a condition which precluded a compliance with the stipulations of Union. It became, therefore, their duty to consider what other arrangements might equitably, and in the interests of all concerned, be substituted for those which had failed. And in determining to supplement the construction of some part of the new railway by that vast chain of water communications which nature might seem to have designed for the traffic of a great country, I cannot say that they acted otherwise than wisely. I sincerely trust that the more detailed terms which I have now laid down, as those on which this policy should be carried out, will be found substantially in accordance with the reasonable requirements of the Province, and with that spirit of generous and honorable adherence to past engagements which ought in an especial degree to govern the dealings of a strong and populous community with a feebler neighbor, and which I well know to be characteristic of all parties and statesmen alike within the Dominion of Canada.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) CARNARVON.

The "Carnarvon Terms" were accepted by the Dominion Government by the following minute of Council, dated 18th December, 1874, and it will be seen by the reply of the Colonial Secretary that he was indulging the fallacious hope that the British Columbia difficulty had been finally settled.

"The Committee of Council have had under consideration the despatch of the Right Honorable Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, of November 17th, conveying a statement of the new terms with British Columbia, which, in his Lordship's opinion, may properly be laid down as fair and reasonable, concerning the construction of the Pacific Railway.

In the minute of July 23rd, the Government of the Dominion advised that his Lordship should be informed of their willingness to leave it to him to say whether the exertions of the Government, the diligence shown, and the offers made were or were not fair and just, and in accordance with the spirit of the original agreement, seeing it was impossible to comply with the letter of the terms of Union in this particular.

The conclusion at which his Lordship has arrived 'upholds,' as he remarks, in the main, and subject only to some modifications of detail, the policy adopted by this Government on this most embarrassing question.

The minute of Council of September 17th contained a statement of reasons showing why some of these modifications should not be pressed, but the Government, actuated by an anxious desire to remove all difficulties, expressed a willingness to make these further concessions rather than forego an immediate settlement of so irritating a question, as the concessions suggested might be made without involving a violation of the spirit of any Parliamentary resolution, or the letter of any enactment.

The Committee of Council respectfully request that your Excellency will be pleased to convey to Lord Carnarvon their warm appreciation of the kindness which led his Lordship to tender his good offices to effect a settlement of the matter in



dispute ; and also to assure his Lordship that every effort will be made to secure the realization of what is expected."

To this the Earl of Carnarvon replied as follows :

DOWNING STREET, *January 4, 1875.*

MY LORD,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 18th December, forwarding to me a copy of an Order of the Dominion Privy Council expressing the acknowledgments of the Government of Canada for the services which I have been fortunate enough to render in promoting the settlement of the differences which had arisen between British Columbia and the Government of the Dominion with respect to the construction of the Pacific Railway.

It has been with great pleasure that I have received this expression of their opinion. I sincerely rejoice to have been the means of bringing to a satisfactory conclusion a question of so much difficulty, of removing, as I trust, all ground of future misunderstanding between the Province of British Columbia and the Dominion, and of thus contributing towards the ultimate completion of a public work in which they, and indeed the whole Empire, are interested.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed,) CARNARVON.

Governor General The Right Honorable  
The Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B.  
&c., &c., &c.

The matter stood thus at the opening of the Dominion Parliament in February, 1875. The "Carnarvon Terms" had been accepted by both Governments, and it remained only to provide the necessary legislation to carry them out. It will be seen that this failed in the Dominion Senate ; and that the dissatisfaction which the Earl of Carnarvon had, to a limited extent only, been able to reduce, again rose to its former height. It would be worse than useless, except for historical purposes, to resuscitate the charge that British Columbia pressed with undue severity and ill-timed pertinacity the onerous and unreasonable conditions of Union, or the counter-charge that the Dominion Government was less than half-hearted in their desire to do justice to the Province, and was dishonorably attempting to evade the performance of the clear and undenied agreement on the faith of which the Province had yielded up her independence to the Dominion. The negotiations between Mr. Edgar and Mr. Walkem are not very creditable to the frankness of the Dominion Ministry, or to the temper of the Columbian Attorney General,—for on the one hand the Dominion Agent had really no power to bind his employers, and his mission partook therefore of a kind of " fishing " adventure offensive

to the Provincial Government,—while on the other, the abrupt conduct of Mr. Walkem was hardly compatible with the dignity of the representative of such an authority. There can be but little doubt that British Columbia, on the pressing invitation of Sir John Macdonald's Ministry, entered Confederation ; that her entrance was desired both by the Imperial and the Dominion Authorities, and that the terms of Union were such as could not be carried out to the letter ; but it is also tolerably clear that Mr. Mackenzie's Government did not shew a proper regard either for the pledged honor of the Dominion,—for the feelings of the Province, or for its interests. British Columbia did not at any period of the negotiations press for the fulfilment of the literal terms of Union. She was never unreasonable. Admitting that probably it was impossible to begin the actual work of the construction of the Pacific Railway within two years from the date of Union, she was content to extend the time to any reasonable period ;—admitting that it was practically impossible to complete the road within ten years, she was content that a longer time should be consumed, but she was naturally and properly indignant that but little effort was put forth by the Dominion Authorities to do anything whatever. The surveys were conducted with a languor quite incompatible with an honest desire speedily to carry out the well understood terms of Union, and the utterances of Mr. Mackenzie in Parliament were distinguished by a coldness too much in harmony with his inaction. To the Province the road was of supreme importance. Thousands had invested their capital, and planned their lives on the agreement to build it, made with a powerful Dominion, whose first duty should have been to keep faith. These had been grievously disappointed, and when they pressed their grievances they were met with a cold repulse, and were told that the bargain was improvident on the part of the Dominion, and could not therefore be carried out without serious inconvenience. This was really no answer, for an honest man will always keep his word, even to his detriment ; but the Province was too generous to insist on the “bond.” All she asked for was some evidence of a hearty desire to keep faith with her ; of the existence of this desire she found little proof in the words of Mr. Mackenzie, and less in his actions. Hence her well-grounded indignation. The Earl of Carnarvon did his utmost to shield the Dominion Government, and pacify the Provincial one. His award was received with respect by both parties, and had Mr. Mackenzie's Ministry carried



it out, the Province would probably have been completely pacified. In the interval between its promulgation and the unfortunate failure of Mr. Mackenzie's bill in the Senate, British Columbia preserved silence, hoping for justice during the ensuing session. It will soon be seen how her hope was blasted.

The Second Session of the third Parliament of the Dominion was opened on the 4th February, 1875.

The Speech from the Throne congratulated the House on the organization of the North-West Police Force, and the success of its operations. It announced the negotiation of a friendly treaty with the Crees and Sauteux of the North-West. It alluded to the tour of His Excellency, and informed the House that it had enabled him to form a better idea of the great extent of the comparatively well settled country, and of that which was still almost wholly undeveloped. He said he was everywhere received with the kindest welcome, and was much gratified in witnessing the enterprise, contentment, and loyalty manifested in every quarter. It intimated that a bill for the establishment of a Supreme Court would be laid before Parliament; that the attention of the House would be invited to the Insolvency laws; that measures would be submitted providing for the re-organization of the Government of the North-West, for a general Insurance Law, and on the subject of copyright. It declared that gratifying progress had been made in the surveys of the Pacific Railway route. It intimated that papers would be submitted on the North-West troubles, and also in reference to the regulations between the Dominion Government and that of British Columbia on the subject of the Pacific Railway, and the House was informed that steps had been taken during the recess for a combination of effort on the part of the several Provinces to promote immigration from Europe under the general direction of Dominion officials.

One of the first matters brought before the House was the Amnesty question. On the 11th February, Mr. Mackenzie, in a very temperate and judicious speech, after giving a complete history of the unfortunate North-West troubles, moved a long resolution which, after reciting the salient points of the difficulty, concluded by declaring:

"That in the opinion of this House it is not for the honor or interest of Canada that the question of amnesty should remain longer in its present shape.

That in the opinion of this House the facts developed in the said evidence\*

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\* Evidence taken before a Committee of the House.

cannot be ignored by the people or the Parliament of Canada, and must be considered in the expression of their views as to the disposition of the question.

That in the opinion of this House it would be proper, considering the said facts, that a full amnesty should be granted to all persons concerned in the North-West troubles for all acts committed by them during the said troubles, saving only L. Riel, A. D. Lepine and W. B. O'Donoghue.

That in the opinion of this House it would be proper, considering the said facts, that a like amnesty should be granted to L. Riel and A. D. Lepine, conditional on five years banishment from Her Majesty's Dominion."

These resolutions were after a warm debate carried on a vote of 126 to 50. This vexatious question was thus settled for the present. It will be seen that in 1877 O'Donoghue too was brought within the terms of the general amnesty. The settlement was satisfactory to the great masses of the people of the Dominion. Evil had been done by the malcontents of the North-West, but the people were willing to look at their conduct with a broad charity,—and it was impossible to deny that the course of the Dominion Government in taking possession of the country was hasty and inconsiderate,—the conduct of Mr. Macdougall intemperate and arbitrary, and that the natural feelings of a sensitive population had been unjustly hurt. The amnesty was demanded by every consideration of justice—omitting all consideration of feeling, and Mr. Mackenzie was but the interpreter of the enlightened opinion of the country when he introduced and carried through the House the Amnesty resolutions.

On the 15th February, Mr. Mackenzie intimated to the House the course he proposed to take with reference to the expulsion of Louis Riel, who was, at the moment, member for Provencher. He said that on Wednesday, the 10th February then instant, the final sentence of outlawry was pronounced in the Court of Queen's Bench in Manitoba, and upon the same day the formal record of the sentence was forwarded to the Secretary of State. He thought that the most convenient method would be to lay the sentence upon the table of the House, and to base upon it the motion for expulsion, as was done in the Imperial Parliament in the case of O'Donovan Rossa. In that case, he said, Mr. Gladstone first laid the judgment of the Court on the table, and then made his motion, in accordance with the fact that was established by the judgment, namely, that he had ceased to be qualified to be a member of the House. In this Sir John Macdonald concurred, adding that he had no doubt the course suggested would meet with the views of all those who thought Riel ought to be expelled. The



sentence of outlawry was accordingly laid on the table, on the 22nd February. On the 24th, Mr Mackenzie moved :

“ That it appears by the said record that Louis Riel, a member of this House, has been adjudged an outlaw for felony.”

Mr. J. Hillyard Cameron, Sir John Macdonald and others, contended, as a legal point, that by the laws of Canada, and the law prevailing in Manitoba, outlawry could not be declared. These gentlemen were quite willing to vote for the expulsion of Riel, but they objected to his being dealt with by a process which they argued was not recognized by the laws of the country ; and an amendment framed on this view was moved by Mr. Plumb, which was negatived on a vote of 146 to 24. Mr. Mackenzie's resolution was then carried on a vote of 138 to 31, and he then moved that a new writ for Provencher be issued, which was carried. Thus ended the Riel matter.

On the 19th March, Mr. Mackenzie introduced a bill entitled, “ An Act to provide for the construction of a line of railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, in British Columbia,” and he said that the necessity of the bill arose from the fact that the Dominion Government had agreed with the Government of British Columbia to build this road at the earliest possible date. This was the first step taken to carry out the “ Carnarvon Terms.” The bill was opposed by a minority of sixty-four, in which Mr. Blake was found. He repudiated the obligation to carry out the “ Carnarvon Terms,” and said :

“ In assenting to this bill, the House was practically endorsing those terms, and because he was not prepared to endorse those terms he was not prepared to assent to this bill.” \*

The bill passed on a division of ninety-one to sixty-four.

So far Mr. Mackenzie had acted in good faith, and had taken the earliest opportunity of taking an active step in carrying out the “ Carnarvon Terms.” But he was soon charged with duplicity. The bill went up to the Senate, and on the 6th April was defeated by a majority of two, and this majority contained Senators who had very recently been appointed by Mr. Mackenzie. He was instantly charged with having pre-arranged the defeat. This charge was too monstrous to be credited, and His Excellency took occasion, in his great speech at Victoria, in British Columbia, in September, 1876, to give it an emphatic and unqualified denial. But the broad facts remained, that the rights of the Province had been disregarded ; her wrongs remained

\* Hansard, 1875, page 957.

unadjusted ; the solemn treaty of 1871 had now for four years been a dead letter ; the second arrangement made under the auspices of the Earl of Carnarvon had fallen to the ground through the inability of Mr. Mackenzie to control the legislation of the Senate, and she found herself bound to the Union with not one of the conditions which induced her to join it, carried out. To say that she was indignant is a mild mode of expressing the deep sense of injury which rankled in the heart of every British Columbian ; but here the thread of her story must be dropped until it is taken up in the tour of His Excellency in the following year.

On the 31st March, Mr. Blake brought before the House a very important matter, affecting the principles of Constitutional or Responsible Government. He moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolutions :—

“That by the 56th clause of the British North America Act, 1867, it is in effect enacted that when the Governor General assents to a bill, in the Queen’s name, the Queen in Council may within two years after its receipt disallow such Act.

That by the 90th clause of the said statute it is enacted that the above provisions shall extend and apply to the Legislatures of the several Provinces, as if re-enacted with the substitution of the Lieutenant Governor for the Governor General, of the Governor General for the Queen, of one year for two years, and of the Province for Canada.

That in the opinion of this House the power of disallowance of Acts of a Local Legislature conferred by the said statute is thereunder vested in the Governor General in Council, and that His Excellency’s Ministers are responsible to Parliament for the action of the Governor General in exercising or abstaining from the exercise of the said power.

That by a letter dated the 13th December, 1872, the Registrar of the Privy Council of the United Kingdom conveyed to the Colonial Office the opinion of the Lord President of the Council, that the power of confirming or disallowing local Acts is under the said statute vested in the Governor General acting under the advice of his constitutional advisers.

That notwithstanding the premises, by a despatch dated 30th June, 1873, the Secretary for the Colonies, in response to an application from the Governor General for instructions on the subject, informed His Excellency that he was advised by the Law Officers of the Crown that the question of disallowance or allowance of local Acts is a matter in which His Excellency must act on his own individual discretion, and in which he cannot be guided by the advice of his responsible Ministers.

That this House feels bound, in assertion of the constitutional rights of the Canadian people, to record its protest against and dissent from the said instruction, and to declare its determination to hold His Excellency’s Ministers responsible for his actions in the exercise of the power so conferred by the said statute.”



In moving these resolutions Mr. Blake traced the history of the power of disallowance, and added :

“This instruction is that the question of disallowance is a matter in which His Excellency must act on his own individual discretion, and on which he could not be guided by the advice of his responsible Ministers. It appears to me that it is impossible such a doctrine can be maintained consistent with the spirit and letter of the Constitution. I am not here to deny for a moment that there is that portion of the executive power and authority in the Governor General that he may at any moment, in reference to any of those matters on which he is called upon to concur or disagree with his Ministers, take the responsibility of disagreeing, but what this House is called upon to say is that in this matter especially a grave mistake has been made. The Governor General has no such power. Under the British North America Act that power is vested in the Governor General in Council, and the Governor General cannot act on his own individual discretion. He cannot disallow except on the advice of his Ministers. \* \* \* \* The point here is that there is an assertion that the power lies with the Governor General of disallowing local Acts to be exercised by him individually, at his individual discretion, and in respect of which he cannot be guided by the voice of his responsible Ministers. I maintain that there is no such power. I maintain that the language which is contained in this instruction is of such a character that if it were acceded to by this Parliament it would be destructive of the principle of Responsible Government.”

This vigorous language was fully approved by Sir John Macdonald, who said :

“Since 1841 the principle of Responsible Government has prevailed in Canada, and although at first it was not always carried out, yet it was and is as firmly fixed in Canada as it is in the Mother Country, so far as is consistent with our relation to the paramount authority. That Responsible Government ought not to be infringed upon for a moment. It is the birth-right of many of us, as well as the right of those of us who lived before the doctrine was acceded to and established. There can be no doubt about that. The principle is affirmed in the preamble to the Confederation Act, where it is said that the Provinces have expressed a desire to be federally united with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom. Therefore the doctrine as laid down in the resolutions, and clearly enforced by the Hon. Member for South Bruce,\* cannot and ought not to be contravened, and any serious infraction of it would be strenuously resisted. The right of disallowance of any Act of a Colonial Legislature by the Queen herself, in her personal capacity and by virtue of her Royal Prerogative, separate from the advice of her advisers, has long since passed away. The American Revolution had pretty well settled that question. \* \* \* \* I must say that when the despatch which has been commented upon by the hon. gentleman arrived here it rather surprised me, it went infinitely further than I had any idea it would go, and I say at once that—the Minister who sent that despatch made a great error in constitutional law.”

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\* Mr. Blake, the mover of the resolutions.

After the expression of similar opinions by Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Cauchon, and Mr. Holton, the matter was allowed to drop. But Mr. Blake had obtained his object in placing the resolutions on the journals, and securing an expression of the unanimous opinion of the House in favor of the view he had taken of the question ; and as no expression of dissatisfaction at the course taken by Mr. Blake has issued from the Home office, it is presumed that the correctness of his views stands conceded by the Imperial authorities.

On the 23rd February, Mr. Fournier, the Minister of Justice, introduced the long promised Supreme Court Bill. Such a bill had been announced in the Speech from the Throne, on four different occasions, and Sir John Macdonald had framed one before his Ministry resigned, from which Mr. Fournier had drawn valuable assistance in the preparation of his measure.

The bill was read the second time on the 16th March, and was brought up for the third reading on the 30th March. It met with no serious opposition. One clause gave rise, however, to a strong remonstrance from Sir John Macdonald. It was moved by Mr. Irving, one of the members for the City of Hamilton, and seconded by Mr. Laflamme, subsequently Minister of Justice :

“ That the bill be referred back to the Committee of the Whole, with instructions to insert the following section : ‘ The judgment of the Supreme Court shall in all cases be final and conclusive, and no error or appeal shall be brought from any judgment or order of the Supreme Court to any Court of Appeal established by the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, to which appeals or petitions to Her Majesty in Council may be ordered to be heard, saving any right which Her Majesty may be graciously pleased to exercise as her Royal Prerogative.’ ”

Mr. Fournier accepted the amendment, but Sir John Macdonald said :

“ It was the first step towards the severance of the Dominion from the Mother Country. He might add that it almost, if not quite insured the disallowance of the bill in England. The Minister of Justice, by assenting to this amendment, defeated his measure. He would find that within six months it would be thrown aside in disgrace.”\*

This result, however, did not follow. The Bill was not disallowed, and the amendment is now the 47th clause of the Act establishing the Supreme Court,—38 Vic., cap. 11.

On the 11th March, Mr. Mackenzie introduced a bill providing for the establishment of a new Government for the North-West

\* Hansard, 1875, page 976.



Territories, extending from the Western boundary of Manitoba to the Rocky Mountains. The seat of Government was fixed at Fort Pelly. The Executive was to consist of a Lieutenant Governor and five Councillors, of whom three were to be stipendiary magistrates to be appointed by the Governor in Council.

The session closed on the 8th April. With the exception of the matters to which especial reference has been made, its work was not very important. There was little to divide the parties. The Ministry was very strong, and the machinery of Government went smoothly on. When we reflect on the indecent modes by which the warfare on the late Government had been carried on, and the crooked ways by which its ruin had been compassed, a meed of praise cannot be withheld from Sir John Macdonald for the forbearance exhibited by him towards men who had then forgotten that they claimed for themselves the title of "gentlemen," and for his courteous bearing in supporting, and rendering valuable assistance in perfecting, many measures of the Ministry. Although leading a minority, it was powerful in ability and more than respectable in numbers,—and yet he did not attempt to use its power for mere party purposes, or to imitate his opponents in their obstructive tactics when in opposition. He rendered the Government important assistance in shaping the Supreme Court Bill—a most difficult piece of work ; in the discussions on the North-West Bill and the Insolvency Bill, and gave them no trouble on the delicate Riel, Lepine, and Amnesty questions.

From the period of the return of their Excellencies from their Ontario tour to the end of the Session their hospitality in Ottawa was unbounded. Balls, concerts, skating parties, curling parties, tobogganing, and other kindred recreations were the order of the season. His Excellency made it a rule to receive at Rideau Hall the high officials of the Government, the legal and ecclesiastical dignitaries, senators and members of Parliament, and others, whose official or social position rendered them fitting objects of this kind of recognition. Besides these entertainments, a system of "At Homes" was organized, by which those invited might enjoy the refining society always to be met at Government House.

In carrying out these plans for rendering Rideau Hall a fountain whence flowed the refining influences of its polished manners throughout the Dominion, their Excellencies were warmly and with exceptional ability supported by the ladies and gentlemen whose residence in Ottawa had been determined by their connection with the depart-

mental and other services of the Government, as well as by the old residents of the city. It may be allowed to glance at the names of those who so gracefully placed themselves under the guidance of the Earl and Countess of Dufferin in working out these entertainments. How can the brilliant F. A. Dixon be sufficiently thanked for the original plays which formed so marked a feature in the recreations of Rideau Hall? In rendering the beautiful librettos and operattos, composed by this accomplished gentlemen, hundreds of the readers of these lines will recall with pleasure the excellent performances of Mr. E. Kimber, the Usher of the Black Rod; of Mr. F. Hamilton, A.D.C.; of Capt. Featherstonhaugh, R.E.; of Mr. C. B. Brodie; of Mrs. Stuart; of Miss F. Fellowes; of Capt. Ward, A.D.C.; of Col. Stuart; of Miss A. Himsworth; of Miss Hamilton; of Mrs. Anglin; of Miss A. Kimber; of Mr. J. H. Plummer; of Mr. E. Gingras; of Mr. P. B. Douglas; of Mrs. P. B. Shepherd; of Mrs. Forrest; of Mrs. More; of Mrs. Corbett; of Miss Powell; of Miss Thompson; of Mrs. Poetter; of Mr. W. A. Blackmore; of Mr. F. Dore; of Mr. H. G. Dunlevie; of Mr. G. Cochrane; of Mr. W. R. Major; of Mr. Sidney Smith; of Miss K. Hamilton. The *Tableaux Vivants* will not speedily be forgotten, in which were conspicuous Capt. Ward, Capt. Hamilton, the Hon. Terence Blackwood, Viscount Clandeboye, Mr. Fletcher, Lady Helen Blackwood, Lady Hermione Blackwood; Hon. Basil Blackwood, Mdlle. Florestine Halon, Miss Fletcher, Miss Edith Fletcher, Mr. Herbert Fletcher, Miss Muriel Fletcher, and Lady Victoria Blackwood.\*

On the 11th May, 1875, their Excellencies left Ottawa on a visit to England and Ireland. A guard of honor from the Foot Guards was in attendance, and their Excellencies were heartily cheered by a large concourse of people as the train moved away.

As their visit was essentially a private one, the only events to which allusion can be made are the dinner given to His Excellency by the Canada Club in London, and the reception of their Excellencies at the family estate of Clandeboye, County Down.

The Canada Club having invited Lord Dufferin to dine with them, he was entertained at the Albion on the 8th July, 1875. Mr. G. Brookney was Chairman, and Mr. Charles Churchill, Vice-President;

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\* The children of their Excellencies now living are, in the order of their ages, as follows: Archibald, Viscount Clandeboye, Lady Helen Blackwood, Terence John Temple Blackwood, Hermione Blackwood, Basil Temple Blackwood, Victoria Blackwood, and Frederick Temple Blackwood.



and the company included the Duke of Manchester, the Earl of Kimberley, Lord Lisgar, Mr. Goschen, M.P., Mr. Childers, M.P., Sir Clinton Murdoch, K.C.M.G., Lieutenant General Sir Hastings Doyle, Admiral Fanshawe, Chief Justice Begbie (British Columbia), Mr. Wm. Smith, Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Ottawa; Sir Francis Hincks, C.B., K.C.M.G., Sir John Rose, K.C.M.G., Viscount Bury, Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., Mr. Law, M.P., Sir E. Watkin, M.P., Mr. E. Jenkins, M.P., Mr. Kirkman Hodgson, M.P., Mr. M. Biddulph, M.P., with many others. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. J. Lowther, M.P., Under Secretary for the Colonies, and Mr. A. Mackenzie, the Premier of Canada, who had accepted invitations, were unable to be present.

After dinner the loyal and patriotic toasts were cordially drunk.

Sir Hastings Doyle spoke on behalf of the Army, Admiral Fanshawe for the Navy, and Lieut. Col. Oxley for the Auxiliary Forces.

The next toast, that of the Houses of Parliament, was briefly acknowledged by the Duke of Manchester and Mr. W. H. Smith.

In proposing the toast of the evening, "The Health of the Governor General of Canada, and Prosperity to the Dominion," the Chairman expressed the opinion that a more successful administration than His Excellency's had seldom been witnessed in that part of the Empire.

After the company had responded enthusiastically to the toast, the Earl of Dufferin said :

"In rising to return thanks for the honor which has been done me by this splendid entertainment, and for the kind and cordial manner in which my health has been received, I hope it will be understood that, however deeply I may feel the compliment thus paid to me—and words would fail to express all that I experience on this score—my personal gratitude and satisfaction is absorbed and lost in the prouder consciousness that this brilliant assembly and the distinguished men I see around me are met, not so much for the purpose of extending a welcome to a mere individual like myself, but that they have been brought together by the desire to pay a tribute of respect to the great Dominion over which I have the honor to preside, and to testify their sympathy in the most marked and generous manner with that noble community, their kinsmen and fellow citizens, who on the other side of the Atlantic are engaged in building up a nationality cognate to their own, instinct with the same high spirit of constitutional freedom, and determined to prove itself a powerful and worthy member of the British Empire. (Cheers.) My lords and gentlemen, it is this consideration alone which can give importance and significance to the demonstration of to-night, and to proceedings which will be scanned and discussed with unspeakable pride and pleasure by thousands of your fellow subjects in their distant Canadian home (hear, hear,)—for if there is one predilection more marked than another in the Canadian people, if there is one passion—if I may so

call it—which predominates over every other feeling in their breasts, if there is one especial message which a person in my situation is bound to transmit from them to you, it is this—that they desire to maintain intact and unimpaired their connection with this country, that they cherish an ineradicable conviction of the pre-eminent value of the political system under which they live, and that they are determined to preserve pure and uncontaminated all the traditional characteristics of England's prosperous polity. (Cheers.) It would be impossible to overstate the universality, the force, the depth of this sentiment, and proud am I to think that an assemblage so representative of the public opinion of this country as that which I see around me, should have met together to reciprocate it and to do it justice. (Hear, hear.) But, my lords and gentlemen, I should be conveying to you a very wrong impression if I gave you to understand that the enthusiastic loyalty of the Canadian people to the Crown and person of our gracious Sovereign, their tender and almost yearning love for the Mother Country, the desire to claim their part in the future fortunes of the British Empire, and to sustain all the obligations such a position may imply, was born of any weak or unworthy spirit of dependence. So far from that being the case, no characteristic of the national feeling is more strongly marked than their exuberant confidence in their ability to shape their own destinies to their appointed issues, their jealous pride of the legislative autonomy with which they have been endowed, and their patriotic and personal devotion to the land within whose ample bosom they have been nurtured, and which they justly regard as more largely dowered with all that can endear a country to its sons than any other in the world. (Cheers.) And I assure you this intense affection for 'this Canada of ours,' as we lovingly call her, can surprise no one who has traversed her picturesque and fertile territories, where mountain, plain, valley, river, lake and forest, prairie and table-land, alternately invite, by their extraordinary magnificence and extent, the wonder and the admiration of the traveller. (Cheers.) And yet, however captivating may be the sights of beauty thus prepared by the hands of Nature, they are infinitely enhanced by the contemplation of all that man is doing to turn to their best advantage the gifts thus placed within his reach. In every direction you see human industry and human energy digging deep the foundations, spreading out the lines, and marking the inviolable boundaries upon and within which one of the most intelligent and happiest of offshoots of the English race is destined to develop into a proud and great nation. The very atmosphere seems impregnated with the exhilarating spirit of enterprise, contentment and hope. The sights and sounds which caressed the senses of the Trojan wanderer in Dido's Carthage are repeated and multiplied in a thousand different localities in Canada, where flourishing cities, towns and villages are rising in every direction with the rapidity of a fairy tale. And better still, *pari passu* with the development of these material evidences of wealth and happiness, is to be observed the growth of political wisdom, experience, and ability, perfectly capable of coping with the various difficult problems which from time to time are presented in a country where new conditions foreign to European experience and complications arising out of ethnological and geographical circumstances are constantly requiring the application and intervention of a statesmanship of the



highest order. And here, perhaps, I may be permitted to remark on the extraordinary ability and intelligence with which the French portion of Her Majesty's subjects in Canada join with their British fellow-countrymen in working and developing the constitutional privileges with which, thanks to the initiative they were the first to take, their country has been endowed. Our French fellow-countrymen are, in fact, more parliamentary than the English themselves, and in the various fortunes of the colony there have never been wanting French statesmen of eminence to claim an equal share with their British colleagues in shaping the history of the Dominion. Whatever may be the case elsewhere, in Canada, at all events, the French race has learnt the golden rule of moderation, and the necessity of arriving at practical results by the occasional sacrifice of logical symmetry, and the settlement of disputes in the spirit of a generous compromise. (Cheers.) The fruit of this happy state of things is observable in the fact that nowhere do those differences of opinion, which divide the religious world of every country, separate the Canadian nation either into religious or ethnological factions. Religion and race are, of course, observable forces within our body politic; but as far as I have remarked the divisions of party are perpendicular rather than horizontal, and in a country or borough election, as often as not, Catholic will be found voting against Catholic, Orangeman against Orangeman, Frenchman against Frenchman, and, what will perhaps cause less surprise, Irishman against Irishman. In fact, it is made a matter of complaint by many persons that the considerations which regulate and determine the allegiance of the people to their several political leaders have become effete and meaningless traditions, unrepresentative of any living or vital policy which distinguishes the administrative programme of the one party from that of the other. If this is so, it is perhaps to be accounted for by the fact that our political system is so free from those complications which attach themselves to an older civilization; we are so little harassed by embarrassments contracted in the past; each individual enjoys such ample space and verge within which to exercise his energies and develop his idiosyncrasies; there is so little friction between either the units or the classes which compose our community; and the machinery of Government works in so free an atmosphere, that the development of our policy is more akin to natural growth than artificial training, and affords, consequently, fewer opportunities for the exhibition of conflicting political theories than is the case elsewhere. Still, I must confess, as the constitutional head of the State, and dependent, consequently, for my guidance upon the advice of Parliamentary chiefs, I should feel extremely uneasy unless I knew their conduct was carefully watched by a well-organized, well-disciplined, and, if I may so call it, professional opposition. (Hear, hear.) Nor am I ever more likely to be able to give my entire confidence to my Ministers than when I find their conduct and measures have been able to stand the test of an incisive criticism applied by their political competitors for office. A Governor General is bound, of course, to regard his Ministers as true metal, but he is never better able to do so than when they come well refined out of the Parliamentary fire; and, my lords and gentlemen, this is doubly the case when one is able to feel—and I am happy to say I have always been able to feel—the most unlimited confidence in the integrity and wisdom of the Parliament of the country whose affairs I administer. As long as one can feel certain that not only the material interests, but,

what is of more importance, the honor and reputation of the country can be safely trusted to its Parliament, then there is no situation in the world happier than that of a constitutional ruler. No Eastern despot or European autocrat can feel anything approaching to the satisfaction with which he watches the march of those events upon the happy and fortunate issue of which so much of his own peace and reputation must depend. And I am certain there have never been any individuals who have had greater cause and opportunities for appreciating these characteristics of a popular assembly than those persons who, like my predecessors and myself, have had the good fortune to preside over the free Dominion of Canada. (Cheers.) And, my lords and gentlemen, these circumstances to which I have briefly alluded are, I am happy to say, continually receiving a more marked recognition at the hands, not merely of the people in this country, but, what is even of greater importance, at those of the inhabitants of the United States. Nothing, in fact, can be more friendly than the relations and feelings which prevail between the Canadian people and their neighbors across the frontier. Whatever may have been the case in former times, every thoughtful citizen of the United States is now convinced that the fate of Canada has been unalterably fixed and determined, and that she is destined to move within her own separate and individual orbit. So far from regarding this with jealousy, the public of the United States contemplates with a generous enthusiasm the daily progress of Canada's prosperous career. In fact, they are wise enough to understand that it is infinitely to the advantage of the human race that the depressing monotony of political thought on the American continent should be varied and enlivened by the development of a political system akin to, yet diverse from their own, productive of a friendly emulation, and offering many points of contrast and comparison, which they already begin to feel they can study with advantage. (Cheers.) My lords and gentlemen, I have to apologize for having detained you at so great a length, but before I sit down I cannot help expressing my deep obligation to the gentleman who proposed my health, for the kindly and friendly terms in which he has been good enough to allude to me as an individual. In reply I can only assure him that the recognition thus accorded to my humble efforts to do my duty will only prove a fresh incitement to me to continue in that course which has merited his approval. I have no higher ambition in the world than that of being able faithfully to serve my Sovereign in the high station in which She has placed me, worthily to maintain in Her beautiful Dominion the honor and the dignity of the Crown, to imitate as closely as may be Her noble example in the discharge of my Vice-regal duties, and to obtain the confidence of the Canadian people by my devotion to their service, and by the impartial exercise of those constitutional functions which attach to my high office. (Cheers.) If to love a country with one's whole heart, to feel that in each one of its inhabitants one possesses a personal friend, to believe in its future as implicitly as any one of its most sanguine sons, to take a pride in everything which belongs to it—its scenery, climate, its physical and moral characteristics, the idiosyncracies of its people, nay their very sports and pastimes—be any test of loyalty to its interests, then I feel my devotion to Canada can never be called in question. (Cheers.) My only regret is that my ability and talents should not be commensurate with the desire by which I am possessed of rendering it effectual service.



Happily, however, its present condition, the fortunate consummation of all those aspirations which under the auspices of one of my predecessors have been crowned by Confederation, and the satisfactory impulse given to its young life by the wise administration of another, have superinduced so halcyon an epoch as to have rendered it a comparatively easy task for a successor of less eminence and experience than theirs to carry on the task which they so happily inaugurated. If, therefore, at the end of the next three years, I shall be able to complete my term under the same happy circumstances which have hitherto characterized its duration ; if I can carry with me home to England the consciousness that the people of Canada regard me as having been a faithful, loving, and a devoted servant to the Dominion ; if, at the same time, I am fortunate enough to have merited the approval of my Sovereign and countrymen at home, I shall consider few public servants will have ever reaped so honorable and so dearly prized a reward." (Loud cheers.)

His Excellency's speech at the Toronto Club excited great interest in Great Britain, and called forth an expression of feeling as valuable as it was complimentary to Canada. Canadians had been mortified to find that their ardent love of the Mother Country had been but coldly reciprocated by many of the leading minds of England, but the British Press were so unanimous in the expression of a kindly interest in the noble North American possessions, evoked by Lord Dufferin's speech in Toronto, that this feeling of mortification was now greatly modified. In Great Britain, new ideas, new hopes, and an extended information of Canada had been created by His Excellency's utterances, but the Canada Club address took her people by storm. The sound of his voice from Toronto fell with a mellowed cadence on the distant shores of Britain, but his manly, firm and dignified exultation in being the ruler of so magnificent a domain as Canada, expressed in this speech, passed like an electric shock through the British heart. His words were uttered in the very centre of British power, in the presence of the leading men of the Empire. He stood face to face with the rulers of the greatest country in existence, and in words of burning eloquence thundered into their ears that in the Dominion of Canada they possessed a child, splendid in beauty, and marvellous in physical and intellectual strength, whom they might be proud to exhibit to the nations of the world. He made no uncertain sound. Distance did not soften the inflection of his voice, or deaden the effect of the almost passionate words in which he set forth the claims of Canada to the highest position in the hearts of the British people. He painted in colors as beautiful to the eye as they were true to nature the strong attachment of the Colony to the parent

State. His tours through the Provinces had enabled him to speak with an authority which no one could question, and his warm admiration of what he had seen with his own eyes, and heard with his own ears, burst forth in a strain of commendation of a people who had imposed on him the duty of bearing across the ocean, their declaration of unswerving loyalty to the British Crown, of their ardent desire to remain a sharer of its glories, and of their firm resolve to prove to the world that they fully understood the blessings of Constitutional Government, and the benefit of a close connection with the great country which hundreds of thousands delighted to speak of as "Home," though many knew it only by tradition. But, while Lord Dufferin stood before the British people, and was showing by every word he uttered, and by every intonation of his voice, that he was exulting in being the representative of so noble a country, and that he knew he held their deepest affections, he also felt that he was representing a loyalty which was absolutely free from the contamination of selfishness or subserviency. He well unfolded the Canadian heart when he proclaimed that it gloried in an unhesitating confidence in itself; that it was bounding forward to a splendid future and that its progress to renown, among the nations of the world, would be the result of its integrity, its industry, and its of indomitable perseverance. He forced on the English mind the great dominant idea which every Canadian commissioned him to proclaim, that while Canada was permeated to her heart's core by admiration and love of England, no people on the face of the earth had a more unhesitating reliance on their own resources, a more thorough independence of all foreign interference, or a more unshaken confidence in the greatness of their future. He scattered to the winds the insinuations of a school in Great Britain, that the loyalty of Canada was one merely of interest, and proudly declared that while she was jealous of her position as an honored dependent, and ardently desired to participate in the glories of England's career, she would be ever ready to bear her share of England's burdens and dangers. It is no matter of surprise that Canadians have an affection for Lord Dufferin, which no former ruler ever inspired, when he gave utterance to these feeling words, "And I assure you, this intense affection for 'this Canada of ours,' as we lovingly call her, can surprise no one who has traversed her picturesque and fertile territories, where mountain, plain and valley, river, lake, and forest, prairie and table-land alternately invite, by their extraordinary magnifi-



cence and extent, the wonder and admiration of the traveller." But Lord Dufferin, though an enthusiastic lover of the beauties of nature, was too close an observer, and too astute a statesman, to base his estimate of Canada on her scenery. He had visited, and personally inspected almost every centre of industry; he had explored her mines of gold, silver, copper, and coal; he had inspected her inexhaustible supplies of salt and oil; he had seen a country from whose very surface was bursting forth invaluable phosphates in quantities practically illimitable; he had been astonished by the wonders of the timber supply of the Ottawa Valley; he had seen rich lands teeming with the treasures of abundant harvests; he had been carried swiftly and safely over thousands of miles of railways; his sight had been almost dazed by the vast shipping of the young Dominion, he had seen restless activity, untiring industry, prosperous contentment, and peaceful life in every city and town, in every homestead and hamlet of the country. To use his own expressive phrase, "The very atmosphere seems impregnated with the exhilarating spirit of enterprise, contentment and hope." But he was called on to listen to other sounds than the noise of machinery, and the buzz of an industrious population. He was led to the noble schools of Canada, and was delighted to inspect the working of a system of national education which Canadians are proud to exhibit as unsurpassed in any portion of the globe. He had mixed with the public men of the country, and had ascertained, from a personal canvass, the tone and depth of the political feelings of the people, and he was able to announce to his wondering audience that in Canada would be found a population deeply imbued with political wisdom, and able to frame and perfect a system of internal economy and political life, unassisted by foreign experience. There is one phase of His Excellency's character which Canadians will always look upon as of exceptional value. He was ever ready and anxious to render more pleasant and cordial the relations between the two great races and the two great religions of the Dominion. His words were always words of gentleness, his policy one of mutual concession, and a kindly consideration for the opinions of others. His allusions, in this great speech, to the French race and the Roman Catholic religion, were words of gold, which have endeared him to every French heart and every Roman Catholic mind, while they have won for him the sincere respect and admiration of the Protestant population.

There runs through the speech the golden thread by which Lord Dufferin has guided his public life in Canada. His thorough appreciation of the beauties of Constitutional Government and his great admiration of the personal qualities of Her Majesty have been his guiding stars. To nurse the growth of a constitution similar to that of Great Britain, and to rule by the principles of that constitution, and by the affections of the people formed the basis of his political and social policy. No Governor General ever rose so nearly to the height attained by Her Majesty in working out the principle of a pure, constitutional system of Government, and none ever before attempted to win the hearts of the ruled by those affectionate kindnesses and personal grace which are so captivating in his great Mistress. The people of England were emphatically told that His Excellency in Canada was but Her counterpart in the unwavering loyalty of the Executive to the Ministry of the day; and Lord Dufferin glowed with an honest pride when, after announcing his unlimited confidence in the integrity and wisdom of the Canadian Parliament, he declared that no eastern despot or European autocrat could feel anything approaching to the satisfaction with which he watched the march of events, upon the happy and fortunate issue of which so much of his own peace and reputation depended. His Excellency was too modest to say, what must be said for him, that in the great work of securing, to a degree second only to that secured by Her Majesty herself, the affections of the Canadian people, he had received an assistance from the Countess of Dufferin so valuable and so important that it may safely, and without any disparagement to him, be said, that without it his success would have been but partial. If he personated Her Majesty in her political character, Lady Dufferin was also Her personator in the graceful amenities of social life, and in that noble spirit of kindness which alleviated the sufferings and extended sympathies to the poverty stricken in their cheerless homes and to the struggling emigrant in the dreary back woods,

His Excellency did Canada a kindness by paying to her neighbors the fitting compliment that, as the Dominion had taken a new position among the political organizations of the world, all intelligent Americans were now willing to recognize that position, and to hold out the hand of friendship to their young and robust companion. And yet with a quiet confidence in the excellence of the Canadian system of Government, and an almost humorous hint to American self-satisfac-



tion, he intimates that Canada offers many points of contrast and comparison which our American cousins already begin to feel they may study with advantage.\*

On the 28th July, 1875, their Excellencies arrived at Belfast on their way to Clondeboye. They were met and escorted to the station by W. R. Ancketill, Esq., J.P., Chairman of the Railway Company, and T. C. Haines, Esq., the Manager. The train soon reached Clondeboye, where its arrival was awaited by a large concourse of persons, anxious to give a hearty welcome to the noble and gifted lord of the soil. The handsome railway station was profusely decked with flags, prominent among which was one bearing the arms of the Dufferin family, and another on which were displayed the words "Welcome to Clondeboye." The turrets surmounting the walls of the courtyard adjoining were gaily adorned with banners, and some of the adjacent farm houses were also "dressed" for the occasion. A representative deputation of the tenantry was in attendance to present an address to the Earl on his arrival back for a brief period amongst them. It consisted of the following gentlemen :—Rev. John Quartz, Ballygilbert ; Messrs. James Rankin, William Crickard, William Shaw, Drumkirk ; Andrew Finlay, Hugh Nelson, Wm. McKee, Robert Gibson, Wm. McWha, Ballymullan ; Robert J. Bell, Ballywooley ; Andrew Patton, Patrick Moffat, Hugh McKee, Andrew Wightman, Ballygrott ; John Stewart, Wm. Trotter, John Moorhead, John Mus-

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\* The following quotation from a leading English journal of the day will be a fitting conclusion to this notice of one of Lord Dufferin's "Great" Speeches : "Fortunate is the nation which can find officers of this noble type. How different is the conception of a Governor here painted from that suggested by Sir George Grey, on which we lately commented. Such a man as Lord Dufferin, animated with the loftiest idea of statesmanship, and familiar with the teachings of experience, makes England known to Canada and Canada known to England with a depth and thoroughness that no mere deputy from a colony can possibly attain to. There is a reality in the relation procurable by no other means. No one can doubt that Canada, when she reads the report of what passed at this gathering, will heartily recognize Lord Dufferin to be her own representative. No native-born Canadian could be more entirely Canadian ; and if this is so, nothing can bring home the conviction more vividly to the minds of the whole world that England and Canada are one nation. A Governor, thoroughly penetrated with the Constitutional spirit, with sincere respect for the self-government of his Province—proud of his position, and accounting its glory to be in the possession of the Colony's confidence, is the best of gifts which the centre of an Empire can bestow on any Colony."

grove, Ballygilbert; Robert Finlay, John Kennedy, John Gelston, James Wright, Samuel Wright, R. Crawford, H. Moore, John Millar, T. Jameson, J. Jameson, J. Cloakey, Ballysallagh. There were also present Sir Thomas McClure, Bart., V.L.; John Sharman Crawford, Esq., D.L.; Dr. Thompson, Bangor; J. L. Pattison, Private Secretary, and Mortimer Thompson, Esq., J.P., agent to His Excellency. A large number of ladies were in attendance, and a pleasant feature in the proceedings were the children of the Ballymullan National School, who, in neat attire, were drawn up in procession on the platform. The exchange of courtesies and congratulations over, the Rev. Mr. Quartz read an address from the tenants on the Clandeboye estate. In reply, His Excellency after a few preliminary remarks, said:

“I am very grateful to you for the kind expressions which you have used in regard to my endeavors to do my duty by my Queen and Country in that great Dominion over which I have the honor to preside. And perhaps it would not be inappropriate to the present occasion that I should tell you that amongst the many pleasures I have had in administering the affairs of its government, and in visiting its various districts, few have been greater than that which I have experienced from meeting in almost every part of the country Irishmen from different parts of Ireland, all of them united by common sympathy of loyalty to the Queen,—all of them animated by a spirit of happiness and contentment,—and all of them engaged in a prosperous and fortunate career. But amongst those Irishmen, I am happy to say, the most prosperous, the most contented, and the most fortunate have been persons who have been connected with this locality, and who do equal honor to the country which they have adopted, and the district from which they have taken their origin. When I visited Fredericton, the Capital of New Brunswick, the Lieutenant Governor proposed to me to visit what he said was one of the most remarkable instances of how intelligence and industry can create a paradise in a desert. We drove a few miles out, and presently we came to a beautiful little village in the centre of which stood a magnificent church. Beside the church was a schoolhouse,—beyond the schoolhouse was a mansion almost as large and as splendid as Clandeboye itself: in the neighborhood were villas, and, further on again beyond them were comfortable cottages for the superintendents, skilled workmen, and artisans belonging to this great establishment. The owner had taken a lease from the Government of 2 or 300,000 acres of forest; he had cut down the trees, made dams, constructed weirs; he had cleared the country, and had created, I might say, a large extent of arable land, and *pari passu* with his increasing prosperity, he had devoted his wealth and intelligence to promote the happiness of those to whose labor and industry he was so much indebted for his own advancement. He was very glad to receive me, and introduced me to his mother, and I then found that this good old lady had originally come from Clandeboye; that this gentleman himself had, I believe, been a tenant of my neighbor, Mr. Sharman Crawford, and I spent an hour with them, giving an account of their



grand nieces, and grand nephews, and their various other relations. Again, when I went up to Lake Superior, I was taken to see a very remarkable undertaking, a silver mine, the shaft of which has been sunk in a small island, not much bigger, originally, than a dining room table; but, in order to prosecute their enterprise, the company had been compelled to create, as it were, a Venice in the waters of Lake Superior. They have built a small city upon piles, and they are now in the course of conducting one of the most successful enterprises upon the American continent. At the head of that enterprise, I was extremely pleased to find a well known Killyleagh man. These are but a few instances of many others which I could enumerate, but I thought I could not make a more opportune communication than by giving you those instances of the manner in which County Down men, wherever they find themselves in any part of the world, seem invariably to fall upon their legs, and go to the top of the tree."

After spending a short time at Clandeboye, their Excellencies returned to Canada, and arrived at Ottawa on the 23rd October, accompanied by Sir G. Bowen, of Australia, General O'Grady Haly and Capt. Haly. They were met at the station by the Foot Guards and several thousand citizens, who gave them an enthusiastic reception. Mayor Featherstone, on behalf of the citizens of Ottawa, presented His Excellency with an address, congratulating him on the return of himself and the Countess of Dufferin, and warmly thanking him for his noble utterances in England, by which Canada had been so prominently and favorably brought before the notice of the British people. His Excellency, in alluding to these, modestly said that, however unimportant and casual his observations may have been in themselves, the unexpected attention they received in the Mother Country was an additional proof, if proof were needed, of the growing interest our fellow citizens across the Atlantic took in all we were doing in Canada, and he added the important statement:

"In this respect a very remarkable change is to be observed during the past few years; in fact, the admirable success which has attended the consolidation of the North American Provinces into a great Dominion; the rapidity with which you are developing your resources, extending your trades, and multiplying your fleets; the energetic manner in which Canada is asserting her title as a self-governing community to the respect and observance of her friends and neighbors, has evoked in a most satisfactory manner the pride and stimulated the sympathies of those who have the right to regard you as one of themselves, as identified with their future destinies, and as associated with them in the glorious task of enlarging the confines, maintaining the dignity and enhancing the prestige of the British Empire."

On the 8th October, 1875, the Supreme Court Judges were appointed. The Hon. William Buell Richards,\* Ontario, Chief Justice,

\* Knighted in 1877.

and the Hon. William Johnston Ritchie, New Brunswick ; the Hon. Samuel Henry Strong, Ontario ; the Hon. Jean Thomas Taschereau, Quebec ; the Hon. Téléphore Fournier, Quebec, and the Hon. William Alexander Henry, Nova Scotia, Puisné Judges. The Chief Justice was sworn in on the day of his appointment. On the 8th November, the Puisné Judges were sworn in before the Chief Justice.

His Excellency, impressed with the importance of the new Court, determined to pay to it all the honor in his power, and he therefore issued cards for a state dinner at Government House, on the 18th November. The seats at the head of the table were occupied by His Excellency and the Countess of Dufferin, the Hon. Mrs. Littleton, the Chief Justice, and the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Bishop of Ontario, and the Ministers present. The guests invited were: The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, Mr. Justice Ritchie, Mr. Justice Strong, Mr. Justice Taschereau, Mr. Justice Fournier, and Mr. Justice Henry ; the Lieutenant Governors of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island ; the Bishops of Ontario and Ottawa ; the Hon. A. Mackenzie, the Hon. E. Blake, the Hon. A. J. Smith, the Hon. R. J. Cartwright, the Hon. Mr. Letellier de St. Just, the Hon. D. Laird, the Hon. L. S. Huntington, the Hon. J. Burpee, the Hon. T. Coffin, the Hon. R. W. Scott, the Hon. F. Geoffrion, the Hon. W. B. Vail ; the Speaker of the Senate ; the President of the Court of Error and Appeal of Ontario ; the Chancellor of Ontario ; the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Ontario ; the Chief Justices of the Superior Courts of Quebec, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island ; the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty of Quebec ; the Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B., P.C. ; Hon. Sir Alexander T. Galt, K.C.M.G., P.C. ; Hon. Wm. Macdougall, C.B., P.C. ; Hon. Wm. P. Howland, C.B., P.C. ; Hon. Peter Mitchell, P.C. ; Hon. A. Campbell, P.C. ; Hon. L. H. Langevin, P.C. ; Hon. J. C. Chapais, P.C. ; Hon. Sir Edward Kenny, Knt., P.C. ; Hon. Sir Francis Hincks, K.C.M.G., C.B., P.C. ; Hon. C. Dunkin, P.C. ; Hon. J. C. Aikins, P.C. ; Hon. Charles Tupper, C.B., P.C. ; Hon. J. H. Pope, P.C. ; Hon. John O'Connor, P.C. ; Hon. T. Robitaille, P.C. ; Hon. T. N. Gibbs, P.C. ; Hon. Hugh McDonald, P.C. ; Hon. W. Ross, P.C. ; Major General Selby Smyth ; the Hon. Senator Skead ; the Hon. Senator Penny ; the Speaker of the House of Commons ; Mr. J. M. Currier, M.P. ; Mr. P. St. Jean, M.P. ; Mr. Alonzo Wright, M.P. ; Mr. W. F. Brouse,



M.P. ; Mr. R. Blackburn, M.P. ; Mr. J. Rochester, M.P. ; Mr. F. Ferguson, M.P. ; the Hon. Boucher de Boucherville, Premier, Quebec ; Hon. G. E. King, Premier, New Brunswick ; Hon. P. C. Hill, Premier, Nova Scotia ; Hon. H. Annand, Ex-Premier of Nova Scotia ; Hon. O. Mowat, Premier, Ontario ; Hon. L. C. Owen, Premier, Prince Edward Island ; Lieut. Colonel Chamberlin, C.M.G. ; the Judge of the County Court of the County of Carleton ; the Junior Judge ; the Sheriff of the same County ; the Clerk of the Privy Council ; the Deputy Post Master General ; the Deputy Minister of the Interior ; the Auditor General ; the Deputy Minister of Public Works ; the Adjutant General of Militia ; the Clerk of the Senate ; Mr. Alfred Patrick, the Clerk of the House of Commons ; the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod : the Very Rev. the Vicar General of Ottawa ; the Venerable Dr. Lauder, Archdeacon of Ottawa ; the Rev. T. D. Foley ; the Rev. D. M. Gordon ; the Rev. A. A. Cameron ; the Rev. J. E. Sanderson ; the Rev. J. Young ; the Rev. J. Hunter ; Mr. G. W. Wicksteed, Q.C. ; the Hon. J. Cockburn, Q.C. ; Mr. G. B. Fellowes, Q.C. ; His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa ; the Secretaries of the Lieutenant Governors of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island ; the A.D.C. of Major General Smyth ; Lieut. Colonel Ross ; Colonel the Hon. E. P. and Mrs. Littleton ; Lieut. Colonel Barnard, C.M.G. ; Mr. Kidd ; Mr. F. A. Dixon ; Mr. Campbell ; Mr. F. Rowan Hamilton, A.D.C.

After the cloth had been removed, His Excellency rose and spoke as follows :—

“ MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Although it is not my usual custom to call upon the guests at Government House to drink any other toast than that of the health of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, the present occasion is one of such an important and exceptional character that I am sure it will not be considered unnatural I should desire to mark it in a peculiar manner. For the first time since its constitution by a recent Act of Parliament, I have had the pleasure of receiving at my table the learned and distinguished Judges who compose the Supreme Court of Canada. The establishment of that Court marks another epoch in the progressive history of the Dominion ; it exhibits another proof and pledge of the stability of our Confederation, and of the solidifying process which has knit into a homogeneous and patriotic community the inhabitants of what a few years ago were the scattered districts of Great Britain's North American possessions. But the constitution of such a Court is not merely an evidence of so complete a unification of the Dominion as to permit the rays of justice being thus focussed to a point ; it is also an exemplification of the confidence reposed by the people of Canada in the learning and attainments of the legal profession in this country.

Had not the Parliament of Canada been convinced that the Bar of the Dominion was now, and would continue to be, capable of producing persons of such commanding authority and reputation as that their judgments would be universally acquiesced in, it would not have ventured upon so bold an experiment as the creation of a Court superior in its jurisdiction to all the other Provincial Courts in the Dominion. (Applause.) I have myself no misgivings that Parliament will be disappointed in these expectations. I have no doubt but that those eminent personages present amongst us to-night will succeed in establishing for their Court a reputation and an authority equal to the anticipations of their countrymen. The authority of a court of justice is founded on the soundness of its decisions. (Hear, hear.) Under the free Constitution of the British Empire, no earthly power can check the growth or diminish the weight of an authority established on such a basis. A great court thus becomes the author of its own supremacy—nay, it can extend its ascendancy beyond the limits of its natural jurisdiction, and impress foreign codes of jurisprudence with its own interpretations of equity and justice. Witness the respect and deference with which the Chief Court of the United States is quoted by British and European jurists. Such a court is the parent of peace, order and good government; it is the guardian of civil, political, and religious liberty. (Hear, hear.) It is like the sun at noon-day; it shines with its own light; and happily, human passion and prejudice, executive tyranny, and popular phrenzy, are as impotent to intercept the beneficent influence of the one as to shear the beams from the other. (Hear, hear.) I now propose to you the health of the Chief Justice of Canada, and of his brethren the other Judges, members of the Supreme Court of Canada, and to this toast I will venture to add but one word more. ‘*Inter pocula*,’ the strict rules of Responsible Government may for a moment be suspended, and as during the Saturnalia the Roman slaves were allowed to buffet their masters with impunity, so a Governor General may be permitted for once, on a festive occasion like the present, to give his Prime Minister advice instead of receiving it; and the advice I would tender to Mr. Mackenzie, and through him to the Parliament and people of Canada, is this: that inasmuch as pure, efficient, and authoritative courts of justice are the most precious possession a people can enjoy, the very fountains and sources of a healthy national existence, there is no duty more incumbent on a great and generous community than to take care that all and every one of those who administer justice in the land are accorded a social, moral, and I will venture to add, a material recognition proportionate to their arduous labors, weighty responsibilities and august position.” (Applause.)

In response to the toast, which was received with the utmost enthusiasm, the Chief Justice said:

“YOUR EXCELLENCY, MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—On behalf of my brethren judges and myself, I beg to return thanks for the very great honor you have done us in drinking our healths. I am further to thank your Excellency for the kind and flattering allusion to us as judges, and for the grand exposition of the functions of the judicial office contained in the magnificent speech to which we have all had the pleasure of listening. The observations made with respect to the bar in this country are peculiarly acceptable to my learned brothers and myself.



Though we have been elevated to the high position of being the 'Queen's Judges, we do not forget that we attained the 'Bench' through the portals of the 'Bar,' and we still claim affinity with our brethren of the profession. The large number of distinguished men of the country who have been bidden by your Excellency to assemble under the Vice-regal roof to meet the judges of the Supreme Court affords unmistakable evidence of your Excellency's desire to mark the inauguration of the Court as an event of great importance in the history of Canada, and also indicates the high consideration in which the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty wishes the 'Queen's Judges' to be held by all classes of the community. The judges all know the deep personal interest which your Excellency takes in having the Court to which they belong enter upon the discharge of its important duties under the most favorable auspices, and in their honor I thank your Excellency for the efforts you have made to bring about that result. I think it right to add that, from the intercourse which the judges have had with the Premier and members of the Government of Canada, there can be no doubt that they are actuated by the same feelings which have influenced your Excellency in this matter. We enter upon the discharge of our duties as Judges of the Supreme Court with the deepest conviction of their very great importance, and with an earnest desire to perform those duties in such a manner as to give, so far as in us lies, all proper assistance in establishing a government on the Northern portion of the continent of America which will have the power to maintain liberty and order, and which will preserve life and property, whilst it possesses sufficient elasticity to give its people the freedom and self-reliance necessary to create an energetic and prosperous community. (Applause.) I conclude by again expressing, on behalf of my learned brethren and myself, our grateful thanks for the very great honor done us in drinking our healths." (Applause.)

The Third Session of the Third Parliament of Canada was opened on the 10th February, 1876, with the usual ceremonies, but with more than the usual *éclat*.

The Judges of the Supreme Court attended in their new robes, similar to those worn by the Superior Judges of England—scarlet trimmed with ermine.\* Among the strangers who accompanied the Countess of Dufferin to the Senate Chamber were the Marquis and Marchioness de Bassano, the Count de Turenne, and Mdlle. Gerrault.

The Speech from the Throne alluded to the great depression of trade; it congratulated the Houses on the fact that the Intercolonial Railway was approaching completion, and on the opening of the Prince Edward Island Railway. It expressed regret that no progress had been made with the Fishery Commission, consequent on the delay of the United States Government in appointing a Commissioner.

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\* This costume had been selected at the particular recommendation of His Excellency.

His Excellency, it said, had given effect to the Supreme and Exchequer Court Act by issuing the necessary proclamations, and appointing the judges and officers of the Courts. Legislation was promised as to common carriers, life assurance companies, criminal statistics, the consolidation of the statutes, the management of Indian affairs, and the administration of the estates of insolvent banks. Regret was expressed that the depression of trade had seriously affected the revenue, and that, consequently, a curtailment of expenditure would be necessary. Correspondence, reports and other matters connected with the Pacific Railway would be laid, it was promised, before the Houses. The inability of the Province of Manitoba to meet its expenditure was stated, and it was indicated that certain propositions in relation to the matter would be submitted.

On the 8th March, His Excellency sent down the correspondence having reference to the inadequacy of the existing Extradition Treaty between Great Britain and the United States. Mr. Blake, the Minister of Justice, had devoted his attention to the very unsatisfactory state of the law as it existed, and made a special effort to obtain a new and better Treaty. His memorandum is an excellent *resumé* of the acts and treaties affecting the subject, and the despatches between the Home Office and His Excellency will show why Mr. Blake's efforts were unsuccessful.

His memorandum is as follows :

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,

OTTAWA, *December 2, 1875.*

The undersigned begs to report that his attention has been called to the inadequacy of the existing Extradition Treaty between the United Kingdom and the United States.

By what is commonly called the Jay Treaty, made in 1794 between Great Britain and the United States, there were but two extradition offences, viz. :—Murder and forgery. By the Ashburton Treaty, made in 1842, there were seven extradition offences, viz. :—Murder, assault with intent to commit murder, piracy, arson, robbery, forgery and the utterance of forged paper.

In 1870 was passed the Imperial Statutes 33 and 34 Vic., cap. 52, intituled, "An Act to amend the law relating to the Extradition of criminals;" by the first schedule to which the following were specified as extradition offences :—

Murder, and attempt and conspiracy to murder, manslaughter, counterfeiting and altering money, and uttering counterfeited or altered money, forgery, counterfeiting and altering and uttering what is forged or counterfeited or altered, embezzlement and larceny, obtaining money or goods by false pretences, crimes by bankrupts



gainst bankruptcy law, fraud by a bailee, banker, agent, factor, trustee, or director or member, or public officer of any company made criminal by any Act for the time being in force ; rape, abduction, child-stealing, burglary and house-breaking, arson, robbery with violence, threats by letter or otherwise with intent to extort, piracy by law of nations, sinking or destroying a vessel at sea, or attempting or conspiring to do so, assaults on board a ship on the high seas with intent to destroy life or to do grievous bodily harm, revolt or conspiracy to revolt by two or more persons on board a ship on the high seas against the authority of the master.

In 1873 was passed the Imperial Statute 36 and 37 Vic., cap. 60, by the schedule to which the following were specified as extradition offences:—Kidnapping and false imprisonment ; perjury and subordination of perjury, whether under Common or Statute Law ; any indictable offence under the Larceny Act, 1861, or any Act amending or substituted for the same which is not included in the first schedule to the Extradition Act of 1870 ; any indictable offence under the Act of the Session of the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter 97, "To consolidate and amend the Statute Law of England and Ireland relating to Malicious Injuries to Property," or any Act amending or substituted for the same which is not included in the first Schedule to the Extradition Act of 1870 ; any indictable offence under the Act of the Session of the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter 98, "To consolidate and amend the Statute Law of England and Ireland relating to Indictable Offences by Forgery," or any Act amending or substituted for the same which is not included in the first schedule to the Extradition Act of 1870 ; any indictable offence under the Act 24 and 25 Vict., cap. 99, "To consolidate and amend the Statute Law of the United Kingdom against offences relating to the Coin," or any Act amending or substituted for the same which is not included in the first Schedule of the Extradition Act of 1870 ; any indictable offence under the Act 24 and 25 Vict., cap. 100, "To consolidate and amend the Statute Law of England and Ireland relating to offences against the Person," or any Act amending or substituting the same which is not included in the first schedule to the Extradition Act of 1870 ; any indictable offence under the laws, for the time being, in force in relation to Bankruptcy, which is not included in the first schedule to the Extradition Act of 1870.

In the year 1872 an Extradition Treaty was made between the United Kingdom and Germany, embracing eighteen extradition crimes. In the same year an Extradition Treaty was made between the United Kingdom and Belgium, embracing nineteen extradition crimes. In the same year a Treaty was made between the United Kingdom and Italy, embracing nineteen extradition crimes. In the same year an Extradition Treaty was made between the United Kingdom and Denmark, embracing nineteen extradition crimes. In the year 1873 an Extradition Treaty was made between the United Kingdom and Brazil, embracing eighteen extradition crimes. In the same year an Extradition Treaty was made between the United Kingdom and Sweden and Norway, embracing eighteen extradition crimes. In the year 1874 an Extradition Treaty was made between the United Kingdom and Austria, embracing twenty extradition offences. In the same year an Extradition Treaty was made between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, embracing ten extradition

offences. And in the year 1875 an Extradition Treaty was made between the United Kingdom and the Swiss Confederation, embracing eighteen extradition offences.

The existence of the Imperial Statutes and Treaties to which the undersigned has referred renders it unnecessary for him to argue for the propriety, and in fact, the necessity of enlarging the range of extradition offences in general. The relations in particular of the United States and Canada render applicable with added force to these countries in general considerations upon which these Statutes and Treaties have been based; the common frontier of about three thousand miles; the facilities for passing from the one country into the other; the condition of things in the sparsely settled but vast tracts of country in the West; the extensive commerce, both by land, by sea and by the great lakes, and the increased intercourse between two peoples of a common tongue, all point to the conclusion that between them, perhaps, more than between any other two countries an extensive Extradition Treaty is requisite. One great possible source of difficulty which probably prevented any effort to extend the existing treaty has been of late years removed by the abolition of slavery. All the experience of later years point towards the necessity of extension—cases are of very frequent occurrence in which persons guilty of serious crimes pass from one country into the other; and almost within sight of their victims and of the country whose laws they have offended, find a secure refuge for themselves and their ill-gotten gains. The facilities so offered for crimes of a particular character tend largely to increase their number, and so at once foster crime and render property less secure.

The undersigned suggests to Council that it is expedient to take such steps as may be best calculated to result in the making of a comprehensive Extradition Treaty between the United Kingdom and the United States, framed with due regard to the exceptional circumstances, as between the United States and Canada, to which the undersigned has alluded.

The undersigned has thought it best not to encumber this memorandum by a discussion of the precise crimes to be embraced in such a treaty, or by suggestions as to the phraseology to be used in defining them. These matters would be the subject of negotiation, and in settling them it might be necessary to refer to the Canadian Consolidation of the Criminal Law.

Nor does the undersigned embrace in this report any observations as to the mode of extraditing offenders.

Upon this important subject he proposes, in case steps be taken for the negotiation of a treaty, to lay before Council a separate memorandum.

(Signed,) EDWARD BLAKE.

On this being communicated to the Colonial Secretary, he replied by the following to the Governor General:

DOWNING STREET, *February 2, 1876.*

MY LORD,—I have been in communication with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in regard to the Minute of the Privy Council of Canada, enclosed in your despatch, No. 176, of the 11th of December, submitting for the considera-



tion of Her Majesty's Government the inadequacy of the existing Extradition Treaty between this country and the United States, and suggesting the expediency of taking steps for the negotiation of a more comprehensive Treaty, due regard being had to the exceptional circumstances of Canada and the United States.

I now enclose for your information and for that of your Government a copy of a letter from the Foreign Office, stating the result of recent negotiations with the United States Government on the subject, and that in the Earl of Derby's opinion there is at present little hope of concluding a new Treaty with the United States.

It will be seen, however, that His Lordship will not fail, should a favorable opportunity occur, to press upon the United States Government the expediency of concluding a more comprehensive Treaty than the existing one, an arrangement which, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, would be as much to the advantage of the United States as to this country and the Dominion.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) CARNARVON.

Governor General The Right Honorable  
The Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B.

The following is the letter from the Foreign Office :

FOREIGN OFFICE, *January 29, 1876.*

SIR,—I have laid before the Earl of Derby your letter of the 19th instant, in which you inclose copy of a despatch from the Governor General of Canada, together with a Minute of the Privy Council of the Dominion, submitting for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government the inadequacy of the existing Extradition Treaty between Great Britain and the United States, and suggesting the expediency of taking steps for the negotiation of a more comprehensive treaty, and in reply I am directed by His Lordship to state to you, for the information of the Earl of Carnarvon, that negotiations for the conclusion of a new treaty with the United States were opened after the passing of the Extradition Act of 1870, and were carried on until May, 1874, when they were suspended in consequence of the Government of the United States objecting to an article in the English Draft which provided, in accordance with section 3 of the Act of 1870, that "no accused or convicted person shall be surrendered, if the offence in respect of which his surrender is demanded shall be deemed by the party upon whom the demand is made to be of a political character, or if he prove to the satisfaction of the Magistrate, Justice, Judge or Court before which he is brought, or of the Secretary of State, that the requisition for his surrender has in fact been made with a view to try or to punish him for an offence of a political character."

The Government of the United States maintained that the Secretary of State alone should decide whether an offence with which a fugitive criminal is charged is of a political character.

On the other hand, the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, to whom this question was referred, reported that it was not possible to agree to the proposal of the United States Government, as any stipulation in accordance with their views would be at variance with section 3 of the Act above recited.

Under these circumstances Lord Derby considered that it would be useless to continue the negotiations, which were accordingly suspended until quite recently, when the question was revived in a discussion which took place between Her Majesty's Minister at Washington and the Secretary of State of the United States, relative to the trial of a fugitive criminal named Lawrence who was surrendered to the United States in April last on a charge of forgery.

As, however, Mr. Fish continues to hold the same views on the point at issue as he held in 1874, and to maintain that the British Government must take the whole responsibility in deciding whether the offence with which a fugitive criminal is charged is of a political character, Lord Derby apprehends that there is at present little hope of concluding a new Extradition Treaty with the United States.

Should, however, a favorable opportunity occur, His Lordship will not fail to press upon the Government of the United States the expediency of concluding a more comprehensive treaty than the existing one, an arrangement which would be as much to the advantage of the United States as to Great Britain and the Dominion of Canada.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

T. V. LISTER.

The Under Secretary of State,  
Colonial Office.

The matter now remains in this unsatisfactory condition.

The difficulty with British Columbia was much increased by the defeat in the Senate of Mr. Mackenzie's bill providing for the building of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway.

The progress of the negotiations will be understood from the following papers. On the 16th April, 1875, Lord Dufferin informed the Earl of Carnarvon that the bill had been defeated in the Senate on a vote of twenty-three to twenty-one. The matter seems to have rested until the 29th September, when the following report of the Privy Council was approved by His Excellency :

“ The Committee of Council have had under consideration the difficulties arising out of the agreement made in 1871 for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Mr. Edgar's mission to British Columbia last year was based upon the view that the conditions of that agreement were quite impracticable of fulfilment. The proposals submitted by him to the British Columbia Government were briefly that, the limitation of time being given up, Canada should undertake that one million and a half of dollars should be expended upon construction within that Province in each year after location, and that the building of a waggon road along the line of the proposed railway construction should precede actual railway construction.

It was further proposed to build a Railway on Vancouver Island, from Esquimalt to Nanaimo.

The propositions were either not considered by the Government of British Columbia, or, if considered, they were rejected by them, and they subsequently appealed to the Imperial Government, invoking their intervention. The result of



this appeal was an offer from the Right Honorable Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, of his good offices to promote a settlement.

The Privy Council in their Minute of the 23rd July, 1874, advised 'that Lord Carnarvon be informed they would gladly submit the question to him for his decision as to whether the exertions of the Government, the diligence shown, and the offers made, have or have not been fair and just, and in accordance with the spirit of the agreement.' Lord Carnarvon in his despatch of August 16th, acting upon this Minute, and upon agreement on the part of British Columbia to abide by his decision, made certain suggestions, of which the most important were—that the amount of yearly expenditure within the Province, after location, should be not less than two millions of dollars; that the period of completion should be the year 1890, and that the Railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo should be at once commenced.

The Canadian Government, in their Minute of Council of September 17th, stated 'that while in no case could the Government undertake the completion of the whole line in the time mentioned, and extreme unwillingness exists to another limitation of time, yet, if it be found absolutely necessary to secure a present settlement of the controversy by further concessions, a pledge may be given that the portion west of Lake Superior will be completed so as to afford connection by rail with existing lines of railway through a portion of the United States, and by Canadian waters during the season of navigation, by the year 1890, as suggested.'

It was further agreed that after location, two millions should be expended yearly upon construction in British Columbia, and that a Railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo should be built.

It must be borne in mind that every step in the negotiations was necessarily predicated upon and subject to the conditions of the Resolution of the House of Commons, passed in 1871, contemporaneously with the adoption of the terms of Union with British Columbia, subsequently enacted in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1872, and subsequently re-enacted (after a large addition had been made to the rate of taxation) in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1874; that the public aid to be given to secure the accomplishment of the undertaking 'should consist of such liberal grants of land and such subsidy in money or other aid, *not increasing the then existing rate of taxation*, as the Parliament of Canada should thereafter determine.'

This determination not to involve the country in a hopeless burden of debt is sustained by public opinion everywhere throughout the Dominion, and must of necessity control the action of the Government, and it cannot be too clearly understood that any agreements as to yearly expenditure, and as to completion by a fixed time, must be subject to the condition thrice recorded in the Journals of Parliament, that no further increase of the rate of taxation shall be required in order to their fulfilment.

The sanction of Parliament to the construction of the proposed Railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo was necessarily a condition precedent to the commencement of the work.

The other important features of the arrangement, namely, the limitation of time for the completion of a certain portion, and the specification of a yearly expenditure, were deemed to be within the meaning of the Pacific Railway Act, 1874, sub-

ject, of course, to the condition already mentioned, and which was referred to in the Minute of Council of December 18th, 1874, when the Government 'expressed a willingness to make those further concessions rather than forego an immediate settlement of so irritating a question, as the concessions suggested might be made without involving the violation of the spirit of any parliamentary resolution or the letter of any enactment.'

The proposed Railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo does not form a portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway as defined by the Act ; it was intended to benefit local interests, and was proposed as compensation for the disappointment experienced by the unavoidable delay in constructing the railway across the Continent. The work is essentially a local one, and there are obvious reasons against the Canadian Government, under ordinary circumstances, undertaking the construction of such works, and in favor of their being built, if at all, by virtue of Provincial action.

The Bill which the Government introduced into the House of Commons to provide for building this railway evoked a considerable degree of opposition in that House and in the country, and although passed by the House of Commons, it was afterwards rejected in the Senate, and thus there is imposed upon the Government the duty of considering some other method of meeting all just expectations of the people of British Columbia, whose Government has not suggested to this Government any solution of the difficulty.

It would seem reasonable that the people of British Columbia should construct this work themselves, or (if they think other local public works more advantageous) should, in lieu of this, themselves undertake such other local public works, and that the compensation to be given them by Canada for any delays which may take place in the construction of the Pacific Railway, should be in the form of a cash bonus to be applied towards the local railway, or such other local works as the Legislature of British Columbia may undertake, Canada also surrendering any claim to lands which may have been reserved in Vancouver Island for railway purposes.

The sum of \$750,000 would appear to the Committee to be a liberal compensation, and the Committee advise that the Government of British Columbia be informed that this Government is prepared to propose to Parliament at its next Session the legislation necessary to carry out the views contained in this Minute as to the construction of the Pacific Railway, and the compensation to be given to British Columbia for delays in such construction.

The Committee further advise that a copy of this Minute be transmitted to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

The propositions contained in this document, after being considered by the Government of British Columbia, were rejected on the following report of the Executive Council of the Province :

" The Committee of Council have carefully considered a Minute of the Honorable the Privy Council of Canada, dated September 20, 1875, proposing to this Government, for their assent, certain alterations in the existing Railway Agreement between the Dominion and this Province.

The Committee dissent from many of the views expressed in the above Minute,



and see no reason for consenting to any variation of or departure from the terms of the Railway Agreement therein referred to. They, therefore, advise that the proposals contained in the Minute be unhesitatingly but respectfully declined by your Excellency, and that the Dominion Government be so informed; and further, that that Government be strongly impressed with the absolute necessity of the Railway Agreement being carried out according to the terms thereof.

The Committee further advise that a copy of this Minute (if approved) be transmitted to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

Subsequently, on the 4th January, 1876, the Council added the following :

" The Committee of Council have had before them the Minute of the Honorable the Privy Council of Canada, of the 20th September, 1875, with its covering despatch of the 10th November last, relative to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The general features of the above Minute are such that this Government found no difficulty in coming to a decision upon it. To avoid possibly prejudicial delays a reply was promptly sent 'unhesitatingly but respectfully declining' the proposals, and dissenting generally from the views contained in the Minute, it being considered preferable, in a matter of such importance, to leave for a further communication such comments as the details of the Minute might seem to fairly challenge.

The Committee have now to remark that the Minute, at the outset, refers to Mr. Edgar's letter, and gives a brief but inaccurate statement of its proposals. It omits to mention the offer of the Dominion Government to immediately construct the telegraph line in and beyond the Province; and in the next place it incorrectly states that that Government proposed to build '*a Railway*' from Esquimalt to Nanaimo.

Mr. Edgar's letter, it will be found, expresses the inability of the Dominion to construct the Pacific Railway within the period stipulated. It, therefore, proposes that if this time limit for the completion of *the whole line* be surrendered, the Dominion will immediately commence '*that portion*' which lies between Esquimalt and Nanaimo. The language of the letter is that 'they' (the Dominion Government) 'propose to commence construction from Esquimalt to Nanaimo immediately, and to push *that portion* of railway on to completion with the utmost vigor, and in the shortest practicable time.'

This extract conveys but one meaning, viz. :—that the line between Esquimalt and Nanaimo was regarded by the present, as it was by the past Canadian Ministry, as a '*portion of*' the main line.

It now appears from the published correspondence forwarded by the Dominion Government to England, that in their Minute of the 18th August, 1874, they disavowed Mr. Edgar's offer, inasmuch as they alleged (what is repeated in their present Minute) that the Esquimalt line 'does not form a portion of the' main line; that 'it was intended to benefit local interests, and was proposed as compensation for the disappointment experienced by the unavoidable delay in constructing the railway across the continent.'

Of these changed views, and certainly unexpected statements, this Government

had no intimation until some time after the publication of the correspondence by the Canadian Parliament. During the negotiations this correspondence was not communicated to this Government, otherwise exception would have been taken at the time to several portions of it, which are very objectionable.

The statement that the work in question was proposed as 'compensation' is a manifest error, for no such proposal was ever made or hinted at, as will appear by reference to Mr. Edgar's letter. It is also, to a certain extent, inconsistent with the subsequent request made by the Dominion Government to this Province on the 25th March, 1875, for a conveyance, which was granted, of a belt of land along the line between Esquimalt and Nanaimo, similar in extent to that prescribed by the terms of Union for the Pacific Railway, 'and subject otherwise to all the conditions contained in the 11th Section of the said terms.'

The Dominion Government were not entitled to the land, except under the 'Terms of Union.' Their agreement with Lord Carnarvon gave them no new claim to it, if the line was not to form part of the Pacific Railway.

It is further alleged in the Minute under consideration that 'the sanction of Parliament to the construction of the proposed railway between Esquimalt and Nanaimo was' (that is, when Lord Carnarvon's Settlement of 1874 was made) 'necessarily a condition precedent to its commencement;' while, on the other hand, the Premier, in his place in the Commons, said, on the 5th March, 1875, after reading this Settlement to the House:—

'The terms recommended by Lord Carnarvon, and which we have accepted, are simply these: *That, instead of one and a half millions, we propose to expend two millions a year within the Province of British Columbia, and we propose to finish the railway connection through the Province and downward to the point indicated by the year 1890, being an extension of time of nine years. With respect to the question raised by my Honorable friend from South Bruce, I may say that I have nothing to ask from Parliament. We have no authority to obtain, but merely to communicate to Parliament this decision, and rely upon the House supporting us in accepting the terms.*'—(Hansard, page 511.)

The next point in the Minute is that the agreement for an annual railway expenditure of \$2,000,000 in the Province, and for the completion of the line from the Pacific to Lake Superior by 1890, 'must' be contingent upon and subject to the conditions of the Resolution passed by the Commons in 1871, contemporaneously with the terms of Union, and subsequently enacted and re-enacted in the Pacific Railway Acts of 1872-1874 respectively. This Resolution, as quoted in the Minute, reads: 'The aid to be given to secure the accomplishment of the undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land, and such subsidy in money, or other aid, not increasing the then existing rate of taxation, as the Parliament of Canada should thereafter determine.' It is to be remarked that the following important part of the Resolution has not been given in this quotation, viz. :—'*That the Railway should be constructed and worked by private enterprise and not by the Dominion Government.*' That Government seem to have overlooked the fact that the above conditions were so materially changed in 1874 that they were practically abandoned. The rate of taxation was then increased, and, by the Railway Act of 1874, the construction of the railway was placed in the hands of the Government instead of being



entrusted to private enterprise. Even had the original Resolution been binding on this Province, no such modifications of it as those above indicated could have been of any effect as regards this Province, until the consent of its Legislature had been obtained thereto. But British Columbia, in fact, was never even consulted as to either the original Resolution or its modification; nor was any intimation given to this or, as far as known, to the Imperial Government that such a Resolution had been passed by the Canadian Commons, as an intended qualification of the terms of Union. It could not possibly have any such effect, as the address containing the 'Terms' was passed by the House of Commons, on the 1st April, 1871, and the Resolution was not submitted to the House until *some days afterwards*, and was *not carried until the 11th April*.

Therefore, the Dominion Government cannot be sustained in their contention that the 'Terms of Union' should be controlled by and be subject to the Resolution and the Act above mentioned.

Looking at the question practically, the Resolution and Statute were severally submitted to the House as indications of the schemes at different periods matured by the Government for the *purpose of providing means* for fulfilling the Railway agreement with British Columbia; and should the Act, like the Resolution, fail in its object, some other measure must necessarily be devised for the above purpose.

With respect to the cash bonus of \$750,000 to be offered (provided the sanction of Parliament be obtained) 'as compensation for the *delays which may take place* in the construction of the Pacific Railway,' it is evident that *future delays of a very grave character are seriously contemplated*, otherwise such an offer never would have been made, before even construction in the Province has been attempted, and before the expiration of the first year of the fifteen given for the completion of the railway hence to Lake Superior. Under these circumstances this offer can only be regarded as a proposed indemnity for a contemplated indefinite postponement of the construction of the work. The agreements for annual railway expenditure and for completion of the line within a fixed time are the only guarantees given that the railway will be constructed this century. An acceptance of this proposed bonus would be equivalent to a surrender of these guarantees, and an abandonment by British Columbia, for all time to come, of her right to protest against future delays, however protracted. The amount offered represents the average cost of only about 20 miles of railway, and is little more than one-third of one year's promised expenditure in the Province.

The other portions of Lord Carnarvon's Settlement, which declared that the wagon road and telegraph line should be constructed immediately, 'as suggested by' the Dominion Government, have not been touched upon in the Minute. The wagon road has not been commenced, though twelve months have elapsed since it was promised, and though its immediate construction as a fore-runner of railway work was strenuously insisted upon by the Dominion Government. The *immediate* erection of the telegraph line was, for the same reason, also declared to be indispensable; but work on this line, though begun last spring, has been abandoned indefinitely. The proposal to construct it formed a very material element in the consideration of British Columbia's appeal to England, as the heavy cost of the undertaking was weighed against the claims advanced by the Province.

The facts and incidents which forced the Provincial Government to appeal to the Imperial Government in 1874 need not be repeated. After nearly six months spent in negotiations, proposals were submitted by Lord Carnarvon to the Dominion Government for their approval. To these proposals they gave their deliberate and unreserved assent on the 18th December, 1874. In their Minute of that date, they stated that the proposals could be *accepted, 'without involving a violation of the spirit of any Parliamentary resolution or the letter of any enactment;'* and that *'the conclusion at which his Lordship has arrived upholds, as he remarks, in the main, and subject only to some modification of detail, the policy adopted by this Government on this most embarrassing question.'* They therefore *'respectfully request that your Excellency will be pleased \* \* \* \* to assure his Lordship that every effort will be made to secure the realization of what is expected.'*

Thus apparently ended a most unpleasant as well as unprofitable and irritating dispute, which had lasted for about eighteen months, and which resulted in a most carefully considered Settlement—a Settlement that, in the opinion of the Dominion Government, upheld their own railway policy and violated neither the spirit nor the letter of any Parliamentary provision. Notwithstanding these facts, and the strong assurance given that *'every effort'* would be made to redeem their pledges, the Dominion Government, only nine months afterwards (as appears by their Minute of the 20th September last), virtually decided to ignore these engagements. The construction of the Island section of the railway is to be abandoned. The agreements to *immediately* construct the waggon road and telegraph line have already been violated, and no assurance whatever remains that they will ever be constructed. The stipulations—most important of all—for an annual railway expenditure in the Province, and for completion of the railway within a fixed time, are now held by the Dominion Government to be contingent upon conditions which, though incidentally referred to in their first and last despatches to Lord Carnarvon, were never offered for his Lordship's consideration; nor was it contended that they should control any settlement that might be made. In justice to all parties, the Dominion Government should have placed their whole case before Lord Carnarvon, and not have reserved this point for contention and for sudden announcement nearly twelve months after the date of what was supposed and intended to be a final settlement of all differences upon railway matters. If the contention referred to were conceded, the settlement would virtually be reduced to a nullity, as the Ministry of the day would be free to use the bulk, and indeed all, of their available revenue for general public purposes, and thus leave little or nothing for the railway project.

The delay in the transmission of the Minute of Council now under consideration deserves notice. It was passed on the 20th September last, and was detained at Ottawa until the 10th of November—some seven weeks—*'owing,'* as alleged by the Under Secretary of State, *'to the fact of the officer whose duty it was to furnish a copy of the Order in Council to this Department for transmission \* \* \* \* having inadvertently omitted to do so.'* To the Dominion Government this detention proved most opportune. By a signal coincidence they were during this period engaged in negotiating a heavy loan in England, \$7,250,000, of which, it is publicly reported, they succeeded last October in borrowing on the Imperial guarantee, in which the Province is specially interested, as it was mainly given to aid in the con-



struction of the Pacific Railway. Owing to the detention alluded to, the Provincial Government were not afforded an opportunity of protesting in the proper quarter against the guarantee being used under existing circumstances. With respect to that guarantee, the importance and value of a good understanding with British Columbia upon railway matters has been and is well understood by the Dominion Government. On the 16th February, 1875, the Canadian Minister of Finance stated in his speech upon the Budget:—‘I think it would have placed us at a certain disadvantage with the Imperial Government and British Columbia if we asked for the Imperial guarantee while there was any dispute between ourselves and that Province as to the construction of the Pacific Railway.’—(*Hansard*, 1875, page 163.) This statement, it will be observed, was made about two months after the Settlement of 1874 had been effected. Before using the guarantee, it might have been expected that the Dominion Government would have taken every precaution to have informed this Government of their determination to re-open the Settlement and not fulfil its terms.

It is also worthy of observation that, during the same period and about the 20th of September last, the survey parties on the Island were materially strengthened; and the line of railway between Esquimalt and Nanaimo has, since then, been practically located for its whole length. Steel rails were also landed at these two places, so that the people of the Province had every confidence in the early commencement of the work, and had no reason for suspecting that, at this very time, the Dominion Government had resolved to abandon and ignore the terms of their Settlement with Lord Carnarvon.

The history of the railway agreement would be a recital of unnecessary delays by the Dominion, and of consequent disappointments to British Columbia of a most discouraging and damaging character. Direct pecuniary loss to a large proportion of her people and an utter prostration of most important interests have been the result of the non-fulfilment of promises, made with every semblance of deliberation and good faith. Distrust has unfortunately been created where trust and confidence should have been inspired. It would be mischievous to conceal this state of affairs.

It has fallen to the lot of British Columbia, though politically weak, to defend and preserve the agreement for the construction of the Pacific Railway upon which Confederation depends.

The Committee of Council urge that the terms of Lord Carnarvon’s Settlement be strictly carried out, and they strongly protest against their violation by the Dominion Government.

The Committee respectfully request that your Excellency will be pleased, if this Minute be approved, to cause copies thereof to be severally forwarded to the Dominion Government and to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.”

These vigorous protests were transmitted to the Colonial Secretary on the 2nd February, 1876, accompanied by the following petition to Her Majesty:

“MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,—We Your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Members of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British

Columbia, in Session assembled, humbly approach Your Majesty for the purpose of representing :—

1. That on the 31st day of July, 1874, the Government of this Province humbly presented a Petition to Your Majesty, alleging (amongst other matters) that the main inducement which led British Columbia to enter the Dominion of Canada on the 20th day of July, 1871, was the Agreement by the latter to commence in two and complete in ten years from that date the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway ; and that this Agreement had been violated by Canada. The Petitioners, therefore, prayed that Your Majesty would, under the circumstances set forth in the Petition, be graciously pleased to cause justice to be done to British Columbia. To this Petition your present Petitioners (the Legislative Assembly) beg leave to refer Your Majesty.

2. That after protracted negotiations on the subject between Your Majesty's Right Honorable Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Carnarvon) and the Dominion Government, his Lordship was pleased to signify his conclusions upon the question in dispute, in the following language :

'(1.) That the railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo shall be commenced as soon as possible, and completed with all practicable despatch.

'(2.) That the surveys on the mainland shall be pushed on with the utmost vigor.

It would be distasteful to me, if, indeed it were not impossible, to prescribe strictly any minimum of time or expenditure with regard to work of so uncertain a nature, but happily it is equally impossible for me to doubt that your Government will loyally do its best in every way to accelerate the completion of a duty left freely to its sense of honor and justice.

'(3.) That the waggon road and telegraph line shall be immediately constructed. There seems here to be some difference of opinion as to the special value to the Province of the undertaking to complete these two works ; but after considering what has been said, I am of opinion that they should both be proceeded with at once, as indeed is suggested by your Ministers.

'(4.) That 2,000,000 dollars a year, and not 1,500,000 dollars, shall be the minimum expenditure on railway works within the Province from the date at which the surveys are sufficiently completed to enable that amount to be expended on construction. In naming this amount, I understand that, it being alike the interest and the wish of the Dominion Government to urge on with all speed the completion of the works now to be undertaken, the annual expenditure will be as much in excess of the minimum of 2,000,000 dollars as in any year may be found practicable.

'(5.) Lastly, that on or before the 31st December, 1890, the railway shall be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific seaboard to a point at the western end of Lake Superior, at which it will fall into connection with the existing lines of railway through a portion of the United States, and also with the navigation on Canadian waters. To proceed, at present, with the remainder of the railway extending by the country northward of Lake Superior, to the existing Canadian lines, ought not, in my opinion, to be required, and the time for undertaking that work must be determined by the development of settlement and the changing circumstances of the country. The day is, however, I hope, not very distant when a



continuous line of railway through Canadian territory will be practicable, and I therefore look upon this portion of the scheme as postponed rather than abandoned.' (*Vide* despatch, Lord Carnarvon to Lord Dufferin, 17th November, 1874.)

3. That the Dominion Government, one month later, assented to these conclusions or proposals; and stated, in effect, that the proposals would be carried out as they upheld in the main their own policy on the question, and violated neither the letter nor the spirit of any parliamentary provision. The settlement thus effected was intended and supposed to be final and conclusive. (*Vide* despatch, Lord Dufferin to Lord Carnarvon, 18th December, 1874.)

4. Your Petitioners, the Legislative Assembly, with great regret, feel compelled to state that the Dominion Government have almost wholly disregarded the terms of the above Settlement, as they have not commenced the promised railway construction, either on the Island or on the mainland, or the waggon road or engineering trail intended to facilitate railway work on the mainland; nor has the agreement, in the Settlement, for the immediate construction of the Provincial section of the Trans-Continental Telegraph Line been carried out.

5. That with respect to the promised active prosecution of the surveys, your Petitioners have no authoritative information upon which a correct opinion can be based.

6. That the Dominion Government have, by Minute of their Privy Council of the 20th September, 1875, intimated their intention to virtually ignore the above Settlement, and have stated that they will submit their views, as expressed in the Minute, to Parliament at its ensuing Session, as the policy which should be adopted with respect to their railway engagements with the Province.

7. That the Dominion Government have affirmed, in their Minute of September, that the section of railway on Vancouver Island is not part of the Pacific Railway, but that it was offered to this Province as compensation for local losses caused by delays in the construction of the Pacific Railway; but your Petitioners do not find that such an offer of compensation was ever made or even suggested to the Province.

8. That the Dominion Government state in their Minute of the 20th September last, that 'it cannot be too clearly understood' that they will not abide by, or observe the agreement in the Settlement for an annual railway expenditure of \$2,000,000 in the Province, and for the completion of the railway from the Pacific to Lake Superior by the year 1890, if the performance of such agreements should interfere with the conditions of a Resolution passed by the House of Commons in 1871, after our terms of Union had been assented to by that body. The terms of this Resolution were, in effect, that the railway should be constructed and worked by private enterprise and not by the Dominion Government; and that subsidies in land and money, to an extent that would not increase the then rate of Dominion taxation, should be given in aid of the work by the Government.

9. That your Petitioners find that the terms of the Resolution were abandoned in 1874, the rate of taxation having been increased, and the construction of the railway having been undertaken by the Government, instead of being confided to private enterprise.

10. Your Petitioners respectfully submit that the Resolution was at best merely

an indication of the scheme matured by the Government to provide means to fulfil their railway engagements with the Province ; that it never was submitted to the people or Government of British Columbia ; nor was it, so far as known, submitted in 1871 to Your Majesty's Government for consideration, when the terms of Union were passed ; or in 1874, to Lord Carnarvon, during the negotiations which preceded the Settlement. The Resolution therefore cannot, for plain constitutional, as well as legal reasons, control either the terms of Union or the Settlement made to carry them out.

11. That no compensation has been offered by the Dominion Government for the proposed abandonment of the section of railway on Vancouver Island, or for the broken engagements to build the waggon road and telegraph line, or for any of the past disastrous and ruinous delays in the construction of the Pacific Railway on the mainland or Island.

12. That an indemnity, however, to the amount of \$750,000—the cost of about twenty miles of railway—has been offered to British Columbia, for any *future* delays which may occur in the construction of the railway, and that this sum will, subject to the assent of Parliament, be paid as a cash bonus to the Province, if the agreements for yearly railway expenditure, and for completion of the railway to Lake Superior by 1890, be surrendered by the Province.

13. That the Provincial Government have declined to accept the offer of \$750,000, and have recorded their dissent from the views expressed by the Dominion Government in their Minute in Council of September last.

14. That your Petitioners are of opinion that the Provincial Government have, by declining such offer, acted in the interests of this Province.

15. That the Province entered Confederation upon a distinct and specific agreement that, as 'no real union could exist' without 'speedy communication' between British Columbia and Eastern Canada through British territory, the Canadian Pacific Railway should be constructed by the Dominion as a Federal work of political and commercial necessity.

16. That the aim of the Province is to secure practical Confederation, and its anticipated advantages, as indicated in the terms of Union, in lieu of theoretical union with its losses, deprivations, and many disappointments.

17. That your Petitioners humbly solicit Your Majesty's attention to the Minutes of the Executive Council for this Province lately forwarded to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and dated respectively the 6th day of December, 1875, and the 4th day of January, 1876, as your Petitioners wholly agree with the views and statements therein set forth.

18. That British Columbia has fulfilled all the conditions of her agreement with Canada.

19. That by reason of the repeated violations by Canada of its railway engagements with this Province, all classes of our population have suffered loss ; provident anticipations based upon these engagements have resulted in unexpected and undeserved failure, and in disappointment of a grave and damaging character ; distrust has been created where trust and confidence should have been inspired ; trade and commerce have been mischievously unsettled and undisturbed ; the progress of the Province has been seriously checked ; and 'a feeling of depression has taken



the place of the confident anticipations of commercial and political advantages to be derived from the speedy construction of a railway which should practically unite the Atlantic and Pacific shores with Your Majesty's Dominion on the Continent of North America.'

20. Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly submit that they are at least entitled to have the conditions of the Settlement effected through the intervention of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State carried out in letter and in spirit.

Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly approach Your Majesty, and pray that Your Majesty may be graciously pleased to cause the Dominion Government to be immediately moved to carry out the terms of the said Settlement.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

(Signed,) JAMES TRIMBLE, *Speaker.*"

It may here be stated that the delay in transmitting to British Columbia the minute in Council of the 20th September was purely accidental.

On these papers being laid before the Dominion Government they expressed their views in the following report, dated 13th March, 1876:

"The Committee of Council have had under consideration the despatch from the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, dated 2nd February, 1876, on the subject of the Pacific Railway, enclosing amongst other papers a copy of an address to Her Majesty from the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia.

In that address the Legislative Assembly states, 'that the Dominion Government must have almost wholly disregarded the terms of the settlement, as they have not commenced the promised railway construction, either on the Island or on the mainland, or the waggon road or engineering trail intended to facilitate railway work on the mainland, nor has the agreement in the settlement for the immediate construction of the Provincial section of the Trans-Continental Telegraph Line been carried out.'

Upon this allegation the Committee would observe, that although the Government took every step in their power to secure the construction of the proposed Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, the Bill for that purpose, which they carried through the House of Commons, was defeated in the Senate.

With reference to railway construction on the mainland, the present Government always insisted, and it was part of the arrangement that they should not be called on to locate the line before the surveys were sufficiently complete for that purpose. The Government is not even yet in a position to determine the location, and this must, of course, precede the commencement of construction.

As to the proposed waggon road or engineering trail, this road was alleged by British Columbia to be valueless, but it was explained by the Government of Canada (as indeed is stated in the address) that it was intended to facilitate the construction of the railway (of which it would in fact be a part), and that it would be built upon the location line of the railway.

The railway not being yet located it is of course impossible to construct the waggon road.

The same observations apply to the telegraph line which was to be constructed along the located line of the railway for the purposes thereof. It is to be observed, however, that contracts have been entered into by the Government for the entire telegraph line from Lake Superior to the Pacific, of which five hundred miles have been built; and that the contractor for the part in Columbia, having the bulk of his material on hand, is ready to commence construction as soon as the line is located.

The address proceeds to 'state that with reference to the promised active prosecution of the surveys, the Assembly have no authoritative information upon which a correct opinion can be based.'

Upon this statement the Committee have only to observe that the utmost diligence has been used in prosecuting the surveys, and in fact the extreme haste induced by an earnest desire to fulfil, as far as practicable, the terms of Union, has in several instances prevented so thorough an examination of the country as should be made in order to secure the best location. The Committee must add that the members of the Columbia Legislature can hardly be ignorant of the enormous expenditure made in that Province in connection with the surveys.

The address states 'that the Dominion Government have, by a Minute of the Privy Council, of 20th September, 1875, intimated their intention to virtually ignore the settlement;' \* \* \* \* \* and further that they 'have affirmed that the section of the railway on Vancouver Island is not part of the Pacific Railway, but was offered to the Province as compensation for local losses caused by delays in the construction of the Pacific Railway, but your petitioners do not find that such an offer of compensation was ever made or even suggested to the Province.'

On these statements the Committee would observe that the Government of Canada, so far from ignoring, have used their best endeavors to carry out the terms of the arrangement.

There is no pretence for saying that the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway was, under the terms of Union, a work, the construction of which was obligatory on Canada, as part of the Pacific Railway.

By these terms the western terminus of the railway is prescribed to be a point on the Pacific seaboard to be fixed by the Governor in Council; and thus the question became not a matter of bargain between Canada and Columbia, but part of the executive policy of Canada.

The first action connecting in the remotest degree the Government of Canada with the construction of any railway on Vancouver Island took place on the seventh June, 1873, two years after the Union, when an Order in Council was passed which (most improvidently in the view of the Committee) declared that Esquimalt should be the terminus of the railway.

By this policy, had it remained unreversed, the Government would have been obliged to provide for the construction of over 160 miles of railway on Vancouver Island, at a probable cost of over seven millions five hundred thousand dollars; besides the building of a railway from the head of Bute Inlet and the bridging of the Narrows, a work supposed to be the most gigantic of its kind ever suggested,



and estimated to cost more than twenty millions, making a total estimated cost of over twenty-seven millions and a half dollars.

The present Government from the beginning declined to adopt or maintain this part of the policy of its predecessors, either by bridging the Narrows, or by constructing any works on Vancouver Island as part of the Pacific Railway; but even had they done otherwise, such a course, however unwise, would not have altered the facts already detailed, which show conclusively that the Island Railway was not stipulated for by the terms of Union.

The attitude which the present Government have always assumed upon this subject appears from the instructions to Mr. Edgar, of 19th September, 1874, which contains the following paragraphs:—

‘You will remember that the Dominion is bound to reach the *seaboard of the Pacific* only, not Victoria or Esquimalt, and you will convey an intimation to them that any further extension beyond the waters of Bute Inlet, or whatever other portion of the sea-waters may be reached, may depend entirely on the spirit shown by themselves in assenting to a reasonable extension of time, or a modification of the terms originally agreed to. \* \* \* \* \*

‘You will take special care not to admit in any way that we are bound to build the railway to Esquimalt, or to any other place on the Island, and while you do not at all threaten not to build there, to let them understand that this is wholly and purely a concession, and that its construction must be contingent on a reasonable course being pursued regarding the other parts of the scheme.’

The whole tenor of the subsequent correspondence and action of this Government has been in strict accordance with this view. The Minute of Council of 8th July, 1874, transmitted to Lord Carnarvon, contains the following paragraph:—

‘The proposition made by Mr. Edgar involved an immediate heavy expenditure in British Columbia not contemplated by the terms of Union, namely: the construction of a railway on Vancouver Island, from the port of Esquimalt to Nanaimo, as compensation to the most populous part of the Province for the requirement of a longer time for completing the line on the mainland.’

The Minute of the 23rd July, 1874, also transmitted to Lord Carnarvon, contains the following paragraph:—

‘The Dominion Government were also willing to exceed the terms of Union by constructing a railway on the Island of Vancouver, although they were bound only to reach the seaboard of the Pacific.’

The Minute of the 17th September, 1874, also transmitted to Lord Carnarvon, contains the following paragraphs:—

‘The proposal may thus be summarized:—1. To build a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, on Vancouver Island, in excess of the terms of Union, and to begin the work immediately.’ \* \* \* \* \*

‘It is proper to notice *seriatim*, the several grounds of complaints as stated in the despatch. 1st. That nothing is being done by the Dominion Government towards commencing and pushing on a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo.

‘The Dominion has no engagement to build such a railway, and therefore there can be no just complaint that it is not commenced. The construction of such

a railway was offered only as compensation for delay in fulfilling the engagement to build a railway to the Pacific seaboard.'

The same view was recognised and acted upon last Session by the introduction of a bill to authorize the construction of a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, a course which would have been unnecessary had that line formed part of the Pacific Railway; and also by the Minute of Council of 22nd March, 1875, which pointed out to the British Columbia Government that it was essential that legislation should take place in British Columbia for the appropriation of certain lands in respect of that railway, a step which would have been unnecessary had it formed part of the Pacific Railway, but the necessity for which was recognized by the British Columbia Government and Legislature, which passed an Act for the purpose.

It is impossible to doubt that the British Columbia Government and Legislature were, when that Act was passed, well aware of the views of the Canadian Government and Parliament, which, however, they never repudiated, the first expression of dissatisfaction therewith being contained in the Minute of Council of British Columbia, dated 4th January, 1876.

The Committee have only to repeat that Canada being under no obligation to construct a railway upon Vancouver Island as part of the Pacific Railway, the proposal to construct that line was obviously and necessarily intended as a compensation or concession to the Province of British Columbia for delays in the construction of the Pacific Railway.

The address proceeds to refer to the statement in the Minute of Council of this Government of 20th September last, upon the subject of the Parliamentary provisions that no further increase of the rate of taxation should be required in order to the construction of the railway.

The address affirms that the terms of the resolution referred to 'were abandoned in 1874, the rate of taxation having been increased, and the construction of the railway having been undertaken by the Government, instead of being confided to private enterprise,' and proceeds to submit that 'the resolution was at best merely the indication of a scheme matured by the Government to provide the means to fulfil their railway engagements with the Province; that it was never submitted to the people or Government of British Columbia; nor was it, so far as known, submitted in 1871 to Her Majesty's Government for consideration, when the terms of Union were passed; or in 1874 to Lord Carnarvon, during the negotiation which preceded the settlement. The resolution, therefore, cannot, for plain constitutional as well as legal reasons, control either the terms of Union or the settlement made to carry them out.'

The Committee would observe that the resolution in question was passed within a few days of the time at which the terms of Union were assented to by the House of Commons; that it was well known that in order to secure the consent of a majority of the House to these ruinous terms, the Government of that day were obliged to promise to their supporters the introduction of such a resolution; and that the then delegate, now the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, was present and aware of, and doubtless an assenting party to the arrangement.

The present Government, however, have never contended that the resolution



was of the same force as if it had been embodied in the terms of Union. On the contrary, they share the opinion expressed at the time by a large minority of the House of Commons, that it was of the last importance, in order to secure Canada from embarrassing complications and exorbitant and possibly ruinous demands, that the terms of the resolution should be so embodied. In that effort the Opposition were unsuccessful, and the consequences of their failure cannot be ignored. Had the Opposition succeeded, and so enabled the Government to argue that the terms of Union were absolutely and technically controlled by the terms of the resolution, they would not have considered themselves called on to offer new terms to British Columbia. It was because they felt that they could not fairly take this ground that new terms were proposed. But the Government have always contended that in considering this question in a moral and equitable point of view—trying it as it should be tried, as a question of honor—it is impossible for British Columbia, under the circumstances shortly stated, to hold herself entirely absolved from considering that resolution, which should be treated as an ingredient in estimating the extent of the moral obligation of Canada towards the Province.

The Committee cannot assent to the suggestion that the increase of taxation involved an abandonment of the resolution.

It is true that, animated by a desire honorably to fulfil to the utmost of their ability the improvident engagements to which the country had been committed, the Parliament of Canada did, at the instance of the Government in the Session of 1874, largely increase the rate of taxation; but no such increase could under any circumstances deprive the Government or Parliament of its right to advert to the resolution in question as still continuing to be an element to be considered—much less could it have that effect when, contemporaneously with the increase of taxation, an Act was passed reiterating that resolution as forming part of the policy of Parliament on the subject.

The like observation applies to the suggestion that the resolution was abandoned by the provisions in the Act of 1874, permitting the Government to construct the whole or part of the work.

The plan proposed by the late Government had failed. The company which it chartered had been unsuccessful in raising the necessary funds; had acknowledged its failure, and had asked for the concession of more favorable terms. That concession not having been granted, it had asked for a cancellation of its charter and the repayment of the million of dollars deposited as security for the execution of the work. These requests had been granted, and the company had been dissolved.

In providing under such circumstances for the execution of the work, it was prudent, if not necessary, to take power for the construction of the railway, in whole or part, as a public enterprise, first because it was impossible to assert after the failure of the former scheme that it possessed the elements of success, and also because, pending the completion of the surveys, the power so taken might enable some progress to be made. But the power of constructing the work by means of a private company, should that be found possible, remains, and can at the proper time be exercised.

Again, in the very Act which authorized the construction by the Government, the resolution in question was recited and re-enacted, thus rendering it utterly im-

possible to contend successfully that Parliament was, by that Act, abandoning the resolution.

The resolution having been so re-enacted in the Statute under whose provisions alone the Administration had power to deal with the question, was referred to in more than one of the Minutes transmitted to Lord Carnarvon during the negotiation for settlement.

The address inaccurately states the position taken in the Minute of 20th September upon this subject, which is as follows:—

‘It must be borne in mind that every step in the negotiation was necessarily predicted upon, and subject to the conditions of the resolution of the House of Commons passed in 1871, contemporaneously with the adoption of the terms of Union with British Columbia, subsequently enacted in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1872, and subsequently re-enacted, after a large addition had been made to the rate of taxation, in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1874—that the public aid to be given to secure the accomplishment of the undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land and such subsidy in money or other aid, *not increasing the then existing rate of taxation*, as the Parliament of Canada should thereafter determine. This determination, not to involve the country in a hopeless burden of debt, is sustained by public opinion everywhere throughout the Dominion, and must of necessity control the action of the Government, and it cannot be too clearly understood that any agreements as to yearly expenditure, and as to completion by a fixed time, must be subject to the condition thrice recorded in the Journals of Parliament, that no further increase of the rate of taxation shall be required in order to their fulfilment. The sanction of Parliament to the construction of the proposed railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo was necessarily a condition precedent to the commencement of the work.

‘The other important features of the arrangement—namely, the limitation of time for the completion of a certain portion and the specification of a yearly expenditure, were deemed to be within the meaning of the Pacific Railway Act, 1874, subject of course to the condition already mentioned, and which was referred to in the Minute of Council of December 18th, 1874, when the Government expressed a willingness to make these further concessions rather than forego an immediate settlement of so irritating a question, as the concessions suggested might be made without involving a violation of the spirit of any Parliamentary resolutions or the letter of any enactment.’

The British Columbia Government and Legislature were, of course, aware of the passing of the resolution, and of its enactment in the Statutes of 1872 and 1874; but they never made any objections to these provisions.

The Committee, for the reason assigned, wholly dissent from the view that the resolution has been abandoned.

The address proceeds to state that ‘no compensation has been offered by the Dominion Government for the proposed abandonment of the section of railway on Vancouver Island, or for the broken engagements to build the waggon road and telegraph line, or for any of the past disastrous and ruinous delays in the construction of the Pacific Railway on the mainland or island.

‘That an indemnity, however, to the amount of \$750,000—the cost of about



twenty miles of railway—has been offered to British Columbia for any future delays which may occur in the construction of the railway, and that this sum will, subject to the assent of Parliament, be paid as a cash bonus to the Province, if the agreements for yearly railway expenditure and for completion of the railway to Lake Superior by 1890, be surrendered by the Province.'

The Committee having already dealt with several of these statements, it is unnecessary to repeat their argument. The proposal of the Government was to construct the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway as compensation for delays, upon receiving a grant of a large area of land on Vancouver Island.

Parliament declining to authorize the construction of that railway, the Government proposed to invite Parliament to pay in cash (towards the construction of local public works, to be determined on and built by British Columbia herself) seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars as a substituted compensation.

This sum seems to be but little regarded by the Legislature of British Columbia; but it appears to the Committee to be a very liberal offer. The population of the Province is estimated at ten thousand; that of the Dominion may be called four millions. A like expenditure at the same rate on public works over the whole Dominion would reach three hundred millions of dollars. An allotment at this rate to British Columbia is far from insignificant.

Nor was this sum offered on the condition stated in the address. It was not proposed that the Province should surrender the agreement for a yearly expenditure and the completion of the railway to Lake Superior. It was simply stated that the agreement was—as it was by the Government intended to be,—as by the law it necessarily must have been—as, unless Parliament should alter the law, it must have remained—subject to the condition so often repeated, with reference to the increase of taxation. Were it found possible to carry out fully those terms of the agreement without such increase, the Government proposed to do it. Were that found impossible, the Government proposed to carry out those terms so far as practicable consistently with the condition which was itself a fundamental part of any arrangement the Government could lawfully make; but the Committee must repeat their conviction that the people of Canada would not consent to enter unconditionally into arrangements which, though less onerous than the terms of Union, would yet involve such a burden as might, but for the condition, plunge the country into ruin.

The address states that 'the aim of the Province is to secure practical Confederation and its anticipated advantages as indicated in the terms of Union, in lieu of theoretical Union, with its losses, deprivation and many disappointments;' and 'that by reason of the repeated violations by Canada of her railway engagements, all classes of the British Columbia population have suffered loss. Provident anticipations based upon these engagements have resulted in unexpected and undeserved failure and in disappointment of a grave and damaging character; distrust has been created where trust and confidence should have been inspired; trade and commerce have been mischievously unsettled and disturbed; the progress of the Province has been seriously checked, and a feeling of depression has taken the place of the confident anticipations of commercial and political advantages to be derived from the speedy construction of a railway which should practically unite

the Atlantic and Pacific shores with Your Majesty's Dominions on the continent of North America.'

The Committee would observe that they cannot assent to the view that the Union with British Columbia has occasioned loss and deprivation to that Province. On the contrary, the results, financially, to the Dominion and to British Columbia respectively, even ignoring all railway expenditure in the Province, show that enormous pecuniary advantages have been derived by Columbia from Canada.

Appended hereto is a statement of the financial results of the Union from July, 1871, up to December, 1875, which shows that, after crediting British Columbia with all revenue received from it, and apart from all railway expenditure, Canada has expended for British Columbia one million two hundred and three thousand dollars over her receipts from that Province.

The Committee must further observe that the tenor of the representations now under consideration would seem to indicate that the object of the Legislature of British Columbia is less to secure the completion of the work as a national undertaking in such a way and on such terms as may best conduce to the welfare of the whole community, than to enforce the immediate and continued expenditure within their own Province, at whatever cost to Canada, of many millions of money, for which they cannot pretend to have given an equivalent; and that their chief grievance is that their people have not as yet derived, in addition to the other financial benefits of Union, the gains and profits to be expected from the expenditure of these millions in their midst. To these views must be mainly referred the allegations, unfounded as they appear to the Committee, of disastrous and ruinous delays, and as to all classes of the population having suffered loss and deprivations.

The Committee cannot but observe that the spirit which (ignoring the general welfare, and the importance to the whole of Canada of avoiding disaster from a premature commencement and a reckless prosecution of the Pacific Railway) presses so urgently for an enormous expenditure with a view to reap vast profits for the small population amongst which it is to be made, is hardly calculated to induce the people of Canada to second the efforts of the Administration to redeem, as far as they can, the appalling obligations to which, by the terms of Union, the country was committed.

The Committee remark with regret that the Assembly of British Columbia should have expressed their entire agreement with the views and statements set forth in the Minute of the Executive Council of that Province, dated 4th January, 1876, which, besides some allegations and arguments substantially repeated in the address, contains, with reference to the transmission of the Minute of Council of 20th September last, imputations upon the honor and good faith of the Canadian Government so gross that they must decline to discuss it.

The policy of the Government of Canada was to do everything in their power to fulfil in other respects the terms of the arrangement recently entered into in the manner set forth in their Minute of 20th September and referred to in this Minute; nor did the Government hesitate to intimate their readiness to propose a liberal compensation for delays in substitution of that provided by the arrangement, but to which Parliament declined to assent.

The Committee regret that the Legislature of British Columbia should have refused their proposal.



It remains only to endeavor to construct the Pacific Railway as rapidly as the resources of the country will permit.

The Committee recommend that copies of this Minute should be transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia."

The matter stood thus, when Mr. De Cosmos, member for Victoria, British Columbia, on the 28th March, moved a resolution, which, after briefly stating the agreement with the Province in 1871, and its continuous breach ever since 1873, declared :

" That therefore this House is of the opinion that the Government should forthwith promptly commence and vigorously and continuously prosecute the work of the actual construction of the said railway within British Columbia, in accordance with its solemn pledges to that Province."

This produced an animated discussion, and the whole case was again gone over, but the resolution was negatived by a large majority.

In the meantime the petition to Her Majesty with the accompanying statements of the Provincial Executive had reached England, and were brought under the notice of the Dominion Ministry by the Secretary for the Colonies. On the 22nd April, they briefly replied by the following report :—

" The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration the despatch from the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to your Excellency, of the 9th March, 1876, transmitting a copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary of State by the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, enclosing, with other papers, a petition to the Crown from the Legislative Assembly of the Province, praying Her Majesty to cause the Canadian Government to be immediately moved to carry out the terms of settlement effected through Lord Carnarvon's intervention in 1874, and also copies of previous letters from the Lieutenant Governor, enclosing other papers on the same subject, which despatch intimates that Lord Carnarvon would be glad to receive the observations of your Excellency's Ministers on the whole question.

The Minute of Council of the 13th March last, of which a copy has already been transmitted to Lord Carnarvon, fully expresses the views of this Government on the subject of the petition in question, and the other papers.

It is right to observe that, so far as the Committee are able to judge, the conclusions of that Minute faithfully represent the opinions of the people of Canada on the question, and further, that the Appropriation Act, to which your Excellency has just assented, contains a clause attached to the grant of money for the Pacific Railway, expressing the view of Parliament, that the arrangements for the construction of the work should be such as the resources of the country would permit without increasing the existing rates of taxation.

The Committee continue to be of opinion that the arrangements proposed in 1874 having been found impossible of execution, and British Columbia having declined to entertain the subsequent proposals made to her, and insisting still upon

the performance of what has been found impossible, it only remains for the Government to make such arrangements for the construction of the Pacific Railway as the resources of the country will permit without increasing the existing rates of taxation.

The Committee recommend that a copy of this Minute should be transmitted to Lord Carnarvon."

To the arguments of the Dominion Government set out in the report of the 13th March, the British Columbian Government replied, on the 3rd June, by a report of the Executive Council in the following terms:—

"The Committee of Council having had before them the Minute of the Privy Council of Canada, of March 13th last, commenting upon the address and petition to Her Majesty by the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, desire to submit the following remarks in relation thereto:—

That that Minute in no way disproves or even disputes the material facts stated in the said address, but rather seeks to account for them; nor does it in their opinion weaken the force of the representations based on those facts; and that they would be well satisfied that the argument in this case should be submitted to any impartial tribunal, just as it is left by the reply in the Minute of the Government of Canada upon that address.

That they desire, however, to deny distinctly that British Columbia has at any time, through any delegate or agent, either directly or indirectly, consented or agreed that the railway obligations of Canada towards British Columbia, under the terms of Union, should be subject to the limitation specified in the resolution adopted by the House of Commons of Canada, on the 11th day of April, 1871.

That such a limitation virtually nullifies those obligations altogether, as, indeed, is now in fact claimed by the Government of the Dominion.

That they protest against the unwarranted assumption in that Minute that British Columbia has in any way assented or become bound, either legally or in honor, to such an abrogation of the Railway Article of the terms of Union.

That they equally repel the charge that this Province, from sordid and selfish craving 'for the gains and profits to be expected from the expenditure of millions in their midst, on the construction of the Pacific Railway,' has ever sought to exact the literal fulfilment of the railway agreement, regardless of the general welfare of Canada, even to the involvement of the Dominion, of which she is a Province, in financial ruin, as is asserted in that Minute. That, on the contrary, British Columbia has always been ready to adopt a reasonable view of that agreement, as is fully shown by the cordial concurrence of her Government and people in the modification of that agreement, effected in 1874, through the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

That the Government of Canada, however, now evade compliance with the requirements of that modified agreement, or seek to qualify and virtually nullify it by a condition certainly not clearly or openly stated (if stated at all) when that modification was decided upon by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and accepted unreservedly by that Government.



That British Columbia never urged, nor desired, nor would she have concurred in any such expenditure of the public funds of Canada, in the construction of the Pacific Railway, as could be shown to be beyond the financial ability of the Dominion, but that she has claimed and does claim a right to form and express an independent opinion as to the extent to which that financial ability should be exerted on this great national enterprise; and she holds that, though in other respects an integral part of Canada as a Province of the Dominion, she is entitled, in respect of this question of the non-fulfilment of the terms upon which she entered the Dominion, to a position as independent as she occupied in negotiating those terms, a position of entire equality with that which attached to the Dominion itself, the other party to those negotiations.

That as regards the suggestion by the Government of Canada in the Minute of Privy Council, of 20th September last, that British Columbia should receive a bonus of \$750,000 'as compensation for any delays which may take place in the construction of the Pacific Railway,' it seems to be intimated in the subsequent Minute of March 13th, although it is yet far from being distinctly stated, that such bonus was offered in lieu of the proposed section of railroad between Esquimalt and Nanaimo only, and that it was never intended that the acceptance of that bonus by British Columbia should relieve Canada from any of the conditions of the settlement of the railway agreement effected in 1874, other than that providing for the construction of that particular section of railroad. If such was the intention of that offer, it is much to be regretted that it was expressed in the Minute of 20th September in language which certainly conveys a very different meaning, and fully warrants the conclusion, and none other, which the Government and people of British Columbia derived from it, viz. : that the acceptance of the proffered bonus would be held to preclude British Columbia from any further assertion of her rights under the Railway Article of the terms of Union. It is yet more to be regretted that the Government of Canada, on learning that the true intent of their suggestion had been, as they allege, misapprehended, have not, in plain language, renewed that suggestion in the spirit of the desire expressed in their last Minute, to propose 'a liberal compensation for delays, in substitution of that provided by the arrangement recently entered into, in 1874, but to which Parliament declined to assent.'

That as to the contention in the Minute of the Privy Council of Canada, of 20th of September last, that the 'proposed railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo does not form a portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as defined by the Act; it was proposed as compensation for the disappointment experienced by the unavoidable delay in constructing the railway across the continent,' which contention is renewed in their subsequent Minute, the Committee observe that the Order in Council, of 7th June, 1873, by which it is decided that 'Esquimalt be fixed as the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railroad,' has never been repealed or reversed, as far as the Committee are aware, by any subsequent Order of Council or other instrument, of equal validity. Certainly no such subsequent Order of Council has been communicated to the Government of British Columbia.

That, whatever may have been the intention of the Government of Canada in offering to construct immediately the portion of road between Esquimalt and Nanaimo, that offer was never accepted by the Government of British Columbia.

That the Government of British Columbia did, however, accept the settlement effected in 1874 through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that the Government and people of British Columbia are loyally ready to abide in all respects by that settlement, and to be bound by all its conditions as they may be defined by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

That the Government and Legislature of British Columbia, desirous then, as they still are, to do all in their power to give effect to that settlement, without hesitation complied last year with the request to the Government of Canada for the conveyance to that Government, by Act of this Legislature, of certain lands along the line of the proposed railroad between Esquimalt and Nanaimo, in aid of the construction of that portion of road, of the extent and on the conditions stipulated in the 11th Article of the terms of Union.

That the Government of Canada, in their application for the conveyance of those lands by Act of this Legislature, gave no intimation that such conveyance by legislation was specially requisite on account of the proposed road from Esquimalt to Nanaimo not being part of the Canadian Pacific Railroad; nor was such a consideration presented in any way to the Government or Legislature of British Columbia.

That the Committee hold, on the contrary, that such legislation would have been equally required for the full legal conveyance of the lands applied for, whether the portion of road towards the construction of which they were appropriated were part of the Canadian Pacific Railroad or not, and that similar legislation would be requisite for the conveyance to the Dominion of any lands in respect of the construction of any portion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, under the 11th Article of the terms of Union, by which the Government of British Columbia 'agree to convey' certain lands on the conditions therein stated, this Government being incompetent to duly carry that agreement into effect without being further specially empowered so to do by the Legislature of the Province.

That the contention that the portion of road between Esquimalt and Nanaimo is not part of the Pacific Railway is wholly immaterial if—as seems to be indicated in the last Minute of Privy Council—that portion of road was undertaken in 1874 as compensation for delay which had then already occurred in the commencement of the Pacific Railroad, and for such further delay only in its construction and completion as is stipulated in the settlement effected by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

That, with regard to the comparative statement of the revenue and expenditure of the Dominion in British Columbia since Union, which is appended to and commented upon in the Minute of Privy Council, of 13th March, it would not be difficult to show that that statement is not altogether a fair exhibit of the account. That a large part of the expenditure charged against British Columbia is incidental to the extension of the system of Confederation over a new Province. That the revenue derived by the Dominion from British Columbia is shown by that statement to have steadily and largely increased, viz. : as \$363,298.08 for the year 1871-2 is to \$275,333.01 for the first half of the year 1875-6, the expenditure increasing also in about the same proportion; that whilst it may confidently be anticipated that at least that ratio of increase of revenue will be maintained, the



increase of expenditures, on the other hand, may be expected to be proportionately reduced after the completion of those public buildings and other public works, the construction of which was provided for in the terms of Union, and to which a considerable part of the expenditure of the past three years is chargeable.

That even if it could be shown, from a comparison of the expenditure and receipts of the Dominion in British Columbia since Union, that enormous pecuniary advantages have, as is asserted in that Minute, resulted to this Province, such a financial balance against British Columbia would be but insignificant in comparison with the infinitely more important and lasting benefits which she justly anticipates from the construction of the Pacific Railroad in accordance with the terms of Union, not indeed so much from the expenditure of money in its construction as from the results to the Province and to the Dominion of its completion, and the establishment thereby of a great highway for trade and travel within British territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the immigration consequent therefrom into this Province.

That the introduction, by the Government of the Dominion, of such a discussion as to the financial results to Canada and British Columbia respectively, from the introduction of that Province into the Dominion, appears to the Committee most unfortunate, and is certainly not pertinent to the question at issue. British Columbia has never complained of having been unfairly dealt with in the apportionment of the general expenditure by the Dominion, nor would the Committee desire to assume that such expenditure, either in British Columbia or elsewhere, has been directed by any other motive than that of promoting the general welfare of the Dominion as a whole, without seeking to purchase, by undue apportionment of the public funds, the consent of this or any other Province to an abandonment of just claims under the terms of Union.

That the manifestation by the Government of Canada of their sentiments towards British Columbia, expressed in the concluding paragraphs of their last Minute, followed as it has been by the adoption by a large majority of the House of Commons in the recent Session—all the members of the Government in that House being of that majority—of a resolution to the effect that the Pacific Railroad shall not be built if its construction entail on Canada any increase of taxation, has painfully impressed us, and the community we represent, with the conviction that the Government of Canada do not intend to press the construction of that railroad beyond the convenience of that Government after providing for all other public works of apparently more direct and local interest to the majority in Eastern Canada, nor to have any regard to the contract for its completion entered into by Canada in the terms of Union, and renewed in modified terms in the settlement effected, in 1874, by the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, except subject to that convenience.

That the Committee, again, humbly submit that British Columbia is, at least, entitled to have the conditions of that settlement carried out in letter and in spirit, and they humbly and earnestly renew the prayer of the petition to Her Majesty, from the Legislative Assembly of the Province, that the Dominion Government be immediately moved to carry out the terms of that settlement.

They have the fullest confidence that Her Majesty will not require her loyal

subjects in this Province, however numerically weak, to submit to injustice and injury from the majority, however great, to whom they united themselves at Her Majesty's instance, on distinct and carefully considered terms, in claiming the performance of which, even in a modified form, they are met with reproaches and charged with ignominious motives.

That, unless means be speedily taken to remove this sense of slight and injustice, now felt by the people of British Columbia, and to satisfy them that the substantial rights of the Province will be maintained, this growing alienation of sentiment must result prejudicially to the interests of the Empire.

The Committee respectfully request that your Excellency will be pleased, if this Report be approved, to cause copies thereof to be severally forwarded to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to the Honorable the Secretary of State for Canada."

Though the Earl of Carnarvon must by this time have been not a little tired of the interminable controversy, he courteously expresses his hope that the parties will yet agree, and he looks forward to the contemplated visit of His Excellency to the complaining Province as a means of allaying its discontent. He writes as follows to the Governor General :

"DOWNING STREET, *May* 23, 1876.

MY LORD,—I have received your despatch, No. 75, of the 17th March, in which you enclose a Report of a Committee of your Privy Council drawn up in reference to a petition to the Queen, from the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, having reference to the course proposed to be taken by the Canadian Government with reference to the construction of the Pacific Railway.

2. The petition of the Legislative Council of British Columbia was forwarded to me, as you are aware, by the Lieutenant Governor of the Province, who had also previously communicated to me the Minutes of his Executive Council, dated the 6th December, 1875, and 4th January, 1876, relating to the same subject.

3. I have learnt with sincere pleasure that with the concurrence of your Ministers you contemplate a progress through the western portion of the Dominion, as, apart from the advantages likely to arise from your becoming personally acquainted with British Columbia and its inhabitants, your intercourse with the principal persons of the Province, and the information you will be able to gather, will be very valuable in enabling me to appreciate the situation.

4. I should have been anxious to take the papers to which I have referred at once into consideration, and to offer my assistance, so far as it might have been effective, in the settlement of the question which has unfortunately been at issue between the two Governments, but it appears to me that the benefits likely to be derived from your visit will be so great that I prefer to postpone my consideration of the papers till after that event.

5. It seems to me quite unnecessary for Her Majesty's Government to review the arguments advanced by the British Columbia Government in their Minute of Council of the 4th January : as to whether or no the Nanaimo Railway had ever



been spoken of or regarded as an integral portion of the main line, or the results suggested as flowing from the proposition, inasmuch as the Dominion Government during the course of the recent negotiations volunteered to build it as an independent undertaking, and on circumstances rendering the execution of the project impossible, proposed, as I understand, to ask Parliament to vote in substitution a money payment, a modification, the principle of which would appear to be reasonable.

6. I am glad to perceive that your Ministers recognize the fact that the Resolution of the House of Commons, passed a few days after the terms of the Union had been ratified by the Dominion Legislature, could not be regarded as having the same force or significance as if it had formed an integral part of a Treaty agreed to by both parties, though even apart from the weight claimed for the resolution itself the condition asserted in it, namely, that the aid to be granted to the construction of the Pacific Railway should not be such as to increase the existing rate of taxation, involves of course a principle of which neither British Columbia nor any other part of the Dominion should lose sight.

7. I cannot but suppose that the complaints that have reached me from the Government of British Columbia have been founded on a misapprehension, both with reference to the expression used in the Canadian Minute of Council of the 20th September, in regard to the cash bonus of \$750,000, which it was proposed to award to the Province, as well as to the intentions of the Dominion Minister. From the Report of the Engineers, which you have forwarded to me, I am led to believe that no exertions have been spared in the prosecution of the extremely difficult surveys which must necessarily precede the location of the line, and I cannot help entertaining every confidence that the Dominion authorities will continue to exercise effective diligence in the prosecution of the work.

8. Whilst I fully sympathize with the anxieties which must be felt by those charged with the responsibility of bringing this very great enterprise to a successful termination, and readily acknowledge the difficulties which attend it, I confidently trust that the inhabitants of British Columbia will not fail to remember that they are not merely inhabitants of a Province, but of a great Dominion, and that they will not be less anxious than any of their fellow-subjects in any other part of the country to see the work conducted under such circumstances as will be most conducive to the welfare of the community at large.

9. I heartily approve of your journey to British Columbia, and doubt not that the fact of your Ministers concurring so entirely in the visit will be recognized by the inhabitants of the Province as a proof of their good will and solicitude, and I wish it to be understood that no course could have been suggested which would have been more in accordance with my own views. It is indeed because I attach so much importance to the project, and entertain so confident a hope of the results likely to arise from it, that I propose to postpone my reply to the Minutes of Council which have been communicated to me from British Columbia, and from Canada respectively, and to defer laying before Her Majesty the petition from the Provincial Assembly until after I shall have heard from you from Victoria.

10. It only remains for me to notice the complaint of the British Columbia Government that the Minute of Council of September 20th, 1875, of your Government was not forwarded to them till after a long delay. After the explanations

which have been given of this occurrence, I am certain that the Government of British Columbia will feel as convinced as I myself am that it was merely owing to an unfortunate oversight ; and I regret that it should have been thought to warrant an imputation which ought never to have been made.

You will be so good as to communicate this despatch to the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia."

The case stood in this unsettled and highly unsatisfactory state when attention was again drawn to it by the visit of His Excellency to British Columbia. This will be described in its proper place.

The Session was unusually uninteresting. With the exception of the discussions on the Pacific Railway policy and the British Columbia difficulty, the debates were dull, and the amount of important legislation small. The general stagnation of trade called forth the usual platitudes, but no one seemed to have any idea of the mode of securing relief, and the Opposition contented themselves with mild criticisms on the action or inaction of the Government, according as it moved or stood still. The Ministry had no striking policy, its opponents had therefore little to denounce. The Government seemed content to drift on, without any objective point of arrival, and the Opposition seemed content to drift with them. The Tariff excited a few trite remarks, but the Finance Minister had little difficulty in defending his policy, for it was a simple continuation of that of the late Government, and was therefore protected from their assaults. The Provinces were now all content except British Columbia, though a little muttering was heard from Manitoba which will be referred to in a chapter to be set apart for that Province. Ontario was moving quietly and contentedly on. Mr. Mowat's Ministry was so strong that the feeble efforts of the Opposition attracted little attention even in the Province itself, and much less outside of it. The disturbing element in New Brunswick, the school question, had at last been settled ; Nova Scotia had almost forgotten the old bitterness, and Prince Edward Island was happy over her new Land Tenure, and the possession of the greatest mileage of railway ever enjoyed by any country, in proportion to its extent. Newfoundland, though not in the Union, was so prosperous, that she evinced no desire to join the fortunes of the Confederacy.

In Ottawa the dullness of the Session was relieved by a series of entertainments at Rideau Hall. Their Excellencies gave a grand Fancy Ball at Government House, on the 23rd February ; to which fifteen hundred invitations were issued. The skill of Paris, London, New York and Boston were invoked for the occasion, and the result



was an entertainment which far surpassed anything of the kind ever yet seen in British North America.

The Ball was opened by a procession which entered the ball room and passed through to the foot of the throne. It was composed as follows :—

Mr. Campbell.

Mr. Hamilton, A.D.C. . . . . Capt. Ward, A.D.C.

Mr. Kimber, (Black Rod).

Lady Helen Blackwood. . . . . Viscount Clandeboye.

HIS EXCELLENCY. . . . . HER EXCELLENCY.

Hon. Terence Blackwood, Page.

Master A. Littleton, Page.

Miss Macdonald. . . . . Mrs. Hingston.

Miss Morris. . . . . Mrs: Bierstadt.

Major General Selby-Smyth.

Capt. Selby-Smyth, A.D.C. . . . . Major Hamilton.

Col. the Hon. E. G. P. Littleton . . . . . Hon. Mrs. Littleton.

Mr. Russell Stephenson. . . . . Mrs. Russell Stephenson.

Mr. W. R. Baker. . . . . Mr. J. Kidd.

— Mr. F. Dixon. . . . . Mr. St. L. Herbert.

A few moments sufficed to group the members composing it around the dais ; the band played the opening bars of " God Save the Queen " and the ball began.

The state quadrille was formed as follows :—

HIS EXCELLENCY. . . . . HER EXCELLENCY.

Major General Selby-Smyth . . . . . Hon. Mrs. Littleton.

Major Hamilton. . . . . Mrs. Hingston.

Mr. R. Stephenson . . . . . Mrs. Bierstadt.

Col. the Hon. E. G. P. Littleton . . . . . Mrs. R. Stephenson.

Miss Morris. . . . . Capt. Ward, A.D.C.

Miss Macdonald. . . . . Mr. F. Hamilton, A.D.C.

Viscount Clandeboye. . . . . Lady Helen Blackwood.

Not the least interesting feature of the night was the dancing of " Singing quadrilles," and a valse, the music of which was supplied by the dancers themselves, supported by the accompaniment of a piano. This novelty was in the form of nursery rhymes. The ladies who took part in these dances were Miss Bethune, Miss H. Bethune, Mrs. Corbett, Mrs. Forrest, Mrs. Kingsford, Mrs. Mills, Miss Powell, Miss

Skead, Miss Cockburn, the Misses Drummond, Miss F. Fellowes, Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Poetter, Mrs. Patterson, Miss Willis. The gentlemen were Mr. J. A. Clayton, Mr. A. J. Duffy, Mr. M. K. Dunlevie, Mr. F. Gourdeau, Mr. E. Gingras, Mr. E. Hallamore, Mr. W. Hims-worth, jun., Mr. E. Kimber, Dr. Lynn, Col. the Hon. E. G. P. Little-ton, Mr. N. McLean, Mr. G. R. Major, Mr. J. Plummer, Mr. Russell Stephenson, Mr. L. Waters, and Mr. G. White.

The following ladies danced with His Excellency during the evening: Her Excellency, Mrs. Hingston, Miss Bethune, Miss Morris, Mrs. Mackenzie, Mrs. Bierstadt, Mrs. Elliott, Mrs. Blake, Miss Macpherson, Mrs. Scott, Mrs. Stephenson, Miss Bennett, Mrs. Littleton, Miss Macdonald, Mrs. Vail, and Mrs. Burpee.

The following was the order of the few first couples in the proces-sion to supper :

HIS EXCELLENCY and Mrs. Mackenzie ;  
 Hon. Mr. Mackenzie and HER EXCELLENCY ;  
 Chief Justice Richards and Mrs. Bierstadt ;  
 Hon. R. W. Scott and Mrs. Hingston ;  
 Hon. L. S. Huntington and Mrs. Russell Stephenson ;  
 Hon. J. Burpee and Miss Macdonald ;  
 Hon. David Laird and Miss Morris ;  
 Hon. E. Blake and Mrs. Littleton ;  
 Hon. Mr. Vail and Mrs. Blake ;  
 Hon. Mr. Mills and Mrs. Scott ;  
 Hon. Mr. Coffin and Miss Richards ;  
 Col. Macpherson and Mrs. Burpee ;  
 Hon. R. J. Cartwright and Mrs. Vail ;  
 The Chaplain of His Excellency and Miss Bramley.\*

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\* A very pleasing incident occurred not long afterwards, creditable as well to the self-denial and the noble adherence to principle exhibited by this young lady as to the kindness of His Excellency and his unfeigned respect for a conscientious discharge of duty. At one of Her Excellency's " At Homes " during Lent His Excellency was attracted to the young lady, and did her the honor of a request for a dance. She is well known in Ottawa as a devoted adherent of the Church of England, and she had made a vow not to dance in the Lenten season. The temptation to break it on the flattering request of His Excellency was very great, but she, with admirable fortitude, gracefully declined the honor. Unfortunately, His Excellency retired before she could explain the reason for what, without explanation, would, in Rideau circle, be considered a rudeness. She, however, promptly wrote a note to His Excellency, which drew forth one of those delightful replies for



It is, of course, beyond the scope of this work to attempt any detailed account of this very magnificent entertainment, and it would have been passed over with a very slight mention were it not for the fact that it formed an important constituent in the social policy of His Excellency, who embraced the occasion of the meeting of Parliament, when the best families of the Dominion were represented in Ottawa, to bring together the social elements of the country.\*

which he is so distinguished, and which was more than an ample recompense to Miss Bramley for the loss of a dance with her distinguished suitor.

\* The *London Standard* had the following remarks on this event :—“The Fancy Ball at Rideau has been a prominent topic of conversation throughout Canada. The Governor General and Lady Dufferin have reason to be satisfied with the marked success which has attended their efforts to amuse and entertain their subjects, who, it must be admitted, both appreciate and second such efforts to the full of their ability. Lord Dufferin enjoys more popularity than has ever fallen to the share of any previous Governor General. He passed with credit and safety through a political typhoon of unexampled intensity, and when work has to be done, he never spares himself. But if he knows how to work, he also knows how to play—and in his leisure hours he ‘goes in’ for amusements, and thoroughly identifies himself with all the games, sports, and pursuits for which Canada affords opportunity. The ‘Dufferin’ medal, lavishly bestowed, is the chief prize for the curlers, skaters, yachtsmen, cricketers, lacrosse players ‘from the Atlantic to the Pacific.’ Nor are higher and worthier objects forgotten, as from the best universities to every school of any importance, gold, silver or bronze medals are annually allotted, a thoughtful generosity on the part of His Excellency which is producing most excellent results.”

Another journal says :—“The Fancy Ball given by Lord Dufferin reminds one of the ball at which an ancestor of his figured, and was made immortal by Thackeray. The third verse commences :

“And Julien’s band, it tuk its stand  
 So swately in the middle there,  
 And soft bassoons played hivinly chunes,  
 And violins did riddle there.  
 And when the coort was tired uv spoort,  
 I’d lave you, boys, to think there was  
 A nate buffet before them set,  
 Where lashins of good dhrink there was.  
 At tin, before the ball-room doore  
 His moighty Excellency was ;  
 He smoiled and bowed to all the crowd,  
 So gorgeous and imminse he was,—  
 His dhusky shuit, shublime and mute,  
 Into the door-way followed him !

On the 3rd April the House was prorogued.

On the 24th May Her Majesty, in making the customary distribution of honors on the anniversary of her birthday, recognized the great worth of Lord Dufferin as a public servant by creating him a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

On the 15th June, their Excellencies and suite left Ottawa *en route* for Quebec, where they proposed remaining for about a month, when after returning to Ottawa the important trans-continental trip was to be taken. They reached Quebec on the 16th June, where they were received with the usual honors. They occupied their time in visiting the public institutions, accompanied by Lieutenant Governor Caron, the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, the Mayor, and others. Among them the Drill Shed, the Artillery and Jesuits' Barracks, and the Queen's Store, were visited for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the people there sheltered, who had been rendered homeless by the recent great

\* \* \* \* \*

This Giniral great thin tuk his sate  
 Wid all the other ginirals—  
 (Bedad his troat, his belt, his coat  
 All blazed wid precious minerals ;) )  
 And as he there, wid princely air,  
 Recloinin on his cushion was,  
 All round about his royal chair  
 The squeezin and the pushin was.  
 O! Pat, sich girls, sich jukes and earls,  
 Sich fashion and nobilitee !  
 Jist think of Tim, and fancy him  
 Amidst the hoigh gentilitee !

\* \* \* \* \*

There was Lord Fingall, and his ladies all,  
 And Lord Killeen and DUFFERIN,  
 And Paddy Fife, and his fat wife,  
 Wondher how he could stuff her in.  
 Yis ! jukes and earls, and dimonds and pearls,  
 And purty girls was sportin there ;  
 And some beside (the rogues ! ) I spied  
 Beside the windies coortin there,—  
 O ! there's one I know bedad would show  
 As beautiful as any there,  
 An' I'd loike to hear the piper blow,  
 An' shake a fut wid Fanny there."



fire. His Excellency sent a subscription of \$200 to the Fire Relief Committee.

On the 21st June, the citizens of Quebec gave His Excellency a complimentary dinner in the Music Hall, which was fitted up in an unusually splendid manner. No pains had been spared to make the demonstration worthy of the old capital, and of its distinguished guests. His Worship the Mayor, Mr. Murphy, had for a long time devoted his careful attention to the preparations.

The Countess of Dufferin occupied a position on a raised dais. Covers were laid for two hundred and fifty guests, and all the seats were filled. At the head of the table were His Excellency, having on his right the Lord Bishop of Quebec, Mr. Cauchon, Mr. Justice Fournier, Senator Fabre, Mr. Justice Stuart, Mr. C. A. P. Pelletier, M.P., Mr. P. B. Casgrain, M.P., Mr. H. T. Taschereau, M.P., Dr. St. George, M.P., and Col. Duchesnay. On the left of His Excellency were the Mayor of Quebec, His Honor Lieutenant Governor Caron, Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, Premier of Canada, Mr. Justice Taschereau, Mr. Baillargeon, Mr. Justice Caron, Mr. Justice V. P. W. Dorion, Judge Doucet, Mr. Thibeaudeau, and Col. Strange.

Among the other gentlemen present were Mr. Lefavre, Consul General of France; Mr. Howells, United States Consul; Hon. G. Ouimet, Mr. John Hearn, M.P., and the Hon. Alex. Chauveau.

After the usual toasts, Mayor Murphy offered the toast of the evening, "His Excellency the Governor General," and in concluding his remarks he said that, in assuring his Lordship that he stood high in the affections and esteem of the citizens of Quebec, he wished also to assure Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin that she occupied no second place.

His Excellency rose to reply, amid long continued applause, and said:

"MR. MAYOR, YOUR HONOR, AND GENTLEMEN,—I can assure you it is with feelings of no ordinary emotion that for the first time since coming to this country I find myself called upon to address a public audience in the ancient capital of Canada, for I cannot help remembering under what various conditions, in how many vital emergencies, at what supreme epochs in its history, during the last 300 years, my illustrious predecessors must have had occasion to harangue the citizens of Quebec. (Cheers.) In a thousand vicissitudes of fortune, in perpetual alternations of triumph and despondency, when hordes of savages were lurking round your palisades, when famine had prostrated your strength, and the unaccustomed rigors of an Arctic winter had benumbed your faculties, when novel forms of pestilence devastated your homes, crowning your clergy and your sisterhoods

with the aureole of martyrdom, when foreign leaguers assaulted your independence, and hostile cannon threatened your battlements, Viceroy after Viceroy has appealed to your patience, your fortitude, your charity, your patriotism, and never once, whether in good fortune or ill fortune, as your history tells us, has the appeal been made in vain. (Great applause.) Happily, however, those days of dramatic oratory are over. From the rock on which your city stands, once isolated by an interminable ocean of primeval forest, and a waste of barbarism, there now stretches out on every side to the horizon a perfectly ideal prospect of agricultural wealth and beauty, while your political dominion, at one time reaching no further than the range of your primitive artillery, now requires two oceans to confine it. (Cheers.) As a consequence of this extraordinary growth the personal and autocratic administration of the Regal Representatives in this country has been superseded by the infinitely safer, more effective, and less obnoxious regimen of Parliamentary Government. (Applause.) But though relieved of the wider responsibilities which once weighed so heavily upon the earlier occupants of the office, and brought them into such close though not always harmonious intimacy with the community they ruled, the Governor Generals of to-day find themselves all the better able to cultivate those friendly social relations with the inhabitants of the country which it is one of their chief duties to maintain, and of which this splendid banquet is a most gratifying exhibition. (Applause.) And proud am I to think, Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen, that the admiration I have always felt for the beauty of your town, which in my opinion is rivalled by that of only two other capitals in the world (applause), and the deep sense I entertain of the singular kindness and affection evinced towards me by your citizens, should have evoked so flattering a recognition as that which is being extended to me at this moment. I only wish I could make an adequate return for so much good will, but there is one thing at all events which I can do—I can seize this opportunity of expressing my heartiest and warmest sympathies with the efforts which you, Mr. Mayor, and your enlightened townsmen are making to do justice to the glorious inheritance you have received from those who have gone before you, by devoting your energies to the moral improvement, the commercial development and the external embellishment of this renowned and ancient city. (Continued applause.) It is with especial pleasure I have learnt that there is now every prospect of our being able to accomplish the scheme which has been set on foot for the preservation and beautifying of your fortifications, combining, as it does, a due regard for the requirements of our increasing traffic, by the enlargement and multiplication of your thoroughfares, with the careful protection from the hands of the Vandal of those glorious bastions which girdle the town, and which are dignified by such interesting historical associations, and in doing this, gentlemen, you are only following the example of every municipality in Europe that has the good luck to be placed in similar circumstances. There was a time, indeed, when, through ignorance and a gross indifference to the past, the precious relics of antiquity were lightly regarded, and irreparable injury has consequently been inflicted on many an invaluable monument, but the resentment, the contempt, and the objurgations with which the authors of such devastations have been since visited by their indignant descendants evinces how completely the world has awaked to the



obligation of preserving with a pious solicitude such precious records of a bye-gone age. But if this obligation is imperative on the other side of the Atlantic, where the vestiges not only of mediæval art, but even of classic times, are to be found in considerable profusion, how much more is it incumbent upon us to maintain intact the one city on this continent which preserves the romantic characteristics of its early origin (applause)—a city the picturesqueness of whose architecture and war-scarred environments presents a spectacle unlike any other which is to be found between Cape Horn and the North Pole. (Tremendous applause.) Gentlemen of the Town Council, you must remember that you hold Quebec not merely as the delegates of its citizens, not merely even in the interest of the people of Canada, but as trustees on behalf of civilization and the inhabitants of the whole American continent (applause)—by whom the ruin and degradation of its antique battlements would be regarded as an irreparable outrage and a common loss. (Renewed applause.) But, gentlemen, happily there is no danger of the perpetration of any such suicidal destruction. Far from lending a traitorous hand to assist the ravages of time, you are making preparations to still further exalt and adorn your crown of towers, and sure am I that in after ages, when a maturer civilization shall have still further changed the face of Canada into that which it may at present be beyond our imagination to conceive, your descendants of that day will regard with feelings of everlasting gratitude those wise and instructed ædiles who handed down to them intact so precious a memorial of their country's past, a memorial which each lapsing century will invest with an ever deepening glow of interest. (Great cheering.) And, gentlemen, you must not suppose that the laudable efforts you are making have escaped the observation of our fellow countrymen at home. No sooner was it known in England that a scheme had been inaugurated for the embellishment of the fortifications of Quebec, than the Secretary of State for War, as the official representative and spokesman of the military sympathies of the Empire, announced to me his intention of testifying his own admiration, and the admiration of the soldier world of Great Britain at what we were about to do, by asking the Imperial House of Commons—who responded with acclamation to the proposal—to vote a sum of money to be expended in the decoration of some point along your walls in such a manner as might serve to connect it with the joint memory of those two illustrious heroes, Wolfe and Montcalm (great applause), whose deeds of valor and whose noble deaths in the service of their respective countries, would have been alone sufficient to immortalize the fair fortress for whose sake they contended, and whose outworks they watered with their blood. But, gentlemen, the news of your praiseworthy exertions has moved the heart and sympathies of even a greater personage than the Secretary of State for War—the Queen of England herself, who takes as much pride and interest in all that is doing in her distant colonies as she does in what happens within a stone's throw of her palace, has been graciously pleased to command me to take an early,—and what better opportunity could I take than the present,—of conveying to you, Mr. Mayor, and to those who are associated with you in this creditable enterprise, and to the citizens of Quebec, whose patriotism has authorized you to engage in it, her warm approval of the project which has been set on foot, and her hearty sympathy with the enlightened sentiments which have inspired it, and she has furthermore expressed a desire to

be associated personally with the work by presenting her good city of Quebec with one of the new gateways with which your enceinte is to be pierced, for the erection of which Her Majesty has been good enough to forward to me a handsome subscription (tremendous applause, the whole company rising and cheering for several minutes)—and which she desires may be named after her father, the late Duke of Kent, who for so many years lived amongst you, and who to his dying day retained so lively a recollection of the kindness and courtesy with which he was treated. Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, this would not be the place to enter into any discussion of the details or of the mode by which the projected improvements are to be carried out. But there is one leading principle which I trust may be kept in view, viz. : to arrange that there should be one continuous uninterrupted pathway for pedestrians along the entire circuit of the ramparts starting westward from Durham Terrace, round the base of the Citadel, and so by the Esplanade, the Artillery Barracks, Palace Gate, the Grand Battery, past the present Parliament Buildings, across Mountain street, back to Durham Terrace again. If this is accomplished, you will possess a walk which for its convenience, freedom from noise, danger, and interruption,—for the variety and beauty of its points of view, and for its historical and civic interest, will be absolutely unequalled (applause and cheers), and I am happy to think that the inexhaustible store of cut stone, of which the obsolete and superfluous outworks beyond the walls are composed will supply cheap, handy, and ample materials for the repair of the dilapidated portions of the bastions, and for the construction of the contemplated gateways. But in resorting to these materials I hope you will avoid the error committed by the zealous but not very enlightened agent of a friend of mine in Ireland. Upon the estate of this nobleman there stood an ancient tower, the relic of a castle which in ruder ages his ancestors had inhabited. Finding that mischievous children, cattle, tourists, donkeys (laughter), and other trespassers of that sort were forestalling the depredations of time, he instructed his man of business to protect the ruin with a wall, and left for England. On returning he took an early opportunity of visiting the spot, to see whether, as his agent had already assured him, his orders had been properly executed. Judge of his dismay when he found indeed a beautiful new wall, six feet high, running round the site of the old castle, but the castle itself levelled to the ground. (Great laughter.) The economical agent had pulled down the tower in order to build the wall with the stones of which it was composed. (Renewed laughter.) But, gentlemen, I must detain you no longer, and yet before I sit down there is one observation I cannot help desiring to make. I cannot help wishing to express the extreme satisfaction which I experience in observing with what alacrity and self-abnegation the chief citizens of Quebec, gentlemen whose private occupations and engagements must be extremely absorbing, are content to sacrifice their domestic leisure, and the interests of their private business in order to give their time and attention to the public service, and the direction and management of your municipal affairs. (Cheers.) And in paying this well-deserved compliment to those whom I am immediately addressing, I am happy to think that I can extend it with equal justice to the municipalities of Canada at large. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I take it that there is no more healthy sign of national life than this, or rather that there would be no more fatal indication of an un-



patriotic, selfish, and despicable spirit, than were we to see what are called the business men of the country, that is to say, those persons who, by their education, character, habits, and intelligence, are best fitted to serve her, being tempted by an over-absorption in their private business to abstain from all contact with public affairs, and a due participation in the onerous and honorable strife of municipal or parliamentary politics. (Cheering.) Were such a defection on the part of the most intelligent, energetic, and high-principled men of the country to prevail, the consequence would be that the direction of its affairs would fall into the hands of corrupt adventurers and trading politicians, and that the moral tone of the nation as a nation would deteriorate throughout every ramification, phase, and stratum of society; and what, I ask, is the worth of the largest fortune in the world, of the most luxurious mansion, of all the refinements and amenities of civilization, if we cannot be proud of the country in which we enjoy them (loud applause), if we are compelled to blush for the infamy of our rulers, if we cannot claim art and part in the progress and history of our country (cheers), if our hearts do not throb in unison with the vital pulse of the national existence, if we merely cling to it as parasites cling to a growth of rotten vegetation. (Applause.) Of course I do not mean to imply that we should all insist on being Prime Ministers, Secretaries of State, or Mayors, or Members of Parliament, or Town Councillors. (Laughter.) Such aspirations in all would be neither useful nor desirable. A large proportion of the energies of the community must be always employed in building up its mercantile, manufacturing and agricultural status, and in its learned professions, but I venture to think that no one, especially in a young country, no matter what his occupation, should consider himself justified in dissociating himself altogether from all contact with political affairs. The busiest of us can examine, analyze and judge; we can all canvass, vote, protest, and contend for our opinion; we can all feel that we are active members of a young commonwealth, whose future prospects and prosperity will depend upon the degree of patriotism, self-sacrifice, and devotion with which we apply our energies in our several stations to her material, moral and political development. (Great cheering.) The principle, I am happy to think, has been duly appreciated by my fellow-subjects on this side of the Atlantic, and it gives me the greatest pleasure to think that here, as at home, due honor and recognition is accorded to those who like you, Mr. Mayor, like you, gentlemen, that surround me, like the two Prime Ministers, and the members of the two Governments with which I have been associated, since I came into the country, have sacrificed many an opportunity of increasing their private fortunes, and of enhancing the worldly position of their families in order that they may render more faithful and undivided service to their beloved Canada, and the Empire of which she is the fairest offshoot." (Tremendous cheering and applause.)

His Excellency concluded by proposing in appropriate terms the health of the Mayor, coupling with it the sentiment "Prosperity to the City of Quebec."

His Excellency in this speech refers to the embellishment of Quebec. In 1875 the attention of Lord Dufferin was drawn to the subject, and he obtained from Mr. Lynn, an eminent civil engineer of Belfast, plans for the purpose.

The following is an authorized account of the embellishments proposed by His Excellency. It appeared in the issue of the *Quebec Morning Chronicle* of the 22nd November, 1875:

“If the scheme of city improvement and embellishment submitted by His Excellency the Governor General for the consideration of the City Council, and briefly outlined in our issue of Saturday, may be said to have taken the citizens somewhat by surprise, we believe we are correct in interpreting the popular feeling on the subject, when we state that the inhabitants of the ancient capital are, and will ever be, deeply grateful to Lord Dufferin for the deep and continuous interest which he takes in Quebec, the flattering preference he shows for it on all occasions, and the present signal manifestation of his good will and desire to promote its importance by the enhancement of its historic and scenic attractions, without very materially adding to the burthens of its tax-paying population. It surely must be a subject of general pride and congratulation to find such distinguished and influential patronage extended to our good old city, and to look forward to the prospect of future advantage which support in such a quarter is certain to open up for it. There is no denying that if the scheme proposed by His Excellency be carried out in its entirety, in connection with other improvements actually in contemplation, Quebec will not only have its modern requirements more than satisfied, but will become the show city of this continent, to which thousands of strangers will annually flock to view a grandeur of scenery unsurpassed on this side of the Atlantic, conjointly with the relics of an eventful and heroic past for which the outside world has a special veneration. Familiarity, it has been truly said, breeds contempt, and this self-same familiarity with our crumbling fortifications has engendered among ourselves an under-estimate of the value attached by strangers to them, and to the other mementoes of by-gone days, which abound in our midst. Not altogether improperly, outsiders regard Quebec as common property, a bit of the old world transferred to the new, tucked away carefully in this remote corner of the continent, and to be religiously preserved from all iconoclastic desecration, especially from that phase of the latter which goes by the name of modern improvement with some, but passes for wanton vandalism with others. They wish to have to say still of Quebec at the present day, as Longfellow sang of Nuremberg, that it is a

‘Quaint old town of toil and traffic,  
Quaint old town of art and song,  
Memories haunt thy pointed gables,  
Like the rooks that round them throng.’

In addition to being the oldest city in North America, Quebec, historically speaking, is also the most interesting. The traditions and associations, which cling to its beetling crags and hoary battlements, and cluster around its battlefields, monuments and institutions, are numerous and important in the eyes of the world. History speaks from every stone of its ruined walls, and from every standpoint of its surroundings; antiquity is stamped upon its face and quaintness is its chief characteristic. In the computation of our yearly income, the revenue we derive from these attractions, coupled with those supplied by the magnificent panorama of Nature



with which the city is encircled, forms no inconsiderable item. We imagine it will not be denied by any rational person that the stream of travel which tends this way with the return of each fine season, as surely as that season itself, is an immense advantage to the totality of the inhabitants, for it is a well recognized truth that where any special class, trade or calling in a community is benefitted, the whole are benefitted by the increase of the circulating medium. It is therefore a self-evident duty on our part to do all we reasonably can to preserve to Quebec its character of interest and antiquity, which is much prized by the rest of the world and is so valuable in a material point of view to ourselves. We should also, if possible, exert ourselves in the same direction to so enhance, by artificial means, the splendid scenic advantages we offer to admiring sight-seers, that like the Neapolitans, when they speak of Naples to the European traveller, we may tell the American to see Quebec and die. At the same time such modern improvements as can be effected without serious detriment to our historical monuments, such as our gates and ramparts, should not be neglected, to advance the growth and embellishment of the city and to facilitate communication between its older and newer parts. This is just what Lord Dufferin's plans and views with regard to Quebec propose to do. We have been favored with a sight of the admirably executed plans and designs, prepared by Mr. Lynn, the eminent civil engineer commissioned by Lord Dufferin to carry out his intentions, and who, it will be remembered, accompanied his Lordship and the Minister of Militia last summer on their examination of the military works and grounds. It will also be recalled that it was with considerable reluctance that His Excellency consented at all to the removal of the old gates and the cutting through of the walls on the western side of the fortress, and that it was only his well-known consideration for the wishes and requirements of the people of Quebec that induced him to concur in the demand for increased facility of communication between the city and its suburbs. According to Mr. Lynn's plans, it is easy to see that His Excellency still adheres to his original ideas in the matter, to some extent, while desiring at the same time to meet the popular wish and necessity. It is proposed that all the gates with the exception of Hope Gate, or rather the present apertures, are to be bridged or arched over, in viaduct fashion, with handsome bridges either in iron or stone, so as to preserve the continuity of the fortifications. In this way, the openings in the ramparts, including that for the extension of Nouvelle street, will remain as free to traffic as they are at present. St. John's Gate is, of course, included with the others in this category. All the bridges or arches over the gates will be flanked with picturesque Norman turrets, of different size and design, such as are frequently seen in old French and German castles. Hope Gate, it is contemplated simply to flank with such turrets, some twelve more of which will also at different other points adorn and relieve the monotonous effect of the long dead line of wall from Palace Gate to the Parliament Buildings. His Excellency next proposes a boulevard or continuous drive around the entire fortifications, commencing at the Durham Terrace, which he wishes to have prolonged westwards to the King's Bastion, and thus make it one of the most magnificent promenades in the world, with an unequalled view of river, mountain, crag and island scenery, and taking in both the upper and lower portions of the harbor. Thence the boulevard will

continue, rising by an easy incline to the foot of the Citadel, and thence will run along the crest of the cliff at the foot of the walls round to the rough ground or Cove field, through which it will be carried, following the line of the fortifications, crossing St. Louis street and entering the Glacis on the north side of that thoroughfare; the square of which comprised between St. Louis street, St. Eustache street, the extension of Nouvelle street and the walls, His Excellency wishes to have formed into a park or ornamental pleasure ground, communicating with the Esplanade by means of a sally-port through the rampart. Through this park, the boulevard will be continued down across St. John street and around through the gardens and grounds of the Artillery Barracks, to Palace Gate, crossing in its passage three other openings in the fortification wall to give direct communication with the city to D'Aiguillon, Richelieu and St. Olivier streets, such openings being bridged over in the same fashion as the others. From Palace Gate the boulevard will follow the present line of Rampart street round to the Parliament Buildings, in rear of which it will pass, and then traverse Mountain Hill over a handsome iron bridge flanked with turrets, on the site of old Prescott Gate, to Fortification lane in rear of the Post Office, which will be enlarged and graded up, back again to the Durham Terrace or original point of departure, thus making a continuous, unbroken circuit of the entire fortifications, and providing a public promenade that will undoubtedly be unsurpassed by anything of the sort in the world, and cannot not fail to attract thousands of profitable visitors to Quebec. The cost of the undertaking would not be so enormous as might appear at first sight. It is estimated that His Excellency's capital idea in this respect could be carried out at an outlay of ninety thousand dollars, of which the city would only be asked to contribute thirty thousand, the Federal authorities making up the difference. But His Excellency does not seem satisfied to stop short even at this work of embellishment in his desire to promote the interests of our good old city. He wishes that it should become also the abode of the representative of royalty in Canada, at least during the summer season, and, in order that it should enjoy to the fullest all the importance and material benefit likely to flow from this circumstance, he further proposes to have a regular and fitting vice-regal residence erected for himself on the Citadel, to be styled the Castle of St. Louis or *Chateau St. Louis*, and to revive the ancient splendors of that historic residence of the early governors of New France. We have also seen the plans and sketches of this building, and must admit that, if constructed, it will of itself materially enhance the appearance of Quebec, and, when taken in conjunction with the proposed new Parliamentary and Departmental buildings and new Court House, will contribute largely to the scheme of city embellishment. As Quebec is approached by water, or from any point whence the Citadel is visible, it will be a striking object, as it will stand forth in bold relief to the east of the present officers' quarters, with a frontage of 200 feet and a depth partly of 60 and partly of 100 feet, with a basement, two main stories and attics, and two towers of different heights, but of equally charming design. The style of architecture is an agreeable 'melange' of the picturesque Norman and Elizabethan. The intention is, we believe, to have the quoins and angle stones of cut stone and the filling in of rough ashlar—the old stone from the fortifications being utilized for that purpose. The estimated cost of



the structure is \$100,000; but we have not heard whether the city will be asked to contribute to it. We are inclined, however, to think not, as it would be solely a Dominion work, for Dominion purposes, and erected upon Dominion property. Such, as far as we understand it, from the plans, is Lord Dufferin's very excellent and praiseworthy project for the improvement and embellishment of Quebec, and we are satisfied that as his Lordship appears to have made up his mind in its favor, it will not fail to be carried out in due time. As to when it will be commenced, of course, we are not in a position to speak; but when it does, the expenditure of money it will entail, and the employment it will give to the laboring classes and tradesmen generally, apart from any other of the favorable considerations we have pointed out, will be very opportune and acceptable to the people of the ancient capital. In bringing the matter forward so prominently, Lord Dufferin has done a great thing for Quebec, for which its inhabitants cannot thank him too warmly. It only remains for the city to meet his generous proposition in a like spirit of liberality, and it will go hard with old Stadacona if, between the North Shore Railway, the graving dock, the tidal docks, the harbor improvements of all kinds, and the proposed new buildings for the Legislature, public departments and the law courts, the condition of its people be not before long materially bettered and the appearance of things considerably improved. We should, perhaps, add that in the general scheme of Corporation improvements, in addition to those mentioned in our report of the City Council in Saturday's issue, are included the projects of a stairs, leading directly from St. George street on the ramps to Sault-au-Matlot street, in the vicinity of the Quebec Bank, which would obviate the present tedious detour for foot passengers by Mountain Hill of a street parallel to St. Paul street, and of an elevator for vehicles and foot passengers from the Champlain Market up the Cliff and underneath Durham Terrace to the north end of the Laval Normal School."

The City Council of Quebec has not only responded nobly to His Excellency's suggestions, but the Local Government has gone a step further and made provision, to co-operate in the carrying out of Lord Dufferin's admirable designs, and the Dominion Government is slowly moving in the same direction. Under its auspices, plans of the St. Louis and Kent Gates have been prepared, and in August, 1878, the work of constructing these portions of Lord Dufferin's projected embellishments was commenced.

The annual distribution of prizes to the scholars of the female branch of the Laval Normal School took place during His Excellency's visit to Quebec, and on the 27th June, their Excellencies attended in the Hall of the Ursuline Convent, where the ceremonies took place. On their entrance, the proceedings commenced by the performance of a spirited *galop* by the fair students. Besides their Excellencies there were present several members of the Lieutenant Governor's family; Hon. Mr. Ouimet, Superintendent of Education; Rev. Mr. Lagacé, Principal of the Normal School; and several of the professors.

The French and Spanish Consuls entered after the performance of the overture. The distribution of the ordinary prizes to the various divisions having been gone through by His Excellency, he next proceeded to confer the diplomas on the graduates, followed by the presentation of the "Dufferin" medals, silver and bronze, and the Prince of Wales prize. Previous to separating, addresses of thanks for the high honor done them were read in the name of their fellow students by Dlls. Lavoie and Caron in English and French respectively to their Excellencies. His Excellency in reply said :

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I assure you I have difficulty in finding words to convey all that I have felt during the very touching spectacle we have just witnessed, but the performances of this afternoon would be incomplete were I not to express, on behalf of those present, the admiration we have experienced at everything that has taken place. I cannot say how glad I am to have had an opportunity of giving away with my own hands the medals I have been allowed to place at the disposition of this institution, and I can only say that if all the others I have the pleasure of annually distributing are as well deserved elsewhere as this one has been here to-day by Mademoiselle Lavoie I have every reason to be proud of the results they will have produced. (Cheers.) I have had so many opportunities on previous occasions of expressing my deep sympathy and interest in the educational work of which to-day's ceremonial has been so interesting an exponent that I fear I can hardly find anything new to say upon the general subject, unless it be to remind those ladies at whose triumphs we have had the pleasure of assisting, that the honors they have now gained ought to prove a fresh incentive to them to continue their exertions in the honorable profession to which they propose to devote themselves. I say the honorable profession advisedly, because however wearisome, laborious, and trying it may occasionally prove, the privilege of teaching is after all one of the most beneficent, useful, and effective occupations in which those who love their country, and their fellow creatures, can engage. You are as was once said of your prototypes in a higher sphere 'the salt of the earth,' each one of you is now qualified to prove in the separate theatre of your respective labors a centre of light, and a fountain of intellectual and moral instruction, destined to illuminate and render gay with fruit and flowers, the region within the scope of your influence ; and what limit are we to place to the influence for good of a virtuous, high-minded, sensible and well-educated woman over those with whom she is brought into contact ; and we who are anxious about the future of our country, must have great satisfaction in considering that there should exist in the various provinces of Canada such an admirable machinery as is provided by these Normal Schools for the diffusion of an atmosphere of cheerfulness, elegance, purity and intellectual activity in the homes of the nation. This is especially true as applied to the women teachers of our schools, for it is on them we must depend for the maintenance of a proper standard of good manners, of refinement, and of that high moral tone of which these qualities are the outcome, and I trust you will always remember that the execution of this portion of your functions is not less



imperative upon you than are the other branches of your profession ; and in relation to this particular part of your duties there is one peculiarity I have observed in this country, indeed not indigenous, but imported,—which I think you might use your influence to correct : I observe that it is an almost universal practice upon this continent,—even on public occasions—in prize lists,—roll calls,—and in the intercourse of general society, for young ladies to be alluded to by their casual acquaintances, nay even in the newspapers, by what, in the old country we would call their “pet” names—that is to say, those caressing, soft appellations of endearment with which their fathers and brothers and those who are nearest to them, strive to give expression to the yearning affection felt for them in the home circle. Now it seems to me to be a monstrous sacrilege, and quite incompatible with the dignity and self respect due to the daughters of our land, and with the chivalrous reverence with which they should be approached even in thought, that the tender love-invented nomenclature of the fireside, should be bandied about at random in the mouths of every empty-headed Tom, Dick, and Harry in the street, whose idle tongue may chance to babble of them. (Cheers and laughter.) For instance, in the United States before her marriage I observed that Miss Grant, the daughter of the occupant of one of the most august positions in the world, was generally referred to in the newspapers as “Nellie” as though the paragraphist who wrote the item had been her play fellow from infancy. Of course this is a small matter to which I have alluded, but it is not without significance when regarded as a national characteristic. After all the women of this continent are ladies, as refined, high-minded, and noble-hearted as are to be found in any country in the world, and the sooner we get rid of this vulgar solecism the better ;—and the first place where the correction should be made is in our school lists,—which are official documents where young ladies ought to be entered in their full Christian names, and not in their nick names as I have often seen done. In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to congratulate you upon the very satisfactory character of this morning’s ceremonial, and to express on your behalf to the authorities under whose intelligent administration such excellent results have been produced our warm appreciation of their efforts to promote the cause of education through the powerful instrumentality of the Female Normal School of Quebec.”\*

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\* The following extract from the *New York World* is the more willingly reproduced, as it contains a well merited rebuke from an American journal of a practice whose vulgarity has become too noticeable among the English-speaking population of North America : “Whatever Lord Dufferin says is pretty certain to be worth saying, and well said ; and his little speech before the scholars of a Quebec Female School offers no exception to this general rule. The main direction and purpose of his address was a criticism of the custom of making public property of the names of women, and through the agency of the newspaper placing the whole country on as familiar terms with them as would be their neighbors in a little country town who knew them as Polly Smith or Kitty Jones. It will be considered, of course, by the average reader that the Earl is a trifle too particular, and that, as a rule, the young ladies of the present age, and of this continent at least, are only too anxious to have their names in print. In such

On the 24th July their Excellencies returned to Ottawa.

matters—possibly because as a people we have been losing of late years something of the exclusiveness characteristic of the old English home circle, public sentiment on the two sides of the water is not exactly the same; and our enterprising local papers, with their ‘society columns’ and ‘personal gossip,’ are educational agencies only beginning to be employed in England. It must, nevertheless, be conceded that from his standpoint—that of a sensitive man who objects to having his wife, sister, or daughter familiarly canvassed by every reader of a penny paper, the Canadian Viceroy’s comment is just. We could have wished indeed that the speaker had gone a little further, and ridiculed or reprehended with due severity the abominable practice into which young women have fallen now-a-days of tagging the diminutive “ie” to their names. Under this treatment such honest, melodious, or stately names as Adelaide, Charlotte, Elizabeth, Ellen, Sarah, and Louisa become Addie, Lottie, Lizzie, Nellie, Sadie and Louie, and give the hearer the impression—sometimes, no doubt, a just one—that their owners are contributors to some ‘independent’ newspaper. The spirit of Ambrose Phillips, to whose vagaries and vapors we owe the expressive phrase ‘namby-pamby,’ is as much at war with true womanly dignity as with masculine vigor. Fancy ‘Lottie’ Cushman holding an audience rapt as Meg Merrilies, or ‘Bessie’ Browning writing ‘Casa Guidi Windows,’ or ‘Aurora Leigh,’ or ‘Flo’ Nightingale doing her work at Scutari! Miss Anthony as ‘Susie’ would be robbed of much that now inspires the awe of mankind. Shakspeare writing for all time, and knowing that in due course this evil state of things would come to pass, invested his female characters, whether arch and sprightly, loving and tender, or stately and gifted with strength above the common kind of women, with names that are not susceptible of adulteration, and called them Beatrice, or Rosalind, Jessica, or Miranda, Portia, or Imogen. So general is this absurd practice becoming, that we have fears of seeing it involve even the realm of sacred literature. Under the auspices of some such able editor as Talmage, or Murray, we may yet be presented to ‘Mollie,’ or ‘Mamie,’ who chose the better part, while her sister ‘Mattie’ occupied herself with matters of the house, or read in an improved Bible how ‘Ruthie’ gleaned in the fields of Boaz, or by faith ‘Sadie’ bore Isaac at the age of ninety.”



## CHAPTER VIII.

### CONTENTS.

Visit to British Columbia, 31st July, 1876—San Francisco—Arrival at Esquimalt and Victoria—His Excellency declines to receive an address threatening secession from the Confederation—State of public feeling in British Columbia on the Pacific Railway matter—Notice of Mr. De Cosmos—Life at Victoria—Visit to Nanaimo—Proceeding northward the party visit Bute's Inlet, Skeena River, Metlahkatlah, Fort Simpson and Queen Charlotte Islands—Returning, they visit Burrard's Inlet, New Westminster, Yale, Port Hope, Lytton and Kamloops—Return to Victoria—The "Great" British Columbia speech—Return to Ottawa, 23rd October, 1876—Reply to address of City Council—Remarks on British Columbia and on His Excellency's speech at Victoria—His course approved by the Secretary for the Colonies—Visit to Toronto, January, 1877—Speech at the National Club—Speech at the Toronto Club—Remarks on these speeches—The Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia—Canada's high position there—Benefits to Canada by it.

On the 31st July, the great trans-continental journey was commenced. Their Excellencies and suite left Ottawa for British Columbia *viâ* Chicago and San Francisco. A large crowd assembled at the station to see them off—among others the Hon. A. Mackenzie, Mrs. Mackenzie, Chief Justice Richards, Hon. R. W. Scott, Mr. Vail and Mr. Burpee. A detachment of the Governor General's Foot Guards with their band was in attendance. The party left in a Pullman Car which was to convey them without change to Ogden, Utah, thé terminus of the Union Pacific Railway.

It consisted, besides their Excellencies, of Col. the Hon. E. G. P. Littleton, the Governor General's Secretary; Capt. Hamilton, A.D.C.; Capt. Ward, A.D.C.; and Mr. Campbell, Private Secretary.

On reaching San Francisco, the party found H. M. Corvette *Amethyst* (Commodore Chatfield) in the harbor, in which they sailed for British Columbia. On arriving at Esquimalt, 760 miles from San

Francisco, the Lieut. Governor of British Columbia, Mr. Richards, paid their Excellencies a visit on board the *Amethyst*. In the afternoon the Vice-regal party landed. As they did so the yards of three men-of-war, then at anchorage in the harbor, were manned, and a salute was fired from the *Amethyst*. At the landing was a guard of honor, consisting of mariners from the men-of-war. The place was beautifully decorated. His Excellency was formally welcomed to the Province by Sir James Douglass acting on behalf of the Esquimalt Reception Committee, by whom he was attended. The Governor General replied briefly, and in doing so expressed the gratification he felt at meeting a gentleman who had done so much for British Columbia, and who was so well known outside of the Province as Sir James Douglass. All then entered carriages to proceed to Victoria, the Capital of the Province, three miles distant. On their way they were met by a band of Ancient Foresters who escorted them into Victoria. At a bridge on the way a large number of Indians made their appearance in canoes on an arm of the strait, who sang a song of welcome in the Indian dialect. Victoria was elaborately decorated. Flags, streamers and bunting were flying in profusion from all the public buildings, and from the best private dwellings. Several fine arches were erected; three of them by the Chinese residents, one being situated in what is called the "Chinese quarters." They were all in Pagoda style, and had the mottoes "Glad to see you here," "English law is the most liberal," and "Come again." Other arches bore the words "Hearty welcome to the Governor General," "British Columbia welcomes Lady Dufferin," "God save Victoria, the Empress of India," "Hyas Tyhee," "Hyas Kloosh," "Mika Shakoo," "Loyal to the Crown," "Repeat your visit," "In Union there is strength," "The Pacific greets the Atlantic." The absorbing railway question was the subject of many mottoes. "United without Union," "Confederated without Confederation," "Railroad the bond of Union," "Psalm xv, Verses 5-7 Prayer Book,"\* "British Columbia, the Key to the Pacific," and "Our railway iron rusts," were ominous expressions. A more emphatic declaration of feeling with regard to the Railway policy of the Dominion Government was seen in a motto displayed on one of the arches, and also on the front of a store on Government street, "Carnarvon or Separation." The mottoes were

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\* The appropriateness of this novel device will be seen on consulting the Book of Common Prayer.



submitted to His Excellency and when he read this last one, he remarked that it was one which he, as Governor General, could not approve of, and requested that it might not be displayed. The arch bearing this was accordingly left out of the route of the procession.

When the procession reached the first large arch on Government street, it halted, with the Governor General's carriage beneath it, and Mr. J. S. Drummond, Mayor of Victoria, on behalf of the Reception Committee, read an address from the Mayor and Council, in which a very delicate allusion to the Pacific Railway was made. It was generally understood that His Excellency's visit had a special reference to this, the most important of all public questions to every inhabitant of the Province, and His Excellency's words were therefore well weighed. In reply he said:—

“MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—I can assure you that I feel very grateful for the kind welcome with which you and those whom you represent have been pleased to greet Lady Dufferin and myself on our arrival in this important and beautiful Province.

I never doubted but that in British Columbia, as in every other portion of the great Dominion of which you form a part, the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen would be sure to find himself in the midst of a population inspired by the most enthusiastic devotion to the Person, Throne and Government of their Sovereign, nor that would such sentiments be more likely anywhere to find appropriate expression than in the flourishing city which has the honor of bearing her name.

Almost from the first moment that I landed in Canada I felt that my functions as Viceroy would not be adequately fulfilled unless I could accomplish a visit to British Columbia; and the personal intercourse I have had with your Parliamentary representatives at the Capital of the Dominion still further confirmed my desire to visit a population who, in the persons of their members, contributed so materially to enhance the dignity, the eloquence, and the intellectual reputation of the Federal Parliament. I have now arrived, after a tedious and circuitous journey of many thousand miles through a foreign country, and a sea voyage of several days duration, in this splendid port, which for its commodiousness and security is not to be rivalled by any harbor in the world.

It will be my pleasing duty to become personally acquainted with all the leading inhabitants of your community, and to acquire by personal observation an accurate knowledge of the views, wishes, needs, and aspirations of every class and section that compose it, and to carry back with me to the seat of Government at Ottawa, and to transmit to the Imperial Authorities at home, the valuable information which I thus hope to acquire.

On the other hand, I trust that the presence amongst you of the head of the Executive Government of the Dominion, and of the officer entrusted by Her Majesty with the duty of representing her in British North America, will be

accepted by you as a pledge of the interest and sympathy with which you are regarded both by the Queen of England and her advisers, as well as by the Government at Ottawa and the entire body of your Canadian fellow subjects, who, I can safely assure you, desire nothing more sincerely than to be united with you in the strictest bonds of fellowship, patriotism, interest, and affection. I need not add that I have no greater ambition than to contribute within the sphere of my constitutional functions as energetically as possible towards this end, and I sincerely trust that ere my term of office is concluded I may see the national as well as the political connection already existing between British Columbia and the Eastern portion of the Dominion in a fair way of being rendered still more close and intimate."

Hearty cheers for their Excellencies were then given, and the procession, immensely swelled in numbers as it was after entering Victoria, moved on. It was a long and highly creditable one, embracing the Ancient Order of Freemasons, the Oddfellows, the French Benevolent Society, the Firemen, with their two steam fire engines, two companies of Volunteers, with a band of music, the members of the Corporation, and other citizens in carriages, and two companies of boys specially drilled for the occasion, and honored with the name of "Lady Dufferin's Guards." The procession moved to Government House, beautifully situated a short distance from the city, and their Excellencies were there received by a large number of young ladies. Here, His Excellency caused to be presented to him a number of Chinese merchants, representatives in Victoria of two great firms in China, who were riding in one of the carriages, and through one of them, as interpreter, he expressed the great pleasure it gave him to meet with the Chinese population of Victoria. He had been very much gratified to see with what pains they had decorated their quarter of the city. He said he would have the pleasure of making Her Majesty acquainted with the fact that her Chinese residents in Victoria were as loyal, well conducted, and orderly as any other portion of her subjects.

In the evening there was much illumination, especially in the Chinese part of the city, and music and mirth were heard on all sides. On Saturday, the 19th August, deputations from the Presbyterian, Methodist and Reformed Episcopal Churches waited on His Excellency and presented addresses. In the evening their Excellencies held a *levee* in the Chamber of the Legislative Assembly, which was very largely attended. It was noticed that many of the most important residents of Victoria, and some of the handsomest ladies who attended the *levee*, were people in whose veins flowed Indian blood.



On Monday, 21st August, a deputation appointed at a public meeting of citizens, held before the Governor General's arrival, waited on His Excellency for the purpose of presenting him with the following address. He declined to receive it, but he received the deputation for the purpose of explaining to them why he could not hear it:—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, Her Majesty's loyal subjects, inhabitants of Victoria and its vicinity, in public meeting assembled, welcome with pleasure the visit of your Excellency to this Province, and beg respectfully to address your Excellency, Her Majesty's representative in British North America, upon the present unsatisfactory relations of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada.

Your Excellency is thoroughly aware of the many and urgent representations made from time to time by the Provincial Government to the Government of the Dominion and Her Majesty on the subject of the unfulfilled terms of Confederation.

Your Excellency is also aware that these representations resulted in certain recommendations by the Earl of Carnarvon favorable to the Dominion, and which relieved the Dominion of those conditions of the terms of Union which they considered impossible of fulfilment. These recommendations were accepted by the Dominion as a solution of the difficulty that existed.

The action of the Dominion Government in ignoring the Carnarvon settlement has produced a widespread feeling of disaffection towards Confederation; which has been intensified by the utterances of prominent public men of the Dominion, who apparently look upon the Province as a source of expense and trouble to the Dominion, and as a Province whose withdrawal would not be regretted.

We trust that your Excellency has it in charge to convey to this Province the gratifying intelligence that the Dominion Government will fulfil its obligations under the Carnarvon settlement, and that this is the last occasion when the people of British Columbia will have the painful duty of making complaint to Her Majesty, through her representative, of any breach of the terms of Union by the Dominion Government. If, however, that Government fail to take practical steps to carry into effect the terms solemnly accepted by it, we most respectfully inform your Excellency that, in the opinion of a large number of the people of this Province, *the withdrawal of this Province from the Confederation will be the inevitable result*, and in such case compensation from the Dominion would be demanded for the unfulfilled obligations which it undertook.

This growing desire for separation is simply the expression of a feeling which is gaining strength every day. The knowledge that Canada relies upon the paucity of our numbers and her own power to fulfil or repudiate the terms of Union as she pleases, creates a feeling of irritation which is being continuously augmented.

In thus openly addressing your Excellency, we feel assured that whatever may be the final result of the unhappy differences, your Excellency will seek to promote the most enduring interest of the Province, the Dominion and the Empire.

Bounded, as this Province is, on the north and south by United States Territories, and without railway connection with the Dominion of Canada, British Columbia will ever be an isolated Province. The railway and other facilities of

the American people are sapping our trade and diverting commerce and population to their shores. Your Excellency in recently travelling through the Western States of America must have had ample opportunity of observing the wonderful progress there, in a great measure resulting from a bold railway policy.

In conclusion, we beg you to convey to Her Majesty, whatever may be our future, whether as a Province of the Dominion or a separate Colony, we shall always entertain for Her Majesty feelings of the deepest loyalty.

J. S. DRUMMOND, *Chairman.*

S. DUCK, *Secretary.*"

The gentlemen appointed by the meeting to form the deputation to His Excellency were A. J. Langley, A. C. Elliott, M. W. T. Drake, Jas. Trimble, James Fell, R. Beaven, J. P. Davies, J. Douglas, A. Bunster, M.P., T. B. Humphreys, Mayor Drummond, J. Spratt, Charles Gowan, S. Duck, Wm. Wilson, A. McLean, T. L. Stahischmidt, Alex. Wilson, W. K. Bull, Eli Harrison, J. McB. Smith, and J. Williams.

It was, of course, impossible for the Governor General to receive an address which threatened secession, but he was discreet in explaining his reasons in a private conference with the deputation.\* That these were satisfactory, may be drawn from the fact that the gentlemen composing the deputation, indeed the whole population of the Province, exhibited to him during his stay amongst them the utmost respect and cordiality. But that such an address could be passed at a public meeting held in the capital of the Province, largely attended, and including men of the highest standing, was a significant fact, and must have intensified the anxiety of His Excellency. It was generally understood that he had visited British Columbia chiefly for the purpose of quieting the minds of her people on the railway matters, and it has been seen from the despatches of the Earl of Carnarvon that the Colonial Secretary hoped

\* The following was the official reply to the deputation :

“GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

VICTORIA, *August 21, 1876.*

SIR,—The Governor General regrets that it is not in accordance with the usual practice for him to deal with the addresses other than those of a personal or complimentary nature, except under advice from his Responsible Ministers, and ventures to point out that the more correct course in the present instance would be for the signatories of the present address to proceed by memorial or petition to the Crown, in the usual manner.

I have, &c.,

E. G. P. LITTLETON,

*Governor General's Secretary.*

S. DUCK, Esq.,

Victoria.”



much from the visit. This address must have convinced His Excellency that he had undertaken a very difficult *role*; but, buoyed up by a sense of the uprightness of his intentions, strengthened by the approval of the Imperial authorities, and ardently desirous of success in the noble character of peacemaker, he confidently went forward, and, as will be seen, triumphed over every difficulty, and left the colonists charmed with his character, softened in their feelings towards the Dominion, more loyal, if possible, than ever to the British Crown. If not fully convinced of the integrity of the Dominion Ministry, yet they were willing again to trust them, and to patiently wait for the fulfilment of their oft-made, and as oft-broken promises. It may safely be said that there was no real intention to secede held by any portion of the people. This threat may be looked upon as but a very strong mode of expressing bitter disappointment, and may be likened to the threats of Nova Scotia that she would appeal to the United States. In neither case was the threat serious; in neither case were the utterers guilty of anything more than an injudicious and heated style of expression, which under all the circumstances may easily be looked over, especially in a people whose unswerving loyalty has never been questioned. But yet the public feeling was such as to cause grave disquietude. That the Province had good cause of complaint was undeniable; it is a serious blot on the administration of Mr. Mackenzie that his policy was so shaped as to afford an excuse even for the unsatisfactory state of the country; and it is in no way complimentary to his Ministry that they were willing to avail themselves of the support of His Excellency's popularity to extenuate a course which they themselves were unable to defend. It is difficult for those who live on the eastern side of the continent to appreciate the intense feelings of animosity to the Dominion Government which at this period distinguished the people of British Columbia. To them the railway was everything. Its possession would be prosperity and affluence, its absence ruin and poverty. For the promise of it they had given up their independence, They saw millions spent on the eastern and central sections of the line, and only a few surveying parties were seen in their territory, while the solemn treaty was that the work should commence at each end simultaneously. They chafed like a chained tiger. Entrapped, as they believed themselves to be, by Mr. Mackenzie's policy, they now fancied they saw their captors laughing at their cries for justice, and jeering at their efforts to escape. The Province was in a ferment. The Dominion Session had closed, and nothing had been

done. The efforts of their representatives in Parliament had been defeated by the all-powerful majority which upheld Mr. Mackenzie, and he treated them, as they thought, with a coldness and superciliousness which added fire to the flame. Had the First Minister been blessed with the really kindly, considerate heart of the Governor General, or been governed by a proper appreciation of his obligations as the custodian of the honor of the Dominion, it may safely be averred that British Columbia would not have been placed in the false position in which she now found herself, and His Excellency would have been spared the ungracious task of supplying excuses for the shortcomings of his Ministers.\*

His Excellency took every means of gaining the acquaintance of the people. Mr. Richards, the Lieutenant Governor, had not yet moved

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\* The Hon. Mr. De Cosmos, the member for Victoria in the Dominion House of Commons, was among the foremost in asserting the rights of British Columbia. The opinions of this gentleman are entitled to great weight, and though the language used during Lord Dufferin's visit, in his paper, the *Daily Standard*, seems at this distance of time and place to have been somewhat pronounced, yet he in the main, perhaps, fairly interpreted the real feelings of the people, excepting the personal allusion to His Excellency. Mr. De Cosmos is a Nova Scotian, educated in Windsor and Halifax. He went to California in 1852, and to British Columbia in 1858. He founded the *British Colonist* in 1858, and the *Daily Standard* in 1870, of which he was editor and proprietor until 1872. He has always been an active politician, and has risen entirely by his ability and industry. He was Premier of British Columbia from 23rd December, 1872, until February, 1874, when, owing to the Act against dual representation, he was obliged to resign in order to retain his seat in the Dominion House of Commons. He was appointed the special agent and delegate to Ottawa and London respecting the British Columbia graving dock and loan in 1873-4. He was the first British Columbian to advocate the introduction of Responsible Government into that colony, the first to recommend a union of the Pacific Provinces of British Columbia and Vancouver Island into one—that of British Columbia, which he accomplished in 1867,—and the first to advocate the Confederation of British Columbia with the Dominion, and he was subsequently instrumental in obtaining the unanimous acceptance of the terms of Union with Canada. He represented Victoria in the Vancouver Island Assembly after the union of that Province with British Columbia; sat in the Legislative Council almost uninterruptedly from 1867 to 1871,—at the union with Canada in 1871 he was returned to both the Assembly and the House of Commons,—was re-elected to the Commons in 1872, and has sat in that House ever since, where he each Session makes, with Mr. Bunster and others, the vain attempts to obtain for his Province the rights claimed for her. That a man with so distinguished a record should be indignant at the treatment received from the Dominion Government by a Province he has so well and loyally served need be no matter of surprise.



into Government House, and it was tendered to His Excellency, where he at once inaugurated the splendid hospitality which had already made Rideau Hall so distinguished. Receptions and "At Homes," dinner parties and regattas, and garden parties and balls, afforded ample opportunities of meeting all grades of society, and proffering to each its appropriate meed of recognition. By these means their Excellencies inspired the people with an unbounded confidence in their genuine desire and unaffected wish to soften all asperities and draw more closely together the social and the political ties which bound their beautiful and noble Province to the Dominion.

On Wednesday, 25th August, a regatta was gotten up in honor of their Excellencies, the chief attraction of which were the performances of a large number of Indians who had gathered from far and near to see the representative of their "Great Mother." Some had come from as far north as Queen Charlotte's Island, and the regatta comprised Indians from the various tribes of the Soughee, Cowitchan, Bella Bella, Bella Coola, Hydah, Nimkish, Mabimalullaculla, Clowitzes, Quackawith, and Quicksoteenough.

On the same day an address was presented by the Chamber of Commerce, read by the President, Mr. Henry Rhodes, which, of course, alluded to the ever prominent railway difficulty, and as to that part of it His Excellency, in his reply, said :—

"As you are aware, in spite of its indisputably countervailing advantages, the march of Parliamentary Government is occasionally disturbed by unexpected checks and miscarriages, which it is altogether beyond the power of the Executive Administration either to control or avert. Nor is it within the competence of the head of that Executive, whether as represented by Her Majesty to her advisers at home, or by the Governor General here, to do more than superintend and give free play to the working of the Constitutional machine. But, gentlemen, be assured that within the limits marked out for me by the sphere of my official position, no effort shall be wanting on my part to promote the cause of justice, good faith, and good feeling in the regulation of the relations into which your community has been drawn with the other constitutional portions of Her Majesty's great Canadian Dominion."

On the night of Wednesday, 25th August, the Vice-regal party again went on board the *Amethyst*, preparatory to starting on their trip up the coast. The event was marked on board that ship by a display of fireworks and an illumination, and blue lights were hung along the yards and placed in the port holes, and on the morning of the 26th August she steamed out of Esquimalt harbor, and reached Nanaimo, seventy-five miles distant, after a run of about eight hours. As the

*Amethyst* dropped anchor, she was greeted with a salute of nineteen guns. Nanaimo is the "Newcastle" of the Pacific coast, for it is the outlet of the products of the immense coal mines of the island. In honor of the Governor General's visit several arches were erected through the town, and the streets and houses were decorated.

On the morning of the 27th August, their Excellencies landed, and were received by another salute. A company of volunteers with their band formed a guard of honor. They were conducted to a spacious pavilion, decorated with flags, in which were seated a large number of children who received them singing "God Save the Queen." All work in the town and mines was suspended for the day, and a great assemblage of persons were present in holiday attire. After the singing, the Mayor came forward, and read an address from the inhabitants of the city of Nanaimo. In reply to that part of the address referring to the Pacific Railway, His Excellency said:—

"I can assure you, I fully sympathize with the anxieties to which you give utterance in respect of the accomplishment by the Dominion of those engagements to which you refer as the "Carnarvon Terms," more especially as the performance of one of them, in which, I understand, you consider yourselves so deeply interested, viz. : the construction of the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, has, through the action of one branch of the Canadian Legislature, become extremely problematic."

This sentence settled the question in the minds of the people as to the road from Esquimalt; they gave up all hopes of seeing it built by the Dominion, and they have not been disappointed.

After several presentations, and a visit to a coal mine, the party embarked and proceeded on their voyage northward. They ran to the head of Bute's Inlet, and returning passed through Queen Charlotte Sound, at the head of Vancouver Island. Still going north the party visited Skeena River, 514 miles from Victoria, and arrived at Metlahkatlah. On the 4th September the party reached Fort Simpson, the most northerly point to which the tour extended. They then proceeded to Queen Charlotte Island, and cast anchor in Skidegate Channel, whence they ran south and arrived at New Westminster on the 5th September, where they were received with every demonstration of enthusiasm. Lady Dufferin having been presented with an address by Miss Macaulay, and a bouquet of flowers by Miss Webster, the Mayor, Mr. T. R. McInnes, presented His Excellency with an address, and, after a suitable reply, one was presented by the Warden of the Township, and one by the inhabitants of the township of Langley, to each of which His Excellency replied.



Burrard's Inlet, at the head of which New Westminster stands being one of the claimants for the Pacific terminus of the railway, put forth her demands in the following paper, which was here placed in His Excellency's hands :

*" Memoranda.*

Conveyed to Lord Dufferin by a deputation of the citizens of New Westminster and district during his Lordship's visit to this city :

1. We beg to assure your Excellency of your hearty welcome to New Westminster and the mainland, and trust that your visit may be productive of pleasure to your Excellency and Lady Dufferin.

2. That we regard your Lordship's visit to the mainland as likely to effect the only sure solution of the differences between the Province and the Dominion.

3. The people of this district are unanimous in the feeling of pleasure with which they regard the setting aside of the proposition known as the 'Carnarvon Terms,' confidently hoping that a new proposition will be more beneficial to the interests of this Province and the Dominion generally.

4. While patiently awaiting the final settlement of the subjects at issue between the Province and the Federal Government, particularly in regard to the adoption of a route for the railway, we would request that a thorough survey of the Fraser Valley be made before the question is finally settled.

5. We wish also to impress on your Excellency that a very strong feeling exists at the injustice that has been done this section of the Province by the continued delay in making a location survey of the Fraser River route, which has been promised on more than one occasion, and we would consider a great wrong would be done to the settled portion of the mainland by the selection of any other route until the Fraser River route has been thoroughly surveyed.

6. We consider that the best and only way to adjust our differences is commencement of railway construction on the mainland, and compensation for delays.

7. That in estimating the amount of compensation to be given to the Province, your Excellency's Government will take into consideration the great loss caused to the mainland, no less than to the island, by the delays in railway construction.

8. That we desire to express to your Excellency our disapproval of any threat being held out of separation from the Dominion, as we feel that such a course is unworthy of an intelligent and loyal community."

This was signed by the Hon. E. Brown, President of the Executive Council ; J. Cunningham, M.P. ; W. J. Armstrong, M.P.P. ; R. Dickinson, M.P.P. ; T. R. McInnis, Mayor ; H. Holbrook, J.P., North Arm ; J. Kirkland, South Arm ; W. J. Harris, Maple Ridge ; D. McGillivray, Sumas ; and J. S. Knevett.

On the 6th September, the Vice-regal party left New Westminster and commenced their progress up the Fraser River. The distance from New Westminster to Yale, one hundred miles, was performed by steamer. About eighty miles up the river is Fort Hope, a Hudson

Bay Company's post, and the residence of Mr. Dewdney, M.P. for Yale district, whose charming wife is so well known in Ottawa circles. The little place was very prettily decorated to welcome their Excellencies. Lady Dufferin was welcomed on behalf of other resident ladies by Mrs. Dewdney, to whose house she went while Lord Dufferin was in the place. From Fort Hope to Yale the voyage was uninterrupted, and the town was reached in the afternoon, when their Excellencies were received with the usual demonstrations. An address was presented to which a fitting reply was given; and a special one was read from the Chinese residents which elicited a pleasant answer. An address was also received here from the Warden and Council of Chilliwack, to which His Excellency briefly replied.

From Yale the party proceeded to Lytton, and thence to Kamloops, two hundred and fifty-eight miles from New Westminster, where the party arrived on Saturday, the 9th September. Here they were received with a salute of nineteen guns. A large gathering of the inhabitants and a number of Indians met them at the landing. Mr. Dewdney, on behalf of the district, presented His Excellency with an address; and another from the farmers of the Nicola district was presented, to each of which a brief reply was made. It was a pleasing incident in the proceedings that a bouquet was presented to Her Excellency by a lady resident in the neighborhood, who was one of the school girls who welcomed her to Clandeboye on the occasion of her marriage. After spending a day in excursions into the surrounding country, and conferring with the people and the numerous bands of Indians here collected, the party returned to New Westminster and Victoria, at which latter place they arrived on the 13th September, after an absence of three weeks.

On the 16th September their Excellencies paid a visit to the rifle ranges, and in the evening attended a concert given in aid of the Mechanics Institute. The daughters of several of the leading citizens, including those of Sir James Douglass, the late Lieutenant Governor, Dr. Helmcker and others were among the singers.

On the 18th September, their Excellencies visited the High and Public Schools, and were presented with an address by the Superintendent. Before leaving them the Governor General announced that he had brought with him three medals, one of silver and two of bronze, which he desired to offer as prizes to be competed for during the ensuing year. In doing this, he said:—



“I shall look forward with very great interest to learning, when the proper time comes, the names of those pupils who may have been successful in the contest I now propose to you. Those names will be recorded in a book kept for that purpose; and if ever, in after life, I may have the opportunity of being of the slightest assistance to the successful competitors, the fact of their having one of these prizes will be, in itself, a title to my interest.”

In the evening, their Excellencies gave a ball at Government House, which was attended by about five hundred guests, and proved to be the greatest social event in the history of the Province. Ladies from all parts of British Columbia were present, and from this gathering the opinion was formed, which a riper experience has strengthened, that the exceptional personal beauty of the women of the country is to be attributed much to the salubrity of the climate.

On the next day, His Excellency performed the ceremony of driving the first pile of the Esquimalt Graving Dock in the presence of a large concourse of people. The ships of war in the harbor of Esquimalt, Esquimalt itself, and Thetis Cove, were brilliant with flags, and the water of the locality alive with boats. Mr. Fisher, M.P., read an address to His Excellency on behalf of the Province, to which a brief reply was made. The party then visited the Dockyard, in charge of Mr. J. H. James.

His Excellency had intimated, before proceeding on his voyage to the North from Victoria, that on his return he would meet the various committees who had attended him with addresses, and convey the impressions formed in his mind by his tour through the Province. As it was generally expected he would speak fully on the Railway matter, and would perhaps announce some specific policy of the Dominion Government, the leading men of the country made it a point to attend at Government House on the morning of the 20th September. He then delivered before them what is known as his “Great British Columbia Speech.” It occupied two hours and a quarter in its delivery. He said:—

“GENTLEMEN,—I am indeed very glad to have an opportunity before quitting British Columbia of thanking you, and, through you, the citizens of Victoria, not only for the general kindness and courtesy I have met with during my residence among you, but especially for the invitation to the banquet with which you proposed to have honored me. I regret that my engagements did not permit me to accept this additional proof of your hospitality; but my desire to see as much as possible of the country and my other engagements forced me most reluctantly to decline it. I shall, however, have a final opportunity of mingling with your citizens at the entertainment arranged for me at Beacon Hill this afternoon, to which I am

looking forward with the greatest pleasure. Perhaps, gentlemen, I may be also permitted to take advantage of this occasion to express to you the satisfaction and enjoyment I have derived from my recent progress through such portions of the province as I have been able to reach within the short period left at my disposal. I am well aware I have visited but a small proportion of your domains, and that there are important centres of population from which I have been kept aloof. More especially have I to regret my inability to reach Cariboo, the chief theatre of your mining industry, and the home of a community with whose feelings, wishes, and sentiments it would have been very advantageous for me to have become personally acquainted. Still, by dint of considerable exertion, I have traversed the entire coast of British Columbia from its southern extremity to Alaska. I have penetrated to the head of Bute Inlet. I have examined the Seymour Narrows, and the other channels which intervene between the head of Bute Inlet and Vancouver Island. I have looked into the mouth of Dean's Canal and passed across the entrance to Gardiner's Channel. I have visited Mr. Duncan's wonderful settlement at Metlahkatlah and the interesting Methodist mission at Fort Simpson, and have thus been enabled to realize what scenes of primitive peace and innocence, of idyllic beauty and material comfort, can be presented by the stalwart men and comely maidens of an Indian community under the wise administration of a judicious and devoted Christian missionary. I have passed across the intervening Sound to Queen Charlotte Island and to Skidegate, and studied with wonder the strange characteristics of a Hydah village with its forest of heraldic pillars. I have been presented with the sinister opportunity of descending upon a tribe of our Pagan savages in the very midst of their drunken orgies and barbarous rites, and after various other explorations I have had the privilege of visiting under very gratifying circumstances the Royal city of New Westminster. Taking from that spot a new departure, we proceeded up the valley of the Fraser, where the river has cloven its way through the granite ridges and bulwarks of the Cascade Range, and along a road of such admirable construction, considering the engineering difficulties of the line and the modest resources of the colony when it was built, as does the greatest credit to the able administrator who directed its execution. Passing thence into the open valleys and rounded eminences beyond, we had an opportunity of appreciating the pastoral resources and agricultural capabilities of what is known as the bunch grass country. It is needless to say that wherever we went we found the same kindness, the same loyalty, the same honest pride in their country and institutions, which characterize the English race throughout the world, while Her Majesty's Indian subjects on their spirited horses, which the ladies of their families seemed to bestride with as much ease and grace as their husbands or brothers, notwithstanding the embarrassment of one baby on the pommel and another on the crupper, met us everywhere in large numbers, and testified in their untutored fashion their genuine devotion to their white mother. Having journeyed into the interior as far as Kamloops, and admired from a lofty eminence in its neighborhood what seemed an almost interminable prospect of grazing lands and valleys susceptible of cultivation, we were forced with much reluctance to turn our faces homewards to Victoria. And now that I am back it may perhaps interest you to learn what are



the impressions I have derived during my journey. Well, I may frankly tell you that I think British Columbia a glorious province—a province which Canada should be proud to possess, and whose association with the Dominion she ought to regard as the crowning triumph of federation. Such a spectacle as its coast line presents is not to be paralleled by any country in the world. Day after day, for a whole week, in a vessel of nearly 2000 tons, we threaded an interminable labyrinth of watery lanes and reaches that wound endlessly in and out of a network of islands, promontories, and peninsulas for thousands of miles, unruffled by the slightest swell from the adjoining ocean, and presenting at every turn an ever-shifting combination of rock, verdure, forest, glacier, and snow-capped mountains of unrivalled grandeur and beauty. When it is remembered that this wonderful system of navigation—equally well adapted to the largest line of battle ship and the frailest canoe, fringes the entire seaboard of your province, and communicates at points sometimes more than a hundred miles from the coast with a multitude of valleys stretching eastward into the interior, at the same time that it is furnished with innumerable harbors on either hand, one is lost in admiration at the facilities for inter-communication which are thus provided for the future inhabitants of this wonderful region. It is true at the present moment they lie unused except by the Indian fisherman and villager, but the day will surely come when the rapidly diminishing stores of pine upon this continent will be still further exhausted, and when the nations of Europe, as well as of America, will be obliged to recur to British Columbia for a material of which you will by that time be the principal depository. Already from an adjoining port on the mainland a large trade is being done in lumber with Great Britain, Europe, and South America, and I venture to think that ere long the ports of the United States will perforce be thrown open to your traffic. I had the pleasure of witnessing the overthrow by the axes of your woodmen of one of your forest giants, that towered to the height of 250 feet above our heads, and whose rings bore witness that it dated its birth from the reign of the Fourth Edward; and where he grew, and for thousands of miles along the coast beyond him, millions of his contemporaries are awaiting the same fate. With such facilities of access as I have described to the heart and centre of your various forest lands, where almost every tree can be rolled from the spot upon which it grows to the ship which is to transfer it to its destination, it would be difficult to over estimate the opportunities of industrial development thus indicated—and to prove that I am not over sanguine in my conjectures I will read you a letter recently received from the British Admiralty, by Mr. Innes, the superintendent of the dockyard at Esquimalt:—‘From various causes, spars from Canada, the former main source of supply, have not of late years been obtainable, and the trade in New Zealand spars from topmasts has also completely died away. Of late years the sole source of supply has been the casual cargoes of Oregon spars, imported from time to time, and from these the wants of the service have been met. But my lords feel that this is not a source to be depended upon, more especially for the larger-sized spars.’ Their lordships then proceed to order Mr. Innes to make arrangements for the transhipment for the dockyards of Great Britain of the specified number of Douglas pine which will be required by the service during the ensuing year; and what England does in this direction other nations

will feel themselves compelled to do as well. But I have learnt a further lesson. I have had opportunities of inspecting some of the spots where your mineral wealth is stored, and here again the ocean stands your friend, the mouths of the coal pits I have visited almost opening into the hulls of the vessels that are to convey their contents across the ocean. When it is further remembered that inexhaustible supplies of iron ore are found in juxtaposition with your coal, no one can blame you for regarding the beautiful island on which you live as having been especially favored by Providence in the distribution of these natural gifts. But still more precious minerals than either coal or iron enhance the value of your possessions. As we skirted the banks of the Fraser we were met at every turn by evidences of its extraordinary supplies of fish, but scarcely less frequent were the signs afforded us of the golden treasures it rolls down, nor need any traveller think it strange to see the Indian fisherman hauling out a salmon on to the sands from whence the miner beside him is sifting the sparkling ore. But the signs of mineral wealth which may happen to have attracted my personal attention are as nothing, I understand, to what is exhibited in Cariboo, Cassiar, and along the valley of the Stickeen, and most grieved am I to think that I have not had time to testify by my presence amongst them to the sympathy I feel with the adventurous prospector and the miner in their arduous enterprises. I had also the satisfaction of having pointed out to me where various lodes of silver only await greater facilities of access to be worked with profit and advantage. But perhaps the greatest surprise in store for us was the discovery, on our exit from the pass through the Cascade Range, of the noble expanse of pastoral lands and the long vistas of fertile valleys which opened upon every side as we advanced through the country, and which, as I could see with my own eyes, from various heights we traversed, extended in rounded upland slopes or in gentle depressions for hundreds of miles to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, proving after all that the mountain ranges which frown along your coast no more accurately indicate the nature of the territory they guard, than does the wall of breaking surf that roars along a tropic beach presage the softly undulating sea that glitters in the sun beyond. But you will very likely say to me, of what service to us are these resources which you describe, if they and we are to remain locked up in a distant and at present inaccessible corner of the Dominion, cut off by a trackless waste of intervening territory from all intercourse, whether of a social or of a commercial character, with those with whom we are politically united? Well, gentlemen, I can only answer: Of comparatively little use, or, at all events, of far less profit than they would immediately become were the railway, upon whose construction you naturally counted when you entered into Confederation, once completed. But here I feel I am touching upon dangerous ground. You are well aware from the first moment I set foot in the Province I was careful to inform every one who approached me that I came here as the Governor General of Canada, and the representative of Her Majesty, exactly in the same way as I had passed through other Provinces of the Dominion, in order to make acquaintance with the people, their wants, wishes, and aspirations, and to learn as much as I could in regard to the physical features, capabilities, and resources of the Province; that I had not come on a diplomatic mission, or as a messenger, or charged with any announcement either from the Imperial or from



the Dominion Government. This statement I beg now most distinctly to repeat. Nor should it be imagined that I have come either to persuade or coax you into any line of action which you may not consider conducive to your own interests, or to make any new promises on behalf of my Government, or renew any old ones; least of all have I a design to force upon you any further modification of those arrangements which were arrived at in 1874 between the Provincial and the Dominion Governments under the auspices of Lord Carnarvon. Should any business of this kind have to be perfected, it will be done in the usual constitutional manner through the Secretary of State. But though I have thought it well thus unmistakably and effectually to guard against my journey to the Province being misinterpreted, there is, I admit, one mission with which I am charged—a mission that is strictly within my functions to fulfil, namely, the mission of testifying by my presence amongst you, and by my patient and respectful attention to everything which may be said to me, that the Government and the entire people of Canada, without distinction of party, are most sincerely desirous of cultivating with you those friendly and affectionate relations, upon the existence of which must depend the future harmony and solidity of our common Dominion. Gentlemen, this mission I think you will admit I have done my best to fulfil. I think you will bear me witness that I have been inaccessible to no one, that I have shown neither impatience nor indifference during the conversations I have had with you, and that it would have been impossible for any one to have exhibited more anxiety thoroughly to understand your views. I think it will be further admitted that I have done this, without in the slightest degree seeking to disturb or embarrass the march of your domestic politics. I have treated the existing ministers as it became me to treat the responsible advisers of the Crown in this locality, and I have shown that deference to their opponents which is always due to her Majesty's loyal opposition. Nay, further, I think it must have been observed that I have betrayed no disposition either to create or to foment in what might be termed, though most incorrectly, the interest of Canada, any discord or contrariety of interest between the mainland and the island. Such a mode of procedure would have been most unworthy, for no true friend of the Dominion would be capable of any other object or desire than to give universal satisfaction to the province as-a whole. A settlement of the pending controversy would indeed be most lamely concluded if it left either of the sections into which your community is geographically divided, unsatisfied. Let me then assure you, on the part of the Canadian Government and on the part of the Canadian people at large, that there is nothing they desire more earnestly or more fervently than to know and feel that you are one with them in heart, thought, and feeling. Canada would indeed be dead to the most self-evident considerations of self-interest, and to the first instincts of national pride, if she did not regard with satisfaction her connection with a province so richly endowed by nature, inhabited by a community so replete with British loyalty and pluck, while it afforded her the means of extending her confines and the outlets of her commerce to the wide Pacific, and to the countries beyond. It is true, circumstances have arisen to create an unfriendly and hostile feeling in your minds against Canada. You consider yourselves injured, and you certainly have been disappointed. Far be it from me

to belittle your grievances, or to speak slightly of your complaints. Happily my independent position relieves me from the necessity of engaging with you in any irritating discussion upon the various points which are in controversy between this colony and the Dominion Government. On the contrary, I am ready to make several admissions. I do not suppose that in any part of Canada will it be denied, that you have been subjected both to anxiety and uncertainty on points which were of vital importance to you. From first to last, since the idea of a Pacific Railway was originated, things, to use a homely phrase, have gone "contrary" with it, and with everybody connected with it, and you, in common with many other persons, have suffered in many ways. But though happily it is no part of my duty to pronounce judgment in these matters, or to approve, or blame, or criticise the conduct of any one concerned, I think that I can render both Canada and British Columbia some service by speaking to certain matters of fact which have taken place within my own immediate cognizance, and by thus removing from your minds certain wrong impressions in regard to those matters of fact which have undoubtedly taken deep root there. Now, gentlemen, in discharging this task, I may almost call it this duty, I am sure my observations will be received by those I see around me in a candid and loyal spirit, and that the heats and passions which have been engendered by these unhappy differences will not prove an impediment to a calm consideration of what I am about to say, more especially as it will be my endeavor to avoid wounding any susceptibilities, or forcing upon your attention views or opinions which may be ungrateful to you. Of course, I well understand that the gravamen of the charge against the Canadian Government is that it has failed to fulfil its treaty engagements. Those engagements were embodied in a solemn agreement which was ratified by the respective legislatures of the contracting parties, who were at the time perfectly independent of each other, and I admit they thus acquired all the characteristics of an international treaty. The terms of that treaty were (to omit the minor items) that Canada undertook to secure, within two years from the date of Union, the simultaneous commencement at either end of a railway which was to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of the Dominion, and that such railway should be completed within ten years from the date of Union in 1871. We are now in 1876, five years have elapsed, and the work of construction even at one end can be said to have only just begun. Undoubtedly, under these circumstances, every one must allow that Canada has failed to fulfil her treaty obligations towards this province, but unfortunately Canada has been accused not only of failing to accomplish her undertakings, but of what is a very different thing—a wilful breach of faith in having neglected to do so. Well, let us consider for a moment whether this very serious assertion is true. What was the state of things when the bargain was made? At that time everything in Canada was prosperous, her finances were flourishing, the discovery of the great North West, so to speak, had inflamed her imagination, above all things, railway enterprise in the United States, and generally on this Continent, was being developed to an astounding extent. One trans-continental railway had been successfully executed, and several others on the same gigantic scale were being projected: it had come to be considered that a railway could be flung across the Rocky Mountains as readily as across a hay field, and the ob-



servations of those who passed from New York to San Francisco did not suggest any extraordinary obstacles to undertakings of this description. Unfortunately, one element in the calculation was left entirely out of account, and that was the comparative ignorance which prevailed in regard to the mountain ranges and the mountain passes which intervened between the Hudson Bay Company's possessions and our western coast. In the United States, for years and years, troops of emigrants had passed westward to Salt Lake City, to Sacramento, and to the Golden Gate; every track and trail through the mountains was wayworn and well known; the location of a line in that neighborhood was predetermined by the experience of persons already well acquainted with the locality. But in our case the trans-continental passes were sparse and unfrequented, and from an engineering point of view may be said to have been absolutely unknown. It was under these circumstances that Canada undertook to commence her Pacific Railway in two years, and to finish it in ten. In doing this she undoubtedly pledged herself to that which was a physical impossibility, for the moment the engineers peered over the Rocky Mountains into your province they saw at once that before any one passage through the devious range before them could be pronounced the best, an amount of preliminary surveying would have to be undertaken which it would require several years to complete. Now, there is a legal motto which says, 'Nemo tenetur ad impossibile,' and I would submit to you that under the circumstances I have mentioned, however great the default of Canada, she need not necessarily have been guilty of any wilful breach of faith. I myself am quite convinced that when Canada ratified this bargain with you she acted in perfect good faith, and fully believed that she would accomplish her promise, if not within ten years, at all events within such a sufficiently reasonable period as would satisfy your requirements. The mistake she made was in being too sanguine in her calculations, but remember, a portion of the blame for concluding a bargain impossible of accomplishment cannot be confined to one only of the parties to it. The mountains which have proved our stumbling block, were your own mountains and in your own territory, and however deeply an impartial observer might sympathize with you in the miscarriage of the two time terms of the compact, one of which—namely, as the commencement of the line in two years from 1871—has failed, and the other, of which—namely, its completion in ten—must fail, it is impossible to forget that yourselves are by no means without responsibility for such a result. It is quite true, in what I must admit to be a most generous spirit, you intimated in various ways that you did not desire to hold Canada too strictly to the letter of her engagements as to time. Your expectations in this respect were stated by your late Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Trutch, very fairly and explicitly, though a very unfair use has been made of his words, and I have no doubt that if unforeseen circumstances had not intervened you would have exhibited as much patience as could have been expected of you. But a serious crisis supervened in the political career of Canada. Sir John Macdonald resigned office, and Mr. Mackenzie acceded to power, and to all the responsibilities incurred by Canada in respect to you and your province. Now it is asserted, and I imagine with truth, that Mr. Mackenzie and his political friends had always been opposed to many portions of Canada's bargain with British Columbia. It therefore came to be considered in this province that the new gov-

ernment was an enemy to the Pacific Railway. But I believe this to have been, and to be, a complete misapprehension. I believe the Pacific Railway has no better friend in Canada than Mr. Mackenzie, and that he was only opposed to the time terms in the bargain, because he believed them impossible of accomplishment, and that a conscientious endeavor to fulfil them would unnecessarily and ruinously increase the financial expenditure of the country, and in both these opinions Mr. Mackenzie was undoubtedly right. With the experience we now possess, and of course it is easy to be wise after the event, no one would dream of saying that the railway could have been surveyed, located, and built within the period named, or that any company who might undertake to build the line within that period would not have required double and treble the bonus that would have been sufficient had construction been arranged for at a more leisurely rate; but surely it would be both ungenerous and unreasonable for British Columbia to entertain any hostile feelings towards Mr. Mackenzie on this account, nor is he to be blamed, in my opinion, if on entering office in so unexpected a manner he took time to consider the course which he would pursue in regard to his mode of dealing with a question of such enormous importance. His position was undoubtedly a very embarrassing one. His government had inherited responsibilities which he knew, and which the country had come to know, could not be discharged. Already British Columbia had commenced to cry out for the fulfilment of the bargain, and that at the very time that Canada had come to the conclusion that the relaxation of some of its conditions was necessary. Out of such a condition of affairs it was almost impossible but that there should arise in the first place delay—for all changes of government necessarily check the progress of public business—and in the next, friction, controversy, collision between the Province and the Dominion. Happily it is not necessary that I should follow the course of that quarrel or discuss the various points that were then contested. You cannot expect me to make any admissions in respect to the course my ministers may have thought it right to pursue, nor would it be gracious upon my part to criticize the action of your Province during this painful period. Out of the altercation which then ensued there issued, under the auspices of Lord Carnarvon, a settlement, and when an agreement has been arrived at, the sooner the incidents connected with the conflict which preceded it are forgotten the better. Here then, we have arrived at a new era; the former *laches* of Canada, if any such there had been, are condoned, and the two time terms of the treaty are relaxed on the one part, while on the other certain specific obligations were superadded to the main article in the original bargain; that is to say—again omitting minor items—the province agreed to the Pacific Railway being completed in sixteen years from 1874, and to its being begun ‘as soon as the surveys shall have been completed,’ instead of at a fixed date, while the Dominion Government undertook to construct at once a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, to hurry forward the surveys with the utmost possible despatch, and as soon as construction should have begun, to spend two millions a year in the prosecution of the work. I find that in this part of the world these arrangements have come to be known as the ‘Carnarvon Terms.’ It is a very convenient designation, and I am quite content to adopt it on one condition, namely, that Lord Carnarvon is not to be saddled with any original responsibility in regard to any of these terms but one.



The main body of the terms are Mr. Mackenzie's, that is to say Mr. Mackenzie proffered the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, the telegraph line, the waggon road, and the annual expenditure. All that Lord Carnarvon did was to suggest that the proposed expenditure should be two millions instead of one and a half million, and that a time limit should be added. But as you are well aware, this last condition—was necessarily implied in the preceding one relating to the annual expenditure—for, once committed to that expenditure, Canada in self-defence would be obliged to hasten the completion of the line in order to render reproductive the capital she sank. It is, therefore, but just to Lord Carnarvon that he should be absolved from the responsibility of having been in any way the inventor of what are known as the Carnarvon Terms. Lord Carnarvon merely did what every arbitrator would do under the circumstances; he found the parties already agreed in respect to the principal items of the bargain, and was consequently relieved from pronouncing on their intrinsic merits, and proceeded at once to suggest the further concession which would be necessary to bring the Province into final accord with her opponent. In pursuance of this agreement the Canadian Government organized a series of surveying parties upon a most extensive and costly scale. In fact during the last two years two millions of money alone have been expended upon these operations. The chief engineer himself has told me that Mr. Mackenzie had given him *carte blanche* in the matter, so anxious was he to have the route determined without delay, and that the mountains were already as full of as many theodolites and surveyors as they could hold. I am aware it is asserted—indeed, as much has been said to me since I came here—that these surveys were merely multiplied in order to furnish an excuse for further delays. Well, that is rather a hard saying. But upon this point I can speak from my own personal knowledge, and I am sure that what I say on this head will be accepted as the absolute truth. During the whole of the period under review I was in constant personal communication with Mr. Fleming, and was kept acquainted by that gentleman with everything that was being done. I knew the position of every surveying party in the area under examination. Now Mr. Fleming is a gentleman in whose integrity and in whose professional ability every one I address has the most perfect confidence. Mr. Fleming of course was the responsible engineer who planned those surveys and determined the lines along which they were to be carried, and over and over again Mr. Fleming has explained to me how unexpected were the difficulties he had to encounter, how repeatedly after following hopefully a particular route his engineers found themselves stopped by an impassable wall of mountain which blocked the way, and how trail after trail had to be examined and abandoned before he had hit on anything like a practicable route. Even now, after all that has been done, a glance at the map will show you how devious and erratic is the line which appears to afford the only tolerable exit from the labyrinthine ranges of the Cascades. Notwithstanding, therefore, what has been bruited abroad in the sense to which I have alluded, I am sure it will be admitted, nay, I know it is admitted, that as far as the prosecution of the surveys is concerned Canada has used due diligence—yes, more than due diligence—in her desire to comply with that section of the Carnarvon Terms relating to this particular. You must

remember that it is a matter of the greatest moment, involving the success of the entire scheme, and calculated permanently to affect the future destiny of the people of Canada, that a right decision should be arrived at in regard to the location of the Western portion of the line, and a minister would be a traitor to a most sacred trust if he allowed himself to be teased, intimidated, or cajoled into any precipitate decision on such a momentous point until every possible route had been duly examined. When I left Ottawa the engineers seemed disposed to report that our ultimate choice would lie between one of two routes, both starting from Fort George, namely—that which leads to the head of Dean's Canal and that which terminates in Bute Inlet. Of these two, the line to Dean's Canal was the shortest by some 40 miles, and was considerably the cheaper by reason of its easier grades; the ultimate exit of this channel to the sea was also more direct than the tortuous navigation out of Bute Inlet; but Mr. Mackenzie added—though you must not take what I am now going to say as a definite conclusion on his part, or an authoritative communication upon mine—that provided the difference in expense was not so great as to forbid it, he would desire to adopt what might be the less advantageous route from the Dominion point of view, in order to follow that line which would most aptly meet the requirements of the province. Without pronouncing an opinion on the merits of either of the routes, which it is no part of my business to do, I may venture to say that in this principle I think Mr. Mackenzie is right, and that it would be wise and generous of Canada to consult the local interests of British Columbia by bringing the line and its terminus within reach of existing settlements if it can be done without any undue sacrifice of public money. From a recent article in the *Globe* it would seem as though the Bute Inlet line had finally found favor with the Government, though I myself have no information on the point—and I am happy to see from the statistics furnished by that journal that not only has the entire line to the Pacific been at last surveyed, located, graded, and its profile taken but, but that the calculated expenses of construction, though very great, and to be incurred only after careful consideration, are far less than were anticipated. Well, gentlemen, should the indications we have received of the intentions of the Government prove correct, you are very much to be congratulated, for I am well aware that the line to Bute Inlet is the one which you have always favored, and I should hope that now at least you will be satisfied that the Canadian Government has strained every nerve, as it undertook to do, to fulfil to the letter its first and principal obligation under the Carnarvon Terms, by prosecuting with the utmost despatch the surveys of the line to the Pacific coast. I only wish that Waddington Harbor, at the head of the Inlet was a better port, I confess to having but a very poor opinion of it, and certainly the acquaintance I have made with Seymour Narrows and the intervening channels which will have to be bridged or ferried did not seem to me to be very favorable to either operation. Well, then, we now come to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. I am well aware of the extraordinary importance you attach to this work, and of course I am perfectly ready to admit that its immediate execution was promised to you in the most definite and absolute manner under Lord Carnarvon's arbitration. I am not, therefore, surprised at the irritation and excitement occasioned in this city by the non-fulfilment of this item in the agree-



ment—nay, I wish to go further ; I think it extremely natural that the miscarriage of this part of the bargain should have been provocative of very strenuous language, and deeply embittered feelings ; nor am I surprised that, as is almost certain to follow on such occasions, you should, in your vexation, put a very injurious construction on the conduct of those who had undertaken to realize your hopes ; but still I know that I am addressing high-minded and reasonable men, and moreover that you are perfectly convinced that I would sooner cut my right hand off than utter a single word that I do not know to be an absolute truth. Two years have passed since the Canadian Government undertook to commence the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, and the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway is not even commenced, and what is more, there does not at present seem the remotest prospect of its being commenced. What then is the history of the case, and who is answerable for your disappointment ? I know you consider Mr. Mackenzie. I am not here to defend Mr. Mackenzie, his policy, his proceedings, or his utterances. I hope this will be clearly understood. In anything I have hitherto said I have done nothing of this sort, nor do I intend to do so. I have merely stated to you certain matters with which I thought it well for you to be acquainted, because they have been misapprehended, and what I now tell you are also matters of fact within my own cognizance, and which have no relation to Mr. Mackenzie as the head of a political party, and I tell them to you not only in your own interest, but in the interest of public morality and English honor. In accordance with his engagements to you in relation to the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, Mr. Mackenzie introduced so soon as it was possible a bill into the Canadian House of Commons, the clauses of which were admitted by your representatives in Parliament fully to discharge his obligations to yourselves and to Lord Carnarvon in respect of that undertaking, and carried it through the Lower House by a large majority. I have reason to think that many of his supporters voted for the bill with very great misgivings both as to the policy of the measure and the intrinsic merits of the railway ; but their leader had pledged himself to exercise his parliamentary influence to pass it, and they very properly carried it through for him. It went up to the Senate and was thrown out by that body by a majority of two. Well, I have learnt with regret that there is a very widespread conviction in this community that Mr. Mackenzie had surreptitiously procured the defeat of his own measure in the Upper House. Had Mr. Mackenzie dealt so treacherously by Lord Carnarvon, by the representative of his sovereign in this country, or by you, he would have been guilty of a most atrocious act, of which I trust no public man in Canada or in any other British colony could be capable. I tell you in the most emphatic terms, and I pledge my own honor on the point, that Mr. Mackenzie was not guilty of any such base and deceitful conduct—had I thought him guilty of it either he would have ceased to be Prime Minister, or I should have left the country. But the very contrary was the fact. While these events were passing I was in constant personal communication with Mr. Mackenzie. I naturally watched the progress of the bill with the greatest anxiety, because I was aware of the eagerness with which the Act was desired in Victoria, and because I had long felt the deepest sympathy with you in the succession of disappointments to which by the force of circumstances you had been exposed. When the bill had passed the House of Commons by a large majority with the assent

of the leader of the Opposition, in common with every one else, I concluded it was safe, and the adverse vote of the Senate took me as much by surprise as it did you and the rest of the world. I saw Mr. Mackenzie the next day, and I have seldom seen a man more annoyed or disconcerted than he was; indeed, he was driven at that interview to protest with more warmth than he has ever used against the decision of the English Government which had refused on the opinion of the law officers of the Crown to allow him to add to the members of the Senate, after Prince Edward Island had entered Confederation. 'Had I been permitted,' he said to me, 'to have exercised my rights in that respect this would not have happened, but how can these mischances be prevented in a body, the majority of which, having been nominated by my political opponent, is naturally hostile to me?' Now, gentlemen, your acquaintance with Parliamentary Government must tell you that this last observation of Mr. Mackenzie's was a perfectly just one. But my attention has been drawn to the fact that two of Mr. Mackenzie's party supported his Conservative opponents in the rejection of the bill, but surely you do not imagine that a Prime Minister can deal with his supporters in the Senate as if they were a regiment of soldiers. In the House of Commons he has a better chance of maintaining party discipline, for the constituencies are very apt to resent any insubordination on the part of their members towards the leader of their choice. But a senator is equally independent of the Crown, the minister, or the people, and as in the House of Lords at home, so in the Second Chamber in Canada, gentlemen will run from time to time on the wrong side of the post. But it has been observed—granting that the two members in question did not vote as they did at Mr. Mackenzie's instigation—he has exhibited his perfidy in not sending in his resignation as soon as the Senate had pronounced against the bill. Now, gentlemen, you cannot expect me to discuss Mr. Mackenzie's conduct in that respect. It would be very improper for me to do so; but though I cannot discuss Mr. Mackenzie's conduct, I am perfectly at liberty to tell you what I myself should have done had Mr. Mackenzie tendered to me his resignation. I should have told him that in my opinion such a course was quite unjustifiable, that as the House of Commons was then constituted I saw no prospect of the Queen's Government being advantageously carried on except under his leadership, and that were he to resign at that time the greatest inconvenience and detriment would ensue to the public service. That is what I should have said to Mr. Mackenzie in the event contemplated, and I have no doubt that the Parliament and the people of Canada would have confirmed my decision. But it has been furthermore urged that Mr. Mackenzie ought to have reintroduced the bill. Well that is again a point I cannot discuss, but I may tell you this, that if Mr. Mackenzie had done so, I very much doubt that he would have succeeded in carrying it a second time even in the House of Commons. The fact is that Canada at large, whether rightly or wrongly I do not say, has unmistakably shown its approval of the vote in the Senate. An opinion has come to prevail from one end of the Dominion to the other—an opinion which I find is acquiesced in by a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of British Columbia—that the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway cannot stand upon its own merits, and that its construction as a Government enterprise would be, at all events at present, a useless expenditure of the public money. Now, again, let me



assure you that I am not presuming to convey to you any opinion of my own on this much contested point. Even did I entertain any misgivings on the subject, it would be very ungracious for me to parade them in your presence, and on such an occasion. I am merely communicating to you my conjecture why it is that Mr. Mackenzie has shown no signs of his intention to reintroduce the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway Bill into Parliament—viz. : because he knew he had no chance of getting it passed. Well then, gentlemen, of whom and what have you to complain? Well, you have every right from your point of view to complain of the Canadian Senate. You have a right to say that after the Government of the day had promised that a measure upon which a majority of the inhabitants of an important province had set their hearts, should be passed, it was ill-advised and unhandsome of that body not to confirm the natural expectation which had been thus engendered in your breasts, especially when that work was itself offered as a *solatium* to you for a previous injury. I fully admit that it is a very grave step for either House of the Legislature, and particularly for that which is not the popular branch, to disavow any agreement into which the Executive may have entered, except under a very absolute sense of public duty. Mind, I am not saying that this is not such a case; but I say that you have got a perfect right, from your own point of view, not so to regard it. But, gentlemen, that is all. You have got no right to go beyond that. You have got no right to describe yourselves as a second time the victims of a broken agreement. As I have shown you, the persons who had entered into an engagement in regard to this railway with you and Lord Carnarvon had done their very best to discharge their obligation. But the Senate who counteracted their intention, had given no preliminary promises whatever, either to you or to the Secretary of State. They rejected the bill in the legitimate exercise of their constitutional functions; and there is nothing more to be said on this head, so far as that body is concerned, either by you or Lord Carnarvon, for I need not assure you that there is not the slightest chance that any Secretary of State in Downing street would attempt anything so unconstitutional—so likely to kindle a flame throughout the whole Dominion, as to coerce the free legislative action of her Legislature. But there is one thing I admit the Senate has done, it has revived in their integrity those original treaty obligations on the strength of which you were induced to enter Confederation, and it has reimposed upon Mr. Mackenzie and his Government the obligation of offering you an equivalent for that stipulation in the Carnarvon Terms which he has not been able to make good. Now, from the very strong language which has been used in regard to the conduct of Mr. Mackenzie, a bystander would be led to imagine that as soon as his railway bill had miscarried, he cynically refused to take any further action in the matter. Had my Government done so they would have exposed themselves to the severest reprehension, and such conduct would have been both faithless to you and disrespectful to Lord Carnarvon; but so far from having acted in this manner Mr. Mackenzie has offered you a very considerable grant of money in consideration of your disappointment. Now, here again, I will not touch upon the irritating controversies which have circled round this particular step in these transactions. I am well aware that you consider this offer to have been made under conditions of which you have reason to complain. If this has been the case it is

most unfortunate, but, still, whatever may have been the sinister incidents connected with the past, the one solid fact remains that the Canadian Government has offered you \$750,000 in lieu of the railway. This sum has been represented to me as totally inadequate, and as very far short of an equivalent. It may be so, or it may not be so. Neither upon that point will I offer an opinion, but still I may mention to you the principle upon which that sum has been arrived at. Under the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway Bill, whose rejection by the Senate we have been considering, Canada was to contribute a bonus of \$10,000 a mile. The total distance of the line is about 70 miles, consequently the \$750,000 is nothing more nor less than this very bonus converted into a lump sum. Now, since I have come here it has been represented to me by the friends of the railway that it is a line which is capable of standing on its own merits, and that a company had been almost induced to take it up some time ago as an unsubsidized enterprise. Nay, only yesterday the local paper, which is the most strenuous champion for the line, asserted that it could be built for \$2,000,000; that the lands—which, with the \$750,000 were to be replaced by Mr. Mackenzie at your disposal—were worth several millions more, and that the railway itself would prove a most paying concern. If this is so, and what better authority can I refer to, is it not obvious that the bonus proposal of the Dominion Government assumes at least the semblance of a fair offer, and even if you did not consider it absolutely up to the mark, it should not have been denounced in the very strong language which has been used. However, I do not wish to discuss the point whether the \$750,000 was a sufficient offer or not. I certainly am not empowered to hold out to you any hope of an advance. All that I would venture to submit is that Mr. Mackenzie, having been thwarted in his *bonâ fide* endeavor to fulfil this special item in the Carnarvon Terms, has adopted the only course left to him in proposing to discharge his obligations by a money payment. I confess I should have thought this would be the most natural solution of the problem, and that the payment of a sum of money equivalent to the measure of Mr. Mackenzie's original obligation, to be expended under whatever conditions would be most immediately advantageous to the Province, and ultimately beneficial to the Dominion, would not have been an unnatural remedy for the misadventure which has stultified this special stipulation in regard to the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway; but, of course, of these matters you yourselves are the best judges, and I certainly have not the slightest desire to suggest to you any course which you may think contrary to your interests. My only object in touching upon them at all is to disabuse your minds of the idea that there has been any intention upon the part of Mr. Mackenzie, his Government, or of Canada, to break their faith with you. Every single item of the Carnarvon Terms is at this moment in the course of fulfilment. At enormous expense the surveys have been pressed forward to completion, the fifty millions of land and the thirty millions of money to be provided for by Canada under the bill are ready, the profiles of the main line have been taken out, and the most elaborate information has been sent over to Europe in regard to every section of country through which it passes; several thousand miles of the stipulated telegraph have been laid down; and now that the western terminus seems to have been determined, though upon this point I have myself no information, tenders I imagine will be called for almost



immediately. Whatever further steps may be necessary to float the undertaking as a commercial enterprise will be adopted, and the promised waggon road will necessarily follow *pari passu* with construction. Well, then, gentlemen, how will you stand under these circumstances? You will have got your line to Bute Inlet. Now I will communicate to you a conclusion I have arrived at from my visit to that locality. If the Pacific Railway once comes to Bute Inlet it cannot stop there. It may pause there for a considerable time, until Canadian trans-Pacific traffic with Australia, China, and Japan shall have begun to expand, but such a traffic once set going Waddington Harbor will no longer serve as a terminal port—in fact it is no harbor at all, and scarcely an anchorage—the railway must be prolonged, under these circumstances, to Esquimalt, that is to say, if the deliberate opinion of the engineers should pronounce the operation feasible, and Canada shall in the meantime have acquired the additional financial stability which would justify her undertaking what under any circumstances must prove one of the most gigantic achievements the world has ever witnessed. In that case, of course, the Nanaimo Railway springs into existence of its own accord, and you will then be in possession both of your money compensation and of the thing for which it was paid, and with this result I do not think you should be ill satisfied. But should the contrary be the case, the prospect is indeed a gloomy one; should hasty counsels and the exhibition of an impracticable spirit throw these arrangements into confusion, interrupt or change our present railway programme, and necessitate any re-arrangement of your political relations, I fear Victoria would be the chief sufferer. I scarcely like to allude to such a contingency, nor, gentlemen, are my observations directed immediately to you, for I know very well that neither do those whom I am addressing, nor do the great majority of the inhabitants of Vancouver Island or of Victoria, participate in the views to which I am about to refer—but still a certain number of your fellow-citizens—gentlemen with whom I have had a great deal of pleasant and interesting conversation, and who have shown to me personally the greatest kindness and courtesy, have sought to impress me with the belief that if the Legislature of Canada is not compelled by some means or other, which, however, they do not specify, to make forthwith these 70 miles of railway, they will be strong enough, in the face of Mr. Mackenzie's offer of a money equivalent, to take British Columbia out of the Confederation. Well, they certainly will not be able to do that. I am now in a position to judge for myself as to what are the real sentiments of the community. I will even presume to say that I know immeasurably more about it than these gentlemen themselves. When once the main line of the Pacific Railway is under weigh, the whole population of the mainland would be perfectly contented with the present situation of affairs, and will never dream of detaching their fortunes from those of Her Majesty's great Dominion. Nay, I do not believe that these gentlemen would be able to persuade their fellow citizens even of the Island of Vancouver to so violent a course. But granting for the moment that their influence should prevail, what would be the result? British Columbia would still be part and parcel of Canada. The great work of Confederation would not be perceptibly affected. But the proposed line of the Pacific Railway might possibly be deflected south. New Westminster would certainly become the capital of the province, the Dominion would naturally use its best endeavors to build it up into

a flourishing and prosperous city. It would be the seat of Government and the home of justice, as well as the chief social centre on the Pacific coast. Burrard Inlet would become a great commercial port, and the miners of Cariboo, with their stores of gold dust, would spend their festive and open handed winters there. Great Britain would of course retain Esquimalt as a naval station on this coast as she has retained Halifax as a naval station on the other, and inasmuch as a constituency of some 1500 persons would not be able to supply the material for a Parliamentary Government, Vancouver and its inhabitants, who are now influential by reason of their intelligence rather than their numbers, would be ruled as Jamaica, Malta, Gibraltar, Heligoland, and Ascencion are ruled, through the instrumentality of some naval or other officer. Nanaimo would become the principal town of the island, and Victoria would lapse for many a long year into the condition of a village, until the development of your coal fields and the growth of a healthier sentiment had prepared the way for its re-incorporation with the rest of the province; at least, that is the horoscope I should draw for it in the contingency contemplated by these gentlemen. But God forbid that any such prophecy should be realized. I believe the gentlemen I have referred to are the very last who would desire to see the fulfilment of their menaces, and I hope they will forgive me if I am not intimidated by their formidable representations. When some pertinacious philosopher insisted on assailing the late King of the Belgians with a rhapsody on the beauties of a Republican Government, His Majesty replied: 'You forget, sir, I am a Royalist by profession.' Well, a Governor General is a Federalist by profession, and you might as well expect the Sultan of Turkey to throw up his cap for the Commune, as the Viceroy of Canada to entertain a suggestion for the disintegration of the Dominion. I hope, therefore, they will not bear me any ill will for having declined to bow my head beneath their 'Separation' arch. It was a very good-humored, and certainly not a disloyal, bit of 'bounce,' which they had prepared for me. I suppose they wished me to know they were the 'arch' enemies of Canada. Well, I have made them an arch reply. But, gentlemen, of course I am not serious in discussing such a contingency as that to which I have referred. Your numerical weakness as a community is your real strength, for it is a consideration which appeals to every generous heart. Far be the day when on any acre of soil above which floats the flag of England mere material power, brute political preponderance, should be permitted to decide such a controversy as that which we are discussing. It is to men like yourselves, who, with unquailing fortitude and heroic energy, have planted the laws and liberties, and the blessed influence of English homes amidst the wilds and rocks and desert plains of savage bands, that England owes the enhancement of her prestige, the diffusion of her tongue, the increase of her commerce and her ever-widening renown, and woe betide the Government or the statesmen who, because its inhabitants are few in number and politically of small account, should disregard the wishes or carelessly dismiss the representations, however bluff, boisterous, or downright, of the feeblest of our distant colonies. No, gentlemen, neither England nor Canada would be content or happy in any settlement that was not arrived at with your own hearty approval and consent, and equally satisfactory to every section of your Province; but we appeal to moderation and practical good sense to assist us in resolving the present



difficulty. The genius of the English race has ever been too robust and sensible to admit the existence of an irreconcilable element in its midst. It is only among weak and hysterical populations that such a growth can flourish. However hard the blows given and taken during the contest, Britishers always find a means of making up the quarrel, and such I trust will be the case on the present occasion. My functions as a constitutional ruler are simply to superintend the working of the political machine, but not to intermeddle with its action. I trust that I have observed that rule on the present occasion, and that although I have addressed you at considerable length I have not said a word which it has not been strictly within my province to say, or have intruded on those domains which are reserved for the action of my responsible advisers. As I warned you would be the case, I have made no announcement, I have made no promise, I have hazarded no opinion upon any of the administrative questions now occupying the joint attention of yourselves and the Dominion. I have only endeavored to correct some misapprehensions by which you have been possessed in regard to matters of historical fact, and I have testified to the kind feeling entertained for you by your fellow-subjects in Canada, and to the desire of my Government for the re-establishment of the friendliest and kindest relations between you and themselves, and I trust that I may carry away with me the conviction that from henceforth a less angry and irritated feeling towards Canada will have been inaugurated than has hitherto subsisted. Of my own earnest desire to do everything I can, and to forward your views so far as they may be founded in justice and reason, I need not speak. My presence here, and the way in which I have spent my time, will have convinced you of what has been the object nearest my heart. I cannot say how glad I am to have come, or how much I have profited by my visit, and I assure you none of the representations with which I have been favored will escape my memory or fail to be duly submitted in the proper quarter. And now, gentlemen, I must bid you good-bye, but before doing so there is one other topic upon which I am desirous of touching. From my first arrival in Canada I have been very much pre-occupied with the condition of the Indian population in this Province. You must remember that the Indian population are not represented in Parliament, and, consequently, that the Governor General is bound to watch over their welfare with especial solicitude. Now we must all admit that the condition of the Indian question in British Columbia is not satisfactory. Most unfortunately, as I think, there has been an initial error ever since Sir James Douglass quitted office, in the Government of British Columbia neglecting to recognize what is known as the Indian title. In Canada this has always been done: no Government, whether Provincial or central, has failed to acknowledge that the original title to the land existed in the Indian tribes and communities that hunted or wandered over them. Before we touch an acre we make a treaty with the chiefs representing the hands we are dealing with, and having agreed upon and paid the stipulated price, oftentimes arrived at after a great deal of haggling and difficulty, we enter into possession, but not until then do we consider that we are entitled to deal with an acre. The result has been that in Canada our Indians are contented, well affected to the white man, and amenable to the laws and Government. At this very moment the Lieut. Governor of Manitoba has gone on a distant expedition in order to make a treaty with the tribes

to the northward of the Saskatchewan. Last year he made two treaties with the Crees and Chippeways, next year it has been arranged that he should make a treaty with the Blackfeet, and when this is done the British Crown will have acquired a title to every acre that lies between Lake Superior and the top of the Rocky Mountains. But in British Columbia—except in a few places where, under the jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company or under the auspices of Sir James Douglass, a similar practice has been adopted—the Provincial Government has always assumed that the fee simple, in as well as the sovereignty over the land, resided in the Queen. Acting upon this principle they have granted extensive grazing leases, and otherwise so dealt with various sections of the country as greatly to restrict or interfere with the prescriptive rights of the Queen's Indian subjects. As a consequence, there has come to exist an unsatisfactory feeling amongst the Indian population. Intimations of this reached me at Ottawa two or three years ago, and since I have come into the Province my misgivings on the subject have been confirmed. Now, I consider that our Indian fellow-subjects are entitled to exactly the same civil rights under the law as are possessed by the white population, and that if an Indian can prove a prescriptive right of way to a fishing station, or a right of any other kind, that that right should no more be ignored than if it was the case of a white man. I am well aware that among the coast Indians the land question does not present the same characteristics as in other parts of Canada, or as it does in the grass countries of the interior of this Province; but I have also been able to understand that in these latter districts it may be even more necessary to deal justly and liberally with the Indian in regard to his land rights than on the prairies of the North-West. I am very happy that the British Columbian Government should have recognized the necessity of assisting the Dominion Government in ameliorating the present condition of affairs in this respect, and that it has agreed to the creation of a joint commission for the purpose of putting the interests of the Indian population on a more satisfactory footing. Of course, in what I have said I do not mean that in our desire to be humane and to act justly, we should do anything unreasonable or Quixotic, or that rights already acquired by white men should be inconsiderately invaded or recalled, but I would venture to put the Government of British Columbia on its guard against the fatal eventualities which might arise should a sense of injustice provoke the Indian population to violence or into a collision with our scattered settlers. Probably there has gone forth amongst them very incorrect and exaggerated information of the warlike achievements of their brethren in Dakotah, and their uneducated minds are incapable of calculating chances. Of course, there is no danger of any serious or permanent revolt, but it must be remembered that even an accidental collision in which blood was shed, might have a most disastrous effect upon our present satisfactory relations with the warlike tribes in the North-West, whose amity and adhesion to our system of government is so essential to the progress of the Pacific Railway, and I make this appeal as I may call it, with all the more earnestness since I have convinced myself of the degree to which, if properly dealt with, the Indian population might be made to contribute to the development of the wealth and resources of the Province. I have now seen them in all phases of their existence, from the half-naked avage, perched like a bird of prey in a red blanket upon a rock, trying to catch his



miserable dinner of fish, to the neat Indian maidens in Mr. Duncan's school at Matlahkatlah, as modest and as well dressed as any clergyman's daughter in an English parish, or to the shrewd horse-riding Siwash of the Thompson Valley, with his racers in training for the Ashcroft Stakes, and as proud of his stackyard and turnip field as a British squire. In his first condition it is evident he is scarcely a producer or a consumer; in his second, he is eminently both, and in proportion as he can be raised to the higher level of civilization will be the degree to which he will contribute to the vital energies of the Province. What you want are not resources, but human beings to develop them and consume them. Raise your 30,000 Indians to the level Mr. Duncan has taught us they can be brought, and consider what an enormous amount of vital power you will have added to your present strength. But I must not keep you longer. I thank you most heartily for your patience and attention. Most earnestly do I desire the accomplishment of all your aspirations, and if ever I have the good fortune to come to British Columbia again, I hope it may be by—rail."

His Excellency was listened to throughout with breathless interest, and with the greatest attention.

In the afternoon their Excellencies attended an open air demonstration given in their honor at Beacon Hill Park. One of the largest concourses ever seen in Victoria, including a great many people from the neighboring country, were present. In the city nearly all the stores were closed, and business was for the time suspended.

On the night of the 20th September, the Vice-regal party bade farewell to British Columbia, and on the following day they sailed, in the *Amethyst*, for San Francisco, which city they reached on the 24th. On the next evening they attended a ball given by Senator Sharon, at his residence about thirty-five miles from the city, in honor of General Sherman and Mr. Secretary Cameron, who had come to San Francisco in the course of a tour they were making in the West. They left the city on the 27th September on their return to Canada, and on their way visited the Centennial at Philadelphia.

His Excellency reached Ottawa on the 23rd October. He was received with the usual demonstrations, and an address of congratulation from the City Council was read by Mr. Alderman Lesieur. In reply, His Excellency said:—

"GENTLEMEN,—It is with feelings of no ordinary emotion that I accept this fresh and unexpected mark of your confidence and good will.

Glad as I may be to find myself at home again, after so many months of travel, the warm welcome which has been prepared for me by yourselves, and the citizens of Ottawa, sheds an additional brightness over my return.

My visit to British Columbia has been both gratifying and instructive. Nothing could have been more kind or cordial than the welcome extended to me personally by its inhabitants, or more universal or genuine than the loyalty of all classes

in the Province towards the Throne and Person of Her Majesty. Of course you are aware that there are certain matters in controversy between the Local Government of the Province and my own responsible advisers, but on no occasion, from the time that I landed till the time that I took my departure, did the British Columbia people allow this circumstance to affect the friendliness of their bearing towards the Representative of their Sovereign. I do not presume to hope that my visit to the West will have been productive of much practical result, so far as the disputes to which I have alluded are concerned. Their settlement will depend upon other considerations, and will be provided for under the advice of the responsible Ministers of the Crown at Victoria and Ottawa, but I have no hesitation in saying that my presence amongst your fellow countrymen on the other side of the Rocky Mountains has been universally regarded as a proof and pledge of the friendliness and good will felt for them by the people of Canada at large, and I am quite certain that any reasonable effort upon the part of the Dominion, and the exhibition of that generosity of feeling which is due from a great community to a feebler neighbor, will not fail to restore that perfect harmony and intimate union in thought and feeling between British Columbia and her sister Provinces, which is so essential to the strength and permanence of our Confederation. (Cheers.) In conclusion, gentlemen, I cannot help adding one word of congratulation on the admirable appearance made by Canada at the Centennial Exhibition, from whence I have just come. Whether we take into account the variety of our products, their intrinsic value, the degree to which they are destined to promote the expansion of our wealth, trade and commerce, or whether we consider the admirable method and completeness with which they have been displayed under the supervision of our Commissioners, we must be equally struck with the effective share which Canada has taken in enhancing the attractions of the Centennial show. There can be no doubt but that these proofs of our resources and prospects have made the most favorable impression upon our neighbors in the United States. In many respects they acknowledge, with a generosity which well becomes them, that we are their masters, and the many prizes we have taken away, especially in the agricultural competitions, have completely borne out their appreciation of our eminence. (Cheers.) Indeed I may say I am never allowed to enter the United States without being made to feel with what kindly feelings we are regarded by that great people whose own extraordinary development is one of the marvels of the age. Wherever I go I never fail to meet with the greatest courtesy and consideration, which I gladly recognize as a tribute not to myself but to the Canadian nationality I represent, whom the people of the States are always anxious to honor in my person. (Cheers.) At no period in the history of the world have those bonds of sympathy and affection, by which the members of the great Anglo-Saxon race are indestructibly united, been drawn closer or rendered more sensibly apparent than at the present moment. The many proofs given by England of her friendly feeling towards the people of the United States have found their crowning expression in the noble way she has associated herself with them in celebrating the Centennial year of their existence as an independent community, and nowhere has her Imperial dignity been more fitly or appropriately displayed than beneath the lucent roof of the Philadelphia Exhibition, where she



sits enthroned amid her native treasures, and surrounded by the crowd of loyal colonies through whose intervention she not only extends her sceptre to the four quarters of the world, but has everywhere established Parliamentary Government institutions, and laid deep the foundations of an imperishable freedom. (Cheers.) Facing her in generous emulation stands the United States, backed by the wealth of her virgin territories and the inventions of her ingenious artificers, and as you traverse the building from end to end, you almost forget to remember whether you be English, Canadian, Australasian, American, from Africa, or from India, in the proud consciousness that you are a member of that great Anglo-Saxon race, whose enterprize has invaded every region, whose children have colonized two continents, whose language is spoken by one-third of civilized mankind, whose industry throngs the markets of the globe, and whose political genius has developed the only successful form of Constitutional Government as yet known to the nations of the earth." (Great applause).

His Excellency had now completed a tour exceeding in importance that of the Ontario tour of the previous year. He had travelled over ten thousand miles, and had inspected one of the most valuable Provinces of the Dominion. This great section of the Dominion is nearly double the size of the Province of Ontario, for it contains 233,000 square miles, while Ontario has only 121,260, Quebec has 210,000, Nova Scotia, 18,670, New Brunswick, 27,038, and Manitoba 16,000. Of the Provinces, therefore, forming the Dominion, containing an area of 625,967 square miles, British Columbia has nearly one-third of the whole. It has a coast line on the Pacific Ocean of about 700 miles, exclusive of the Island of Vancouver, whose coast line is about 600 miles.

This island is covered with forests of pine and cedar, and though a considerable portion of it is fit for agricultural purposes, its great riches consist in its mines of iron and coal which are practically inexhaustible. This small portion of the Province possesses iron sufficient to supply the world for centuries, and coal enough to work it, and yet supply the rest of the globe. The mainland, or what was formerly known as the Province of British Columbia,\* is intersected north and south by the

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\* British Columbia sprang into existence, as a colony, in 1858, on the gold discoveries, the rumours of which in that year suddenly attracted thousands to its shores. It had previously been traversed and partially occupied by the fur traders, first of the North West, and afterwards of the Hudson's Bay Company, by whom its various divisions were distinguished by different names, most of which are still retained for local designation. The adjacent Island of Vancouver, separated from the mainland by a narrow channel in its narrowest part, scarcely exceeding a few thousand yards, had been partially colonized some years before; and it might reasonably have been expected that these two adjacent lands, with interests so closely

Cascade Mountains, a continuation of the Sierra Nevada of California, which run about one hundred miles from the coast. Contiguous to these is a lofty range of mountains, extending into Alaska. The easterly boundary of the Province is the great range of the Rocky Mountains. As a rule this country is mountainous, but there are immense tracts of level, or rather rolling arable land, and very large sections of admirable pasturage. Between Fraser and Thompson rivers is a large tract of level forest. There is an immense tract lying between the Cascades and the Rocky Mountain Range, about 700 miles in length, with an average breadth of one hundred miles, containing many millions of acres, which is thus described in the great map, prepared by Col. Stoughton Dennis, the Surveyor General of Canada, for the 1878 Exhibition at Paris.

“High undulating plateau between the Rocky and Cascade Mountains. The south-eastern portion has little rain-fall, but produces luxuriant bunch grass and the bottom lands and benches (when they can be irrigated) excellent wheat and other cereals, as well as vegetables. In the north-western portion the rain-fall is greater, and the bunch grass gives way to the blue joint, timothy and kindred grasses. The soil in the valleys is rich, and produces, without irrigation, all kinds of the harder cereals and vegetables.”

The Province is well watered. The rivers are numerous and large, though the navigation is much broken by falls and rapids. The Fraser river drains the East slope of the Cascades and the west slope of the Rocky Mountains, and has a course of 800 miles. It has several affluents, the chief of which are the Thompson, the Harrison and the Lillooet Rivers. The Stickeen and the Simpson are considerable streams in the northern part of the Province. The Columbia River is a large stream which, after rising in the Province, flows south into the American possessions and reaches the Pacific in Washington Territory. The climate is one of the most delightful and healthy in the world. British Columbia may properly be called “the Land of Health.” The nights are always cool. Malaria and ague are almost unknown. The climate over the greater part of the Province is similar to that of England without the cold moist east winds. In the other portions

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united, would have been incorporated under one Government. They were, however, established as separate Colonies, under the Imperial auspices and ceased to be Crown Colonies in 1866, when they were united, under the name of “British Columbia,” in which state they remained until the 20th July, 1871, when the Province entered Confederation.



the climate resembles that of France. The large lakes never freeze, and the larger rivers are never completely closed by ice. What are known as "severe" winters in Eastern Canada and the Northern United States are unknown in British Columbia. Near the ocean, in that portion lying west of the Cascades, and in Vancouver Island, the thermometer hardly ever indicates more than 80° Fahrenheit in the shade on the hottest summer day, and it rarely falls to 20° in the winter. The air is genial, though a little humid, and the humidity increases as we go north. The summer is exceptionally beautiful; the autumn bright and fine; the winter frosty and rainy by turns; the spring rather wet. Snow rarely falls to the depth of a foot, and it melts quickly. When the atmosphere is clear, there are heavy dews at night, and fogs are common in October and November. The summer mists are rare, partial and transitory; tornadoes, such as sweep over Illinois and other States of the Union, are unknown. In winter the weather is brilliant and clear, east of the Cascade Range, and between the Rocky Mountains and this range the heat and cold are greater—warm in summer, but not so warm as to injure vegetation. The winter is changeable. November is frosty, December, January and February are cold and wintry, but generally clear and sunny; there is little ice, and the snow is never found more than a foot in depth on the level. In March and April, spring opens. As the Rocky Range is approached the atmosphere is sensibly affected by the heat of the Great American Desert which stretches south to Mexico. About the head waters of the Columbia, the climate is simply delightful, extremes are rare, snow melts as it falls. The scenery is grand beyond description. Travellers tell us that the beauty of the Sierra Nevada sinks into insignificance when compared with the magnificence of British Columbia scenery, and the grandeur of the Alps bears no comparison with the incomparable views in British Columbia.

The forests can supply for centuries the most valuable timber of the most serviceable kind. The Douglas pine grows to a gigantic size. Besides the ordinary uses to which this most valuable pine is put, it is highly prized for masts and spars, on account of its size, length, straightness and tenacity. The oak, the cedar, the several varieties of pine, the yew, the maple, the balsam poplar, the birch, and other descriptions of trees cover the country, and provide a supply of wood and timber practically illimitable.

The gold mines of British Columbia are well known. These are

in the Cassiar, the Cariboo, the Omineca, the Kootenay and the Fraser River districts. During the period between the years, 1858 and 1876, both inclusive, there have been taken from these mines nearly \$40,000,000 worth of gold, the average number of miners being yearly 3171 and the average earnings of each per year \$563.

The coal mines thus far worked are all at or in the immediate neighborhood of Nanaimo, Vancouver Island. There were raised from these mines in 1874, 81,397 tons; in 1875, 113,000 tons, and in 1876, 140,087 tons.

Iron ore has been found from time to time in different parts of the Province, and deposits of inexhaustible quantity and of the greatest excellence have been recently discovered on Taxada Island, in the Gulf of Georgia.

Silver and copper are widely distributed throughout the Province.

The fisheries of the Province are highly valuable. Salmon, sturgeon, oolachan, cod, herring, halibut, sardine, anchovy, oysters, haddock, and dog-fish, abound in the waters of the country, and very extensive fishing stations for canning are in operation both on the Skeena and Fraser rivers.

This is the noble country which Mr. Blake disparagingly spoke of as a "Sea of Mountains," but a riper experience will, no doubt, teach him that the mountains are filled with a wealth compared with which the discoveries of Aladdin's lamp are dross. It is now known that the splendid country which desired to throw her riches into the lap of the Dominion, a desire which has been met with coldness, and repulsed with injustice, is a country filled with all the materials necessary to build up a community as rich and prosperous as any in the world. Nature, as if unsatisfied with piling up mountains of gold, and silver, and copper, and iron, and coal, in this magnificent country, has, in a spirit of lavishness, clothed them in a leafy mantle which for a moment hides from our view the splendid timber, in itself sufficient to enrich an empire. Not content with raising mountains of gold, to her unbounded generosity she surmounts them all with the splendid forests which from the lofty mountain tops proclaim to the world her wonderful gifts to this wonderful land. In the varied gradations of elevation she has with a skill all her own, framed for man's use and delight plateaus of fertility which supply, with a startling profusion the most valuable productions of the tropic, the temperate, and the



frigid zones. She has provided the most nutritious food for untold millions of cattle, who may wander through the immense grazing tracts, and without labor to the owner pour into his hands untold wealth. She has filled the country with streams of pure and ever cool water, and these she has filled with food which grows without man's care, and in superabundant quantities asks him merely to put forth his hands and gather. She has dug out for him noble harbors, and roadsteads, where all the navies of the world may ride in safety. She has spread over these invaluable gifts, a pure health-inspiring atmosphere to drink which is to live. She, by the great Rocky Range, has barred the advance of the American deserts where no animal life is known, and where vegetable life is barely visible, as if jealous that her beautiful British Columbia should, like a precious jewel, lie in its casket, unsullied by the touch of less favored regions. She has guarded her precious treasure from the burning winds of the West by the lofty pinnacles of the Rocky Mountains, and these she has conducted, cooled into health-inspiring draughts, to the verdant valleys which lie at their feet. She has guarded her favorite from the surf of the Pacific by a fringe of islands of unsurpassed beauty, and has filled them with riches of illimitable count. And she has placed this marvel of her handiwork on the bosom of the gentle Pacific whose soft breezes and sweet air bring bloom to the cheek, elasticity to the step, and strength to the arm of the fair women and stalwart men whom she has invited to dig, and delve, and flourish, and be happy in this her beautiful Province.

And this is the country which now for five years has been waiting with unexampled patience for the first small instalment of the heavy debt owing to her by the great and wealthy Dominion of Canada.

The speech of His Excellency was an important utterance, and had a powerful effect. It was disappointing to the ardent British Columbians, since they could see only their wrongs, and for these it provided no remedy. They had expected an announcement of some policy of the Dominion Ministry more favorable to them than it had hitherto been. But a moment's consideration must have taught them that His Excellency could not possibly undertake the *role* of a negotiator. His duty was simple. It was merely to clear away misunderstandings, and place before British Columbia a statement of facts from which she might work out with accuracy the precise position she occupied in the ocean of doubt by which she was surrounded.

He warned his hearers that he came among them to make the acquaintance of the people, their wants, wishes and aspirations, and to learn as much as he could in regard to the physical features, capabilities and resources of the Province; and that he had not come on a diplomatic mission, or as a messenger, or charged with any announcement either from the Imperial or from the Dominion Government. He expressed in fervent words the ardent desire of his Ministry to cement the union with their magnificent Province, and he frankly admitted that the Pacific Railway matters from first to last had not gone smoothly on, and that many, they among the number, had suffered in consequence. He then entered into a defence, or rather an extenuation of the acts charged against his Ministers. He exonerated them from all blame of delay in the surveys, and in language of unusual force declared Mr. Mackenzie guiltless of any treachery in his dealings with the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Bill in the Senate. He thus threw the whole blame, if there were any, of the defeat of the bill in the Senate, on the Senate itself, over which Mr. Mackenzie had no control, and said that the people of British Columbia could not properly accuse any one of a second breach of contract, for Mr. Mackenzie's promise to build the road was, of course, conditional on obtaining the assent of both Houses, and as to the Senate, they had never made any promise.

Lord Dufferin was taken sharply to task for that part of his address which so completely and emphatically exonerated Mr. Mackenzie from the charge of duplicity as to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. Here was raised the constitutional question,—“Is a Governor General justified in putting himself forward as the public defender of the acts of his Ministers?” The question is important, as it involves a further development of the principle of Constitutional Government. His Excellency was at once charged with being the agent of Mr. Mackenzie, and with improperly throwing the great weight of his private and public character into the scales in his favor. It must be remembered that Lord Dufferin did not allude to the policy of the Ministry, he merely exonerated his First Minister from a charge of personal dishonor, which, had he been guilty, would have deprived him of his position. The theory of Constitutional Government, while it demands that the ruler shall be guided by the advice of his Responsible Ministers in all public acts and public utterances, also demands that he shall have implicit confidence in their



integrity while dealing with public affairs. If he should find a Minister properly charged with deceit or misrepresentation in a public matter, he would be guilty not only of condoning such an offence against public morals, but as an accomplice he would be as reprehensible as the principal, by continuing to act with him. For the policy of his Ministers, the Ruler is not responsible—for their personal honor, when it becomes involved with his own, he is, and Lord Dufferin was therefore not only justified, but compelled, in justice to his Minister and himself, to tell the truth. This from Mr. Mackenzie's lips would have been laughed to scorn by his opponents; the truth from Lord Dufferin would be received with respect and unhesitating confidence by all parties. It must be remembered, too, that the Governor General was as an Imperial Officer bound to keep his honor untarnished. The dispute between British Columbia and the Dominion had been referred to the Secretary for the Colonies, therefore the Earl of Carnarvon, representing the Crown in England, and His Excellency representing it in Canada, were both deeply interested in the amicable settlement of the difficulty. If His Excellency had stood by an assenting party while his Ministry were deliberately plotting and carrying out a dishonorable scheme, he would have failed in his duty to the Imperial authority had he permitted such conduct, or had he kept silence when it was untruthfully charged against them. And besides all this, the Governor General owed a solemn duty to the Dominion. It was of the utmost consequence that Canada should stand before the world as an honest and honorable country, and that her Ministers should regard with detestation a trick so repulsive to all honest minds as that imputed to Mr. Mackenzie. Lord Dufferin was, therefore, the custodian not only of his own honor but of that of his Ministry and the Dominion, and he was compelled to place his Government and himself right before British Columbia and the people of Great Britain and the Dominion by the explanations he made in this speech.

The following despatch from the Earl of Carnarvon to His Excellency contains the views of the Colonial Secretary on the difficulty :

“DOWNING STREET, 18th December, 1876.

MY LORD,—I duly received your Lordship's despatch No. 190 of the 30th June last, enclosing a Report of a Committee of the Executive Council of British Columbia respecting the course taken by the Dominion Government in reference to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This report, together with

the previous one of the 4th January and the Petition to the Queen from the Legislative Assembly of the Province, have received my very careful consideration.

2. In my despatch No. 113 of the 23rd May I informed you that I proposed to postpone my reply to the Minutes of Council which had previously reached me from British Columbia and Canada respectively upon this subject, and that I should also defer laying before the Queen the Petition from the Provincial Assembly, until after your contemplated visit to British Columbia.

3. It has not yet been possible for you to complete and transmit to me your official report of this visit, but as I understand that the meeting of the British Columbia Legislature is now near at hand, I think I ought not any longer to withhold from the Governments of the Dominion and of the Province an expression of my opinion, so far as it has yet been possible for me to form one, on the principal questions now at issue.

4. Although in visiting British Columbia you were not charged to offer any explanations or to make any proposals, either on behalf of Her Majesty's Government or of your Ministers to the Government and people of the Province, I naturally anticipated that the result of your communications with them would be to enlighten them as to the views and policy of the Dominion Government, and the difficulties with which that Government has had to contend in fulfilling the terms of the settlement which I proposed in 1874 ; and consequently would tend to allay the irritation which had been felt in the Province on account of the failure of the Bill providing for the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, as well as on other points in regard to which the people of British Columbia have been dissatisfied.

5. I have already learnt enough of your proceedings to feel assured that I do not misinterpret the result of your visit in believing that my anticipations, as above expressed, have been to a great extent fulfilled, and that public opinion in British Columbia will at all events be prepared to concur with me in the opinion, that the circumstances of the case are such as to render it not unreasonable that the Dominion Government should ask for time, and an indulgent consideration of their own difficulties, in order that they may fulfil to the best of their ability the obligation under which they find themselves placed.

6. If I do not at this moment comply with the representations of the Assembly and Council of the Province, that I should urge upon the Government of Canada the strict and immediate fulfilment of the obligation to which I have referred in the preceding paragraph, it is because I appreciate, more distinctly perhaps than it is possible for the people of the Province to do, the position in which the Dominion Government has been placed by the failure of the Island Railway Bill. I recognize, moreover, the fact that there are many considerations which require that the whole of the most important portion of the Pacific Railway should be treated with the utmost deliberation, consistent with the pressing requirements of the Province, and that no hasty action should be pressed upon the Canadian Government, whom I need hardly say I believe to be thoroughly sincere in their desire to construct the main line of railway with all the expedition of which the resources of the country, and the engineering problems remaining yet unsolved, will admit.



7. After much and anxious consideration, and with every sympathy for the sense of disappointment under which I see that the people of British Columbia are laboring, I cannot avoid the conclusion that the objections which have been made against the course taken by the Dominion Government have been couched in more severe and exaggerated language than a fair estimate of the peculiar embarrassments and the difficulties of the case would seem to justify.

8. The British Columbian Government must, I feel sure, be convinced (as I am) that the surveys of the line have been prosecuted with the greatest vigor and despatch possible, that these surveys are now approaching completion, and that every effort has been made by the Government of Canada to hurry forward the antecedent preparations necessary to the construction of the railway.

9. It must of course be expected that even after the completion of the surveys upon the spot a great amount of work will remain to be done in the Engineer's Office, and the Dominion Government will require time to consider fully, after sufficiently accurate data have been collected, not only the exact proportions and details of the undertaking but also the calls which it will entail upon the resources of the country. Those, again, who may be disposed to contract for sections of the line, and some of whom may not improbably be resident in England, would presumably require to send their agents to the localities in order to make such calculations as would enable them to tender for the work.

10. There is a further question of the gravest importance, which has weighed much with me. Not only is it evident that the route inland must be laid down with sufficient precision for the purpose, but the question of the terminus is one in which the most serious consequences are obviously involved, and with regard to which, after having recourse to the information now in the possession of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I see clearly that we have not at present the materials for any definite conclusion.

11. The future success of the railway is, indeed, in so great a degree dependent upon a proper approach to the sea being selected, that it would be obviously improper for the Canadian Government to be hurried into a premature decision on this point by any untimely pressure. For example, grave objections, I understand, may be argued against the Bute Inlet Route, which has been looked upon with much favor, on account of the inadequacy of its head waters as a safe anchorage; and unless the railway could hereafter be practically prolonged to some point in Vancouver Island, such as Barclay Sound or Esquimalt, by means of Steam Ferry Navigation across the intervening Channels, it appears difficult to see how this route could be adopted.

12. The question of the terminus on the Pacific is in fact one which could only be decided after fuller and more conclusive reports have been procured from marine engineers, or naval officers, than have yet been obtained, and these considerations, coupled with other circumstances, make it now evident, that with the best intentions and exertions, and under the most favorable circumstances, no serious commencement of the railway, within the Province, can be at once made.

13. Between the coming spring, however, and the spring of 1878, it may be fairly expected that many points now surrounded with doubt will have become more clearly defined; and I fully hope and believe that, after the very limited

delay of a single summer, the Province of British Columbia will find that there is no longer any obstacle to the active prosecution of the undertaking, and I trust that the Province will not fail to perceive with me that its case will be by no means strengthened, if impatience (however natural under other circumstances) is displayed at the non-commencement of a line of railway, the proper course and terminus of which are as yet altogether uncertain ; while at the same time an independent observer must admit that the Canadian Government are using every exertion to carry out the work as rapidly as possible.

14. I will not now further notice the offer made to British Columbia by Canada of a money payment in lieu of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, and in compensation for delay, than by observing that I could not with advantage at the present moment enter into the question of the sufficiency or otherwise of the amount offered. The present condition of the whole question renders it in my opinion premature to discuss this particular point, inasmuch as the duration of the delay in commencing the main line of railway may become, equitably at all events, a material consideration in estimating the amount which should be paid to the Province. It would, however, be a source of much satisfaction to me to learn that the Province were willing to accept the principle of a money equivalent for the line in question, the construction of which I am bound to say does not appear to me likely to be the most judicious expenditure of capital.

15. To sum up, then, the considerations to which I have referred I wish you to inform your advisers and the Provincial Government that while I do not feel myself in a position to decline to entertain the representations pressed upon me by the Province, I am nevertheless at this moment unable to pronounce an opinion as to the course which should be taken, either with regard to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, or with regard to the delays which have occurred, or which may yet occur, in the construction of the main line. Until it is known what is to be the route and terminus of that line, and what offers may be made by contractors for its construction, I feel that it would be improper to come to any conclusion on the subject.

16. I sincerely regret the immense engineering difficulties which have presented themselves, and which have necessarily rendered impracticable in some respects the settlement which I recommended in 1874, but I am satisfied that the Dominion Government has contended with them to the best of its ability ; and while I trust that the Province will now wait patiently until the terminus can be settled, and tenders for the work can be received, I shall be ready when in possession of this information to assist so far as I can, if both parties should desire it, in the settlement of the minor, though, of course, very important, question which has arisen as to the compensation offered in substitution for the railway on the Island.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

CARNARVON."

At about the same time His Excellency received from the Earl of Carnarvon the following complimentary despatch :—

"MY LORD,—I have received your despatch of the 25th September, enclosing



a printed copy of the speech which you delivered on the 21st September last to the delegation, consisting of some of the leading citizens of Victoria, upon the subject of the construction of the Pacific Railway. I cannot convey to you in adequate terms my appreciation of the ability with which you have dealt with this very difficult question, and of the admirable language in which you have brought your views before the délegation. Your speech, I cannot doubt, will have the best effect upon the public opinion of British Columbia, and indeed in every part of the Dominion, and will, I hope, contribute greatly to that calm and dispassionate view which is called for in a case surrounded by so many and great difficulties as in the present controversy."

The speech was unquestionably of great benefit to British Columbia and the Dominion. Incidentally it was of great benefit to the Ministry, but that is a small factor in the computation. It crushed out the appearance of a desire to secede, and disposed the people of the Province to hope on, and patiently wait for the period when the Government would feel able—for they constantly alleged their willingness—to proceed actively with the construction of the Railway. It quieted the injurious agitation in the Province, and created a new confidence in the speedy realization of the ardent desire of its people.

On the 10th January, their Excellencies visited Toronto, and on that day held a reception at the City Hall, where an address was presented by the City Council, and briefly replied to by His Excellency. A state dinner was given them, by Mr. Macdonald, the Lieutenant Governor, at Government House.

On the 11th January, they paid a visit to the Mechanics' Institute, where an address was presented, read by Mr. Thomas Davison, the President, to which a reply was given. In the evening a ball was given at Government House.

During the evening His Excellency danced with Miss Ida Macdonald, Miss Mary Macdonald, daughters of the Lieutenant Governor; Mrs. McPherson, Mrs. Gwynne, Miss Spragge, daughter of the Chancellor of Ontario; Miss Burton, daughter of the Hon. Mr. Justice Burton; Miss Morrison, daughter of Mr. Angus Morrison, Mayor of Toronto; Mrs. Mowat, Mrs. Harrison, and Miss Howland, daughter of the Ex-Lieutenant Governor.

On the 12th January, their Excellencies formally opened the rink of the Toronto Skating and Curling Club, when an address was presented from the Club, read by the Rev. Dr. Barclay, Chaplain. After a humorous reply, Senator Macpherson presented His Excellency with a handsome pair of Ailsa Craig granite stones, the handles of which

were silver plated, and bore the arms of the Earl of Dufferin, and the motto, "*Per Vias Rectas*;" also a plate bearing the following inscription:—

"Presented by the Toronto Curling Club, on the 12th January, 1877, to His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, Governor General of Canada."

His Worship, Mayor Morrison, then presented a handsome besom, upon the handle of which was a silver band bearing the name of the Earl of Dufferin, above which was a silver beaver and a maple leaf. Mr. David Walker, Secretary of the Club, presented Her Excellency with a pair of beautiful silver and gold plated skates. After tendering their thanks, His Excellency declared, amid loud cheers, the rink open.

During the day their Excellencies, by the special invitation of the President, Mr. W. H. Howland, visited the gallery of the Society of Artists, and inspected a number of pictures and sketches by members of the Society, noticeable among which were works by Verner, O'Brien, Hannaford, Mrs. Schrieber, Bell Smith, Martin and others. His Excellency intimated his intention to confer annually a silver and bronze medal for competition among the students of the School of Art.

In the evening, His Excellency was entertained at dinner by the National Club. Among those present were the Hon. Attorney General Mowat, Hon. S. C. Wood, and Hon. C. F. Fraser. The Vice-President, Mr. John Gillespie, occupied the chair, and proposed the health of their distinguished guest, to which His Excellency made the following reply:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I assure you it is with feelings of the deepest gratitude that I rise to acknowledge the kind and cordial manner in which you have been good enough to drink my health. Such tokens as those which you have just exhibited of your confidence and kind feelings are a most welcome encouragement to any one in my situation, for it gives me the assurance that I have not failed in that which is one of the dearest and most anxious desires of my heart, namely, to secure the good-will and attachment of those I have been commissioned by my Sovereign to serve. (Cheers.) Precluded, as the representative of the Crown necessarily is by the very essence of his duty, from the slightest appearance of a desire or design to place himself in sympathy with any phase of political enthusiasm, or with the special predilections of any section of the community, however numerous or well-inspired; reduced as his functions are to those rather of a negative than of a positive character, and, unsensational as is the routine of his ordinary duties, there necessarily remain but very few points at which he can come into anything like intimate or harmonious contact with those to the promotion of whose interests,



happiness and welfare the energies of his life are nevertheless directed. (Hear, hear.) Under these circumstances his pleasure and his pride is all the greater when he finds that his silent, obscure, and unostentatious efforts to do his duty and to benefit the country with which he is connected have attracted the notice or commendation of those whose esteem it is his ambition to win and preserve. His principal achievements probably consist rather in preventing mischief than in accomplishing any substantial good; and, even in regard to his public speeches, which more than anything else communicate some little substance to his shadowy individuality, as I observed the other day to the Town Council, the best part of them, to adopt the privilege of my country, are those which have been left out. (Great laughter.) In fact, the head of the State in a constitutional *regime* is the depositary of what, though undoubtedly a very great, is altogether a latent, power, a power which, under the auspices of wise parliamentary statesmanship, is never suffered to become active, and his ordinary duties are very similar to those of the humble functionary we see superintending the working of some complicated mass of steam-driven machinery. (Laughter.) This personage merely walks about with a little tin vessel of oil in his hand (renewed laughter)—and he pours in a drop here and a drop there, as occasion or the creaking of a joint may require, while his utmost vigilance is directed to no higher aim than the preservation of his wheels and cogs from the intrusion of dust, grits, or other foreign bodies. (Roars of laughter, which were renewed again and again.) There, gentlemen, what was I saying? See how easily an unguarded tongue can slip into an ambiguous expression (uproarious laughter)—an expression which I need not assure you on this occasion is entirely innocent of all political significance. (Laughter.) But I must say that, far from having had cause to complain of my humble efforts, such as they were, not having been duly appreciated, I am only too sensible that your kindness, and the generous instincts of the people of Canada to take the will for the deed, has created for me an amount of good-will and approval far beyond my deserts, of which such entertainments as the present, and the pleasant things said at them, is the agreeable exhibition. (Cheers.) Anybody would indeed be dead to every sentiment of gratitude in whose heart such tokens of confidence did not arouse a still more earnest desire to do his duty, and to strain every nerve in the service of those who are so ready to condone his shortcomings and to reward his exertions. (Loud applause.) And, gentlemen, here I must be permitted to say that I consider it as no small part of my good fortune that my connection with Canada should have occurred at a moment when probably she is in the act of making one of the greatest strides towards the establishment of her prestige, stability, and importance which has hitherto been recorded in her history. (Cheers.) Even a casual observer cannot have failed to mark the decisive manner in which she is gradually asserting her position as one of the most important communities in the civilized world. (Great applause.) This circumstance has had a very visible effect both upon the public opinion of England and of the United States. In spite of that pre-occupation with their own affairs natural to all countries, Canada on several occasions has not merely attracted the sympathies but has compelled the admiration and attention of the thinking men of both countries. Her school systems, her federal arrangements,

her municipal institutions, her maritime regulations, have repeatedly been cited in recent years by English statesmen of authority and distinction as worthy of imitation. (Cheers.) As for the United States, although they may be too proud to own it, there is not a citizen of the neighboring republic who does not envy the smooth and harmonious working of our well-balanced and happily-adjusted institutions. (Applause.) Of one thing I am quite sure, that there is not an American politician between the Atlantic and the Pacific who would not at the present moment be content to give half his fortune, and perhaps a great deal more, to possess that most serviceable and useful thing, a Governor General. (Great laughter.) Indeed the acquisition by the United States of so valuable a personage has of late come to appear of such prime necessity, would prove such an obvious mode of solving their personal difficulties, and of remedying the defects of their Governmental machine, that I have been extremely nervous (laughter) about passing so near the border as I had to do on my way hither. There is no knowing what might happen in the case of people under such a stress of temptation. (Renewed laughter.) Raids have been prompted sometimes by love as well as hate. (Laughter.) In fact the tame ceremonies of modern marriage are but the emasculated reproduction of the far more spirited principle of capture (great laughter) by which brides in less sophisticated ages were obtained. Who knows to what lengths Mr. Tilden and Mr. Hayes and the millions of their respective adherents now drawn up in hostile array against each other might not be driven in the agony of their present suspense. (Laughter.) A British Governor General! What a cutting of the Gordian knot! (Great laughter.) And so near, too: just across the water. A gunboat and a sergeant's guard, and the thing is done. (Continued laughter.) And then think what they get in him? A person dissociated from all sectional interests, prejudices, and passions (hear, hear)—who can never become stronger than the people's Parliaments or divide the national vote. (Applause.) A representative of all that is august, stable, and sedate, in the Government, the history, and the traditions of the country, incapable of partizanship, and lifted far above the atmosphere of faction, without adherents to reward or opponents to oust from office, docile to the suggestions of his ministers, and yet securing to the people the certainty of being able to get rid of an Administration, or Parliament, the moment either had forfeited their confidence. (Applause.) Really, gentlemen, I think I had better remove nearer to the North Pole (great laughter), for I am sure you will believe me, when I say that after having been made to feel for so many years how good and kind are the people of Canada (great cheering), having had an opportunity of appreciating how high an honor it is to be connected with a Dominion so full of hope, with such a glorious prospect before her (great cheering), I shall never be induced, even under the stress of violence (laughter) and a threat of being 'bull dozed' (loud laughter) to sit for one moment longer than I can help in the Presidential chair of the United States. (Laughter and cheers.) Should I go, you may expect me back by the underground railway. (Renewed laughter.) Nay, more, so deeply attached am I to our Canada that the Pashalik of Bulgaria shall not tempt me away (laughter)—even though a full domestic establishment, such as are customary in that country, should be provided for me out of the taxes of



the people (laughter) and Lady Dufferin gave her consent, which is doubtful." (Great laughter and applause.)

In conclusion, His Excellency asked have to propose the health of the National Club, coupled with that of the Vice-President. In doing so he said :

"He was well aware that the National Club sought to identify itself with all that was most patriotic in the country ; that he himself was in perfect sympathy with their endeavors to cultivate a just pride in the glorious Dominion of which they were citizens, and that his presence there to-night evinced his profound conviction that those sentiments of patriotism were not only compatible with the most genuine loyalty to the Crown, but were the best pledges which could be given of the devotion of those he saw around him to the honor, welfare and interests of the British Empire at large." (Great applause.)

On the 13th January, a deputation of the Royal Humane Society waited on their Excellencies at Government House. It consisted of Mr. H. Bailey, Dr. Oldright, Capt. Dick, Mr. Chas. Riley, and Mr. Awde. An address was read by Mr. Bailey, and His Excellency made a brief reply. In the afternoon Her Excellency held a Drawing Room, when a great number of ladies and gentlemen were presented.

On the 15th January, His Excellency was entertained at dinner by the Toronto Club. The chair was occupied by the Hon. Wm. Cayley. After the usual patriotic toasts, the chairman gave the toast of the evening : "The Governor General," which was received with the most enthusiastic cheering. His Excellency, on rising, spoke as follows :—

"GENTLEMEN,—I have been so frequently called upon during the course of my official career in the Dominion to express my appreciation of the fervent loyalty of the Canadian people to the Throne and Person of Her Majesty, as evidenced by their reception of her representative on such occasions as the present, that I sometimes dread lest my acknowledgments should acquire a stereotyped and commonplace character. But I assure you, however bald and conventional may be the expressions I am forced to use, the feelings which inspire them well from my heart with ever fresh intensity. (Applause.) Love and devotion to the Queen, as the type and living representative of constitutional freedom, of well-ordered Government, of a renowned historical past and a hopeful future, is the ruling passion of Englishmen all over the world. (Cheers.) But with this national, normal, and abiding principle, rooted as it is for all time in the hearts of our countrymen (hear, hear), there is undoubtedly intertwined a tenderer sentiment—a sentiment of chivalrous personal devotion towards that sovereign lady who, in her early girlhood, was called upon to preside over the destinies of so vast an Empire, whose chequered life, as maiden, wife, and widow, has been so intimately associated

with every phase of the private, as well as the public, existence of each one of us (hear, hear), and whose unostentatious, patient career of faithfully fulfilled duty and never-failing well-doing immeasurably enhances the splendor of the crown she wears (cheers), and has advanced to a degree it might be difficult to estimate the general welfare of her subjects. (Loud applause.) Such, then, being the justly inspired devotion of the British people to the Throne, it can be well understood that its representative should be sometimes even morbidly anxious that nothing in his conduct or character, or in the way in which he discharges his delegated functions, should be out of harmony with the relations Queen Victoria has established between herself and her people, not only within the limits of Great Britain, but wherever the English ensign waves (applause)—I might even say wherever the English language is spoken. (Renewed applause.) His pride and pleasure is therefore proportionably all the greater the oftener he receives at the hands of such a community as that in the midst of which I have the happiness to dwell those reassuring evidences of their willingness to extend to him their countenance, encouragement, and support, for he knows that the cheers which greet his ears and the passion of loyalty which surges around him as he passes from Province to Province and city to city of the land are both intended and destined to re-echo in the ears and to ripple round the throne of her, the essence of whose happiness is her people's love. (Cheers.)

And, gentlemen, if there is anything which could enhance the satisfaction which Her Majesty experiences in the conviction of the place she holds in your affections, it would be in the knowledge of the prosperous and satisfactory circumstances under which you are strengthening the foundations of her Throne and enlarging the borders of her Empire. (Applause.) Of course I am well aware that during the past two or three years the commercial community of Canada have passed through hard and trying times. But when I observe, as I have had an opportunity of doing, the extraordinary development which has taken place in the architectural splendor of Toronto during the interval which has intervened since my last visit (hear, hear), I cannot be expected to entertain any misgivings either in regard to your present or to your future. Within this brief period new banks, churches, commercial buildings, mansions, whole streets have sprung into existence with the rapidity of magic, while everything connected with them and with the city assures me that the progress thus developed is as solid and substantial as it is resplendent. (Applause.) In fact, one of the happinesses of living in a new and teeming country like Canada is the feeling that "the stars in their courses" are fighting for us, and that every season is destined to bring with it the discovery of new resources, and fresh issues to our industries. It has been only during the currency of the present year we have been made aware of the possibility of our establishing a branch of trade whose development is destined to do as much as anything that has for a long time happened to increase our wealth, to invigorate our exertions, and, what is best of all, to draw still more tightly together the bonds which unite us to the Mother Country. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I am told upon good authority that the success attending the experiment of importing Canadian beef into the English market has already brought down the price of butchers' meat in Great Britain



several cents. (Hear, hear.) Well, gentlemen, what does this imply? Why, that ere long the millions of England will be dependent upon the pastures and farmers of Canada for the chief and most important item of their daily subsistence. For what are the diminutive scraps of grass land in Ireland, or along the foggy coasts of Belgium, in comparison with the illimitable breadths of cattle-producing territory which spread from hence to the Rocky Mountains, whose inexhaustible produce the very inclemency of our climate will assist us in transporting fresh and sweet to Liverpool and Smithfield. But, gentlemen, it is not merely upon the material progress of the country or of your neighborhood that I desire to congratulate you. Every time that I come to your Capital I am more and more agreeably impressed with the intellectual vigor and activity of which it is the centre and focus. (Applause.) After all, it is in the towns of a country that ideas are engendered and progress initiated, and Toronto, with her University, with her Law Courts, with her various religious communities, her learned professions, possesses in an exceptional degree those conditions which are most favorable to the raising up amongst us of great and able men, as well as robust and fruitful systems of religious, political, and scientific thought. (Cheers.) And here I may express my satisfaction at observing that, amid the sterner, severer, or more practical pursuits of life, its lighter graces have not been forgotten. (Hear, hear.) I believe Toronto is the only city in Canada, perhaps upon this continent, which boasts a School of Art and an annual Exhibition. I have had the privilege of admiring some of the contributions which are in preparation for the ensuing year, and I must say I have been delighted to find how many works of genuine merit it is likely to offer to your inspection. (Applause.) I believe the cultivation of art to be a most essential element in our national life. I have no doubt that a fair proportion of the wealth of the higher classes will be applied to its encouragement, and I trust that ere long the Government of the country may see its way to the establishment of a national gallery. I am also very glad to hear of the steps you are taking to facilitate your communications with the great North-West. (Hear, hear.) No town can have much of a future before it unless it has a rich and extensive territory at its back, and, thanks to her geographical position, there is no doubt but that, by wise and judicious arrangements, this city will be able to appropriate to herself for commercial purposes a very considerable proportion of the entire region of country lying between the lakes and the Rocky Mountains. Every day the accounts of the fertility of that region are more satisfactory, and I have been assured by the Count de Turenne, a distinguished friend of mine, who travelled over a considerable proportion of the Province of Manitoba last autumn, that the newly-arrived emigrants, with whom he was constantly brought into contact, especially those of foreign origin, universally expressed themselves as perfectly content with their condition and prospects. (Great applause.) This is all the more satisfactory because it is probable that those great streams of emigration from Ireland, which have hitherto contributed so much to the development of this continent, will have ceased to flow, and that we shall have to look elsewhere for those we require as partners in the rich heritage placed at our disposal. But there is still one fountain of emigration which has been comparatively untapped, but which, I am convinced, might be turned into Canada with the

greatest advantage, and that is an emigration from Iceland. Iceland is a country but very little fitted for human habitation; in fact, nothing but the indomitable hardihood, industry, and courage of its inhabitants could have enabled its population to bear up against the rigors of its climate and the successive cosmic catastrophes by which it has been perpetually overwhelmed. Already several bands of Icelanders have found their way hither, and I have no doubt that in due time thousands of others might be induced to follow. But it is not only from abroad that an emigration westwards might, I think, be advantageously prosecuted. Frequenting, as I am in the habit of doing every year, the shores of the Lower St. Lawrence, I have often thought to how much better profit the industry and energies of its hardy and industrious population might be applied if, instead of breaking their hearts from generation to generation in their endeavors to gain a scanty subsistence from the rugged rocks and sand-choked hollows which they cultivate beneath a sky of desperate severity, they could be persuaded to remove to the alluvial soils and more propitious climate of our prairie lands. (Applause.) Were they to do so there is no doubt that for every dollar they succeed in extracting from their Laurentian rocks they would be rewarded, under the more favorable auspices I have indicated, by a five-fold return. (Great applause.) However, gentlemen, if I once open the chapter of my speculative ideas for the improvement of Canada I should never stop (renewed applause)—for the problems both of political and social science which present themselves for solution on this continent are inconceivably interesting and attractive; all the more so because there seems to exist from one end of the continent to the other—and I am not now merely referring to Canada—the happiest capacity for their solution. (Cheers.) If we look across the border, what do we see? A nation placed in one of the most trying and difficult situations which can be imagined. (Hear, hear.) Two hostile and thoroughly organized camps arrayed against each other in the fiercest crisis of a political contest. (Hear, hear.) Yet, in spite of the enormous personal and public interests at stake, in spite of the natural irritation such a struggle must engender, in spite of the thousand aggravations created by this unparalleled situation of suspense, there is exhibited by both sides a patriotic self-restraint, a moderation of language, and a dignified and wise attitude of reserve which is worthy not only of our admiration, but of the imitation of the civilized world. (Continued applause.) Of course we know that in a written constitution every possible contingency cannot be foreseen and provided against, and undoubtedly a blot has been hit in the Constitution of the United States; but there is no doubt that a proper remedy will be quickly discovered, and interested as Canada is and always must be in the welfare and prosperity of her great neighbor (hear, hear); and friendly and affectionate as are the sentiments of the Canadian people towards the inhabitants of the United States, I am sure, gentlemen, I am only expressing the sentiments of all who hear me (hear, hear) when I say that, combined with the respect which has been excited in our minds by the patience and fortitude exhibited by the American people under the most trying circumstances, we experience the most fervent desire, and we entertain the most implicit confidence, that they will quickly discover a satisfactory solution for their present difficulties. (Cheers and continued applause.) In conclusion, gentlemen,



allow me to express to you my regret that circumstances should preclude me from finding myself more frequently in so pleasant a neighborhood and under such agreeable auspices (applause), for, gentlemen, quite apart from the gratification I experience in the kind welcome accorded to Lady Dufferin and myself by the citizens of Toronto, it gives me the greatest pleasure to observe how sound and satisfactory are the relations which exist between the inhabitants of the Province and the gentleman who is associated with me and with his colleagues in the other Provinces in exercising within the borders of Ontario the representative functions of the Crown. (Cheers.) Perhaps no more convincing proof could be given of the soundness of our polity than the way in which the seven Provinces of the Dominion are presided over by their respective Lieutenant Governors. That Canada should be able to furnish forth an unfailing supply of gentlemen of such high character, of such large political experience, of such undoubted honor as to command the implicit confidence of their fellow-citizens in their constitutional impartiality and their capacity for government, exhibits in a remarkable degree how large is the fund of able public men upon whose services the country can always count. (Loud applause.) During my residence in Canada I have naturally been thrown into very intimate and confidential relations with every one of these gentlemen in turn, as well as with their predecessors, and I must say that I have never repaid to them for information or advice without being forcibly impressed by their ability, patriotism, and knowledge of affairs. (Cheers.) And depend upon it, it is a matter of the greatest advantage to the community that a class of statesmen should exist amongst us, removed by their office from the dominion of party prejudices and passions, and yet as deeply interested and concerned in everything that affects the public welfare as the able men who are occupied in the arena of Parliamentary warfare. (Hear, hear.) When to these political advantages we have added the further satisfaction of seeing the social life of our capital presided over, as it is in this city, with a feminine dignity, grace and refinement which cannot be surpassed (long continued applause), by the ladies who share with the Provincial representatives of the Queen the cares and anxieties of their office, we need never fear that monarchical institutions should fall into disfavor with the Canadian people. (Great cheering.)

On the 16th January, their Excellencies visited Wellesley and Dufferin schools, where addresses were read and replies given, and on the next morning they left for Ottawa.\*

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\* The following remarks from one of the leading journals of Toronto fairly represent the popular opinion: "When Lord Dufferin made his tour through Canada, wonder was expressed on all hands at his extraordinary gift of speaking frequently, and yet with variety and point. It is evident from what has passed in this city for the last week that there is no sign of the fountain running dry. Yet we need not be surprised that he should himself entertain what is, however, a wholly groundless fear, lest his public utterances should acquire a stereotyped character. In his admirable speech at the Toronto Club he reveals the secret of his capacity for fresh expressions. His speeches are the outflow of genuine feeling,—a generous

His Excellency visited the Centennial, or, as it is officially termed, the International Exhibition, Philadelphia, on his way to Ottawa.

As Canada took a very high position among the nations of the world on this occasion, a brief account of her share in it, taken for the most part from the official report of the Commissioner appointed for the purpose, will not be out of place. The report is dated 20th January, 1877.

“When the Government of the United States determined, by way of celebrating the hundredth anniversary of their independence, to hold a great International Exhibition at Philadelphia, in the January of 1876, it invited all the nations of the world to take part in the festival. Very soon after this invitation had been issued,

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sentiment of devotion to the Queen, and to the Constitution, an attachment to the Empire, which kindles at its past glories, and, contemplating its future, takes something of the glow of inspiration. Lord Dufferin was, up to his acceptance of the Governor Generalship of Canada, a keen politician and a statesman who had dealt with grave questions. His present position gives scope for statesmanship, but, as he has so felicitously explained, for a statesmanship which does not admit active co-operation with either of the great parties into which Canada, like the Mother Country, is divided. Yet it is impossible for a mind so active as Lord Dufferin's not to form opinions on whatever comes before it. That he should speak frequently, and apparently without embarrassment, and yet ruffle no susceptibilities, implies in addition to more solid gifts nothing short of a genius for the position of a constitutional ruler. Were that Constitution other than it is, one would be tempted to regret that an imagination so richly stored—a fancy so fertile, and a literary faculty so happily cultivated, should be lavished on acknowledgments of addresses, and after-dinner speeches. But the machine would soon go out of order—the engine would soon be ablaze, were there no one to pour in the oil—to use the happy and humorous appellation of one of his speeches. The practical remarks of the speech at the Toronto Club show how thoroughly he is alive to all that is passing in the country over which he presides. \* \* \* \* \*

It seems like commonplace now to note Lord Dufferin's untiring willingness to further every laudable object, from the cultivation of political character and artistic feeling to the manly game or light social grace, but it would be unjust on all sides not to do so, because the feeling of recognizance is as strong to-day as it was the first hour all Canada evinced, with a strange thrill of delight, an appreciation of Lord Dufferin's rare qualities. The men are very few anywhere who could walk such a rhetorical tight rope as the Governor General treads with so much firmness, but we know not where we could find one who could do this and who could also be equally successful in the drawing-room, equally at home in the skating rink, and with the curling stones. The visit to Toronto, which closes to-day, has not been less happy in its incidents than the former visit, and will, we believe, be equally fruitful in its results, sweetening and elevating our social life.”



many gentlemen engaged in the industries of Canada were impressed with the idea that this country should join in the proposed Exhibition. Representations having been made to this effect to the Government of the Dominion, it was determined that Canada should appear in the great assembly of nationalities. In pursuance of this determination, the subject was placed in the hands of the Hon. L. Letellier de St. Just, Minister of Agriculture, and a Commission was appointed, of which that gentleman became the *ex officio* president. This Commission consisted, in the first instance, of the Honorable Senator Penny, of Montreal; Francis W. Glen, Esq., President of the Joseph Hall Manufacturing Company, of Oshawa; and the Honorable Senator Wilmot, of New Brunswick—these three gentlemen being intended to represent the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec and the group of Maritime Provinces. Joseph Perrault, Esq., was named Secretary to the Commission.

Mr. Glen resigned very shortly after his appointment. He was succeeded by David McDougall, Esq., of Berlin; but the Commission afterwards lost the important services of the Honorable Senator Wilmot, a practical agriculturist, by his declining to proceed to Philadelphia.

Very soon after the organization of the Commission, it became a subject of great anxiety to its members to determine the method in which the work before them should be carried out, by the collection of an adequate number of specimens of the various products of the Dominion. Canada and some of the other Provinces had already made their appearance at several international exhibitions, but it was felt that the manner in which she should show herself at Philadelphia must be on a much more extended scale than at London, Paris, or Vienna. This was made necessary by the circumstance of the exhibition taking place on the Continent of which Canada forms a part; where, therefore, if she was seen at all, it must be to take rank as an important American power. Moreover, her proximity to the place of exhibition made it obviously necessary that the plan adopted should be a widely comprehensive one, embracing not a few exhibits selected by the Commission itself, but affording fair scope to the ambition of the whole body of the Canadian people. It seemed to be impossible, for pecuniary reasons, to imitate the example of preceding Exhibition Commissions, by purchasing any considerable part of the objects to be shown. It would be, on many accounts, unsatisfactory to accept only a small number of chosen articles; and it would be a task too gigantic and invidious for the Commissioners themselves to make selections of objects deemed meritorious enough for national display. Within certain limits it was desirable that every person anxious to exhibit at Philadelphia should find his appropriate place there; but as it was also found necessary that the Commission should provide for the larger part of the expenditures, this condition manifestly demanded an authority by which some scrutiny should be exercised to prevent a large expenditure on comparatively insignificant and unworthy articles. The Commission, after mature deliberation, and having first discovered great difficulties in the way of inducing exhibitors to take part in the enterprise, unless guaranteed against unknown expense, determined that it would be necessary to assume the whole cost of the conveyance to Philadelphia, the arrangement of, and the care there, and the reconveyance to Canada of all goods destined for the Exhibition. In order to reconcile this very liberal undertaking with the conditions already described the Commission invited

the assistance of the several Provincial Governments, which at once heartily accorded them, and each of the Provincial Governments obtained from their respective legislatures some pecuniary appropriation for the purpose of aiding in the general design. An Advisory Board, composed of competent gentlemen, was named in each Province, under the direction of one of the members of the Provincial Ministry, who also appointed a Secretary.

To all these Advisory Boards the Commission committed the task of deciding what articles should be accepted, it being understood that in extraordinary cases only, reference should be made to the Commission itself. By this elastic and comprehensive plan, it was hoped to obtain extended sympathy throughout the country, and that hope was justified. The method adopted enlisted in the public service official and unofficial gentlemen of great zeal, experience, and local and technical knowledge in all parts of the country and connected with all departments of industry; and this early opportunity is taken of acknowledging how much the success that may be thought to have been attained is due to the liberal support and confidence of the Provincial Governments, and the active and intelligent co-operation of the Advisory Boards. In spite of the offers to exhibitors, believed to be very liberal, already described, considerable difficulty was still experienced in procuring an adequate representation of our products and industries, but this was overcome by the earnest and judicious efforts of these gentlemen.

It may, perhaps, be fitly stated that two things appeared at first to be great obstacles to obtaining the co-operation of the industrial interests of the country, and, no doubt, did at last prevent many interesting articles from being sent to Philadelphia. One of these was the illiberal tariff of the United States, which made it impossible to hope that any transactions with the citizens of that country could arise from the comparison of goods and prices; the other was the great financial depression so universally felt.

With a view to create emulation and induce exhibitors to offer their goods, it was also resolved by the Commission to give a certain number of gold, silver, and bronze medals to Canadian exhibitors only, and in order to secure impartiality in the awards it was promised that they should be made by foreign judges.

When the subject was brought before Parliament, great interest was manifested by members of both Houses, and a strong wish was expressed that the appearance of Canada, as one of the nations of the civilized world, at Philadelphia, should be worthy of the country and its enterprising people. An item was placed in the estimates and unanimously carried (\$100,000) to appropriate a sum of money, which proved amply sufficient to carry out the intentions of Parliament in a manner in accord with this patriotic feeling.

In previous exhibitions Canada had gained high reputation for the scientific and complete collection of minerals which she there displayed. The extension of her territory by the addition of other Provinces, some of them rich in mineral deposits, made it extremely desirable that she should maintain this reputation in the United States. For this purpose the Commission early invited the assistance of A. R. C. Selwyn, Esq., of the Geological Survey of the Dominion. A sum of money was also at once set apart for the special expenditure he was expected to incur in procuring new specimens of this kind of public wealth. As many of these



were expected to come from the Western Provinces, the intelligent services of this gentleman were also obtained for collecting at the same time other natural and economical products of these extensive territories. Mr. Selwyn and his staff exerted themselves with much spirit in carrying out the wishes of the Commission in both particulars.

The exhibition of lumber was, from the first, a matter of much anxiety to the Commission. Gentlemen connected with that highly important interest were generally anxious to exhibit a large quantity, amounting, according to estimate, to three hundred thousand feet. It was thought by them that the lumber interests of the United States would be very largely represented, and that in order to impress the spectator with the extent of our forest resources it would be necessary that we should cover a great area with this description of goods. The charges, however, of transporting such bulky material were so considerable as to induce the Commission to object to this, as they thought, exaggerated proposal. They finally consented to take ten thousand feet of each description of lumber, on condition that they should be allowed to sell it, and to pay freight out of the proceeds. Several firms engaged in the trade furnished considerable quantities of the choicest description of sawn lumber, and the Quebec and New Brunswick Governments expended money liberally in procuring round and square logs, some of very large size. Much interest was excited among visitors by specimens of the Douglas Pine from British Columbia; four of these had their places in the so-called Log House. The two largest were a section and a plank, both from trees eight feet in diameter. On the arrival of this timber, however, at Philadelphia, the Commissioners ascertained that, as they had warned the gentlemen connected with the lumber interest, no place had been appropriated for the exhibition of sawn lumber in large quantities. Indeed there was no other exhibit of that kind. After much consideration, therefore, they arrived at the conclusion that it would be impossible to show the deals and planks in their hands, except it were in the interior of the building designed for the plot of ground already mentioned, as having been conceded to them by the American Commission. This building was at first intended only for the purpose of showing square and round timber, the interior to be vacant and to serve, like the various houses erected by the different States, as a place of meeting for visitors from Canada. They felt that it might be considered a breach of the understanding upon which the ground was granted if they used it as the mere site for a pile of lumber, and for some time there appeared to be a strong objection on the part of the Director General to allow them to do so, partly on account of the combustible nature of the material thus to be disposed. The objection was, however, at last overcome, and both square, round and sawn lumber—the latter, according to invoices, about eighty thousand feet in quantity—were all built up into an edifice, which eventually attracted a great deal of attention, and of which drawings have been published in most of the illustrated papers of the world.

The Commissioners are glad to believe that this exhibit was not fruitless in the way of promoting the trade of the country. It is within their knowledge that gentlemen of Toronto and Ottawa have received orders as a consequence of the display in question.

It may be mentioned that at the corner of the Log House, the Canadian flag was hoisted upon the tallest flag-staff in the grounds—a spar from New Brunswick—about ninety feet from the ground to the truck.

One of the most important and rising branches of Canadian Manufacture is that of cheese, of which not less than 35,000,000 lbs. was exported in the last fiscal year. The Commission felt that it was of the greatest importance that a growing interest of this kind should be fairly represented to the world, and that the object of Canada in appearing at the Exhibition could not be better subserved than in promoting the best display of this part of the national products. Accordingly, when it was found impossible to expose dairy products in the Agricultural Hall, it was determined to come to the assistance of the dairymen of the Dominion, who were invited by the dairymen of the United States, to join them in the construction of a suitable building. For this purpose the Canadian Commission acquired two thousand dollars worth of stock of the Centennial Company; the money being expended as the share of Canada in the cost of the Dairy House. In this building, monthly exhibits of butter and cheese took place, from July to October inclusive. The collection of Canadian dairy products, however, was entirely managed by the Ontario Association, through Mr. Caswell, of Ingersoll. The Commission merely provided the necessary funds, and they were relieved from all trouble by this gentleman carrying out their arrangements. There were four car-loads of dairy produce brought to the grounds from the Dominion.

Another and most important branch of Canadian products consisted of various kinds of horses, horned cattle and other live stock. With respect to these the Commission, after much deliberation, felt it necessary to adopt a rule differing from that which they applied to other exhibits, and to throw all risk of loss or damage upon the owners, who were also obliged to provide the necessary assistants. This regulation no doubt, to some extent, contracted the number of this class of exhibitors.

The number of animals exhibited at different times between the months of August and November inclusive, were as follows :—

Horses.....	68
Horned Cattle.....	72
Sheep.....	56
Swine.....	50
Poultry and Pigeons.....	300

The number of car-loads of these animals was 45.

The fruit growers of the Dominion were well represented by fruit sent to the Exhibition by Associations in Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia. The fruit was sent at different times, as it ripened, and on that which came from Ontario, the Commission paid freight in a lump sum. There was, probably, in all, freight for about 3 cars.

There are, of course, a number of branches of human art in which a country so young as ours cannot hope to compete with the older nations of the world. This is especially the case with painting, sculpture and ornamental industries of various descriptions, embracing jewellery, decorative works in metal, and the finer de-



scriptions of china, glass ware, and pottery. Comparatively few of these adorned the Canadian department. It may, however, be said that in photography the specimens exhibited by our artists were not inferior to any that graced the building. In painting, our display was creditable, and in sculpture, for purposes of house decoration, our department contained what was universally acknowledged as the finest piece of workmanship in the building—a much admired marble mantle from the manufactory of Mr. Reid, of Montreal. So again, we believe, we may say that the specimen of panelling, consisting of imitations of various woods and marbles, with medallions, birds, &c., by Mr. A. N. Greig, of Montreal, were not surpassed by the work of any competitor. The prizes taken in the Departments representing the Fine Arts were six in number. Here, too, it may be proper to mention the very valuable collection of insects sent from London—a collection which, for comprehensiveness and scientific arrangement, cannot be surpassed, and which was without a rival on the ground.

It was in manufactures of articles of prime necessity that Canada was likely chiefly to excel, and in these she took high rank among the other manufacturing nationalities. In leather of all descriptions, including the finer classes; in boots and shoes, in tweeds and knitted goods, and domestic cottons, in stoves, tools of all kinds, printed books, and similar articles, she compared favorably with any other nationality. In woollens of all kinds shown by her, it was acknowledged frankly by competitors from various parts of the world that she took the first place, though, of course, she did not show broadcloths, nor other goods of very finest make. She made no great display of cottons; but the few goods in this class were very excellent. In the same way it may be affirmed, without unduly boasting, that her edge tools, amongst which a large case of saws from the works of Mr. Smith, of St. Catharines, was conspicuous, were second to none in the buildings. They were especially noticed and commented upon by gentlemen of high experience from Great Britain, acting as Centennial judges; as were also the assortment of nails and tacks by Messrs. Pillow, Hersey & Co., and of iron goods from Messrs. H. R. Ives & Co., both of Montreal. In this connection the Commission also may remark particularly upon the skates shewn by the Starr Company of Halifax. Large orders from different parts of the United States were the consequences of this particular exhibit. Several lots of woollen goods, and an exceedingly well made case of boots and shoes, by Mr. Sutherland, of Kingston, as well as a large quantity from a New Brunswick manufacturer (the Sussex Company), were disposed of in Philadelphia; but owing to the high duties it is to be feared that little profit accrued upon these transactions to the manufacturers. The sewing machines from different parts of the Dominion also obtained high praise, and a large number of musical instruments of various kinds proved the successful efforts that are being made by our manufacturers in this important branch of the arts.

It is difficult in any comment of this kind to avoid some appearance of invidious selection, but it is intended to point out not such exhibits as were absolutely the best, but those which from special circumstances attracted most attention. We must not pass by the noble display made by the Ontario Department of Education, which excited marked interest among all classes of visitors. It

is known to the Commissioners that the representatives of Japan and of other nations eagerly procured some of the instruments used in the instruction of the children of Canada. Very much of the importance which the school books and implements assumed in the Canadian Exhibition was undoubtedly due to the intelligent explanations afforded by the gentlemen of the department who were at Philadelphia, Dr. May and Mr. Hodgins, to whom the Commission are under many obligations for their courteous co-operation.

In manufactures and machinery of all kinds, including books and educational appliances, models of vessels, musical instruments, railway plants, &c., the Canadian exhibitors took 170 prizes.

The Geological Department in the main building was also highly approved, but it, of course, mainly commended itself to persons of scientific tastes and knowledge. The experts who visited it declared it to be one of the most complete and best arranged collections of the kind which the Exhibition could boast of. Among the specimens of minerals having economic value may be noticed especially the wonderful mass of plumbago, and the preparations illustrating its varied application to the arts, shewn by the Dominion Plumbago Company. There was a single block of this mineral which weighed more than 2800 lbs.

A case of petroleum oil and its products, from the manufactory of the Messrs. Waterman, of London, was also among the more interesting and beautiful attractions of this part of the Canadian Department, nor must we forget to notice the many specimens of coal, as well from Nova Scotia as from British Columbia and the Saskatchewan. The gold column, indicating the quantity of that metal mined in British Columbia, was a source of curiosity and some astonishment to many visitors. This column represented a mass of gold of the value of \$37,000,000, obtained within the last thirteen years.

In the larger kinds of machinery, and in the various ingenious contrivances for turning it to account in the saving of labor, the American display was evidently superior to that of any other nationality. The proximity of American manufacturers to Philadelphia would be sufficient to account for this superiority, but it is probable, so far as the Commissioners were able to judge, that in versatility and power of adaptation, their machinists would take the first place in the world. In our own machinery department the display was comparatively small, notwithstanding which some of the machine tools exhibited were spoken of by experienced and practical men as being of high value, not only on account of the excellence of their finish and the solidity of the parts, but for the novelty of their construction and the ingenuity of the contrivances brought to bear in adapting them to their several purposes. To show that our inventors are not deficient in this capacity, it may be noted that Mr. Ramsay, of Cobourg, was enabled to place throughout the great Pennsylvania Railway, as well as in many foreign countries, his valuable invention for facilitating the removal of railway carriages from their trucks, whether for the purpose of changing the gauge of the wheels or for repairs. Messrs. Mackechnie and Bertram also exhibited a radial drill which attracted great attention from machinists, and would, no doubt, have been sold in the United



States but for the high duties. As it was, they placed a very fine machine tool in New York. It must, however, be acknowledged, that in this department the Canadian display was an inadequate representation of the enormous capital, skill, and energy employed in the construction of machinery among us.

In the Agricultural Hall, on the contrary, the show of implements attracted close attention and cordial praise from all who examined them. They had to compete with a very numerous and varied collection of implements of the same class from other manufacturers. But, though the implements sent by the United States were in some cases of an excessively high finish, intended merely for show, the Canadian machines, most of them made for actual work, were admitted to be at least equal to any in the building.

The practical proof of their excellence, combined with their cheapness, is to be found in the desire which gentlemen from Australia manifested to purchase them, and to procure for the inhabitants of their Colonies the opportunity of seeing implements of so much simplicity and utility, and capable of being produced at so reasonable a cost. It is not for the Commission to speculate upon the success of the attempts made to inaugurate a trade between Canada and the Antipodean parts of the Empire, but this much may be said, that but for the opportunity of showing their productions, afforded to our manufacturers at the Exhibition at Philadelphia, there is no reason to believe that any prospect of such a trade would have been opened up. It is, at all events, a matter of good augury that gentlemen acquainted with agricultural life in the Australian Colonies are confident that several of our Canadian agricultural implements will be found suitable and saleable in those distant markets. It is worthy of particular mention that Mr. Mackay, the Commissioner from Queensland, a large agriculturist and a man of great experience, was induced to buy several Canadian implements for the use of his Government, chiefly from Mr. Watson, of Ayr. The Commissioners feel also that this is the place to point out the important services of Mr. R. W. Cameron, of New York, a native Canadian now established in that city as a merchant. This gentleman largely, we believe, from patriotic motives, by purchase or advances of money upon goods, has enabled a number of our manufacturers of agricultural implements to test the Australian market.

The exhibit of grains was exceedingly satisfactory, and the qualities of many of them were pronounced by good judges to be of the very highest order. Amongst new and very successful attempts at manufactures there were shown, in the Agricultural Hall, specimens of maccaroni and vermicelli, sent by the firms of Spinelli and Catelli, of Montreal, and various preparations of meat and other edibles by the Sherbrooke Meat Company. The Commission received numerous applications from persons desirous of ascertaining where they could procure these goods. The Commissioners were glad, in connection with this part of their work, to be able to render some assistance to the agent of the Government of Ontario, the Hon. D. Christie, in procuring several specimens of grain which are thought by good authorities likely to become of particular value to the farming interests of the Dominion. All the Foreign Commissions who exhibited grains were kind and liberal in affording specimens of this class of their products, but we ought especially to mention

the name of Count Bielsky, the Russian Commissioner, who, at the request of the Canadian Commissioners, presented Mr. Christie with a large quantity of wheat, supposed to be of remarkable merit for our climate. He deserves the greater thanks on this account, because the quantity given was very much greater than can be regarded merely as a specimen.

In fruit, the Dominion of Canada occupied a place in the Pomological Hall very much larger than would be her fair share, judging by her geographical proportions and her population, compared with that of the United States. So far as the Commissioners were able to form a judgment, they believe that, excepting in grapes, in the growth of which California far exceeds any other part of the North American Continent whose products were displayed in the Pomological Hall, she could find nothing to excite her envy. It may be remarked that the Californian grapes are all from European sources, while it is understood that most of those grown on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains are derived from indigenous vines. The Californian fruits were very much larger than those from the Dominion, or indeed from any other places, but they lost in flavor the advantage which they might be supposed to have in size. A remark something similar applies with truth to one or two Western States, but in general the apples, pears and plums of Canada were equal in appearance and size to those of the United States, and sometimes superior in flavor.

In dairy products, notwithstanding the high reputation of the American cheese manufacturers, those from Canada established conclusively that they are not one whit behind the best of their Southern competitors in the quality of their products. This is demonstrated by the large number of prizes awarded to them by the Centennial Judges, who were, except one, American citizens, but who honorably discharged their duty without partiality. The Canadian dairymen certainly show superior energy, it being a remarkable fact that there was more Canadian than American cheese appeared in the Dairy House—2,086 packages were exhibited, weighing 55½ tons; there were from the United States 1,012 packages, weighing over 26 tons; from Canada, 1,003 packages, weighing over 29 tons; from other countries, 65 packages, estimated at 500 lbs. 100 awards were recommended for exhibits of cheese. Of these 45 were for the United States, 49 for Canada, and the remainder for other countries. In butter, our exhibit was small, reaching only to some 1,700 lbs. out of 9,150 lbs. from all countries; but in proportion to their number, the prizes taken by Canadian butter-makers were very numerous. There were one hundred and twenty-three exhibits from the United States, to which twenty-three prizes were awarded, and sixteen from Canada, which obtained five prizes.

Wine was an article which, of all those shown at Philadelphia, was perhaps the most largely exhibited, as to number of specimens and variety of description, and as to number of nationalities which sent this kind of merchandize. In this article Canada alone had ten or twelve varieties, and some of them were pronounced by competent judges to be very respectable as *vins ordinaires*. The brandy of the Wine Growers' Association of Ontario was especially commended.

Of all departments, however, Canada most excelled in the exhibition of live



stock. About one-third of all the horses exhibited came from the Dominion, and out of 68 exhibited by her, 52 carried off prizes. A considerable number of these animals were also sold. In horned cattle the Canadian animals did not bear so large a proportion to those of the United States as in horses, nevertheless a large number of prizes were taken relatively to the number of animals. The number of exhibits was 72, and the number of prizes 33.

In swine, the Dominion was well represented; the number of grown animals shown was twenty-seven, some of them accompanied by litters. Twenty-nine prizes were awarded; some of the animals taking more than one prize; the Canadian swine, as already remarked, being also successful in the competition against the world.

No sweepstake prize was given for poultry; but while some breeds of birds from the United States were generally supposed to be superior to those from Canada, in several others it was as generally admitted that Canadian fowls held the first rank. The Commissioners gathered from the judges that the American fanciers excelled chiefly in the larger, and the Canadians in the smaller breeds. But, owing no doubt greatly to the careful choice made for the Canadian exhibits, a very disproportionately large share of the honors fell to their lot. The medal was the same for all awards; but the Judges distinguished three classes of merit in making up their note books, and we are thus able to arrive at the relative excellence of the two displays. Out of one hundred and thirty-three Canadian exhibits, not including pigeons, one hundred and twenty-nine received the highest mark of merit, while the United States exhibitors only had two hundred and twenty-two highest marks out of four hundred and thirty-four. Fifty-one prizes were obtained for Canadian poultry; but each one was for an exhibit comprising more than one bird.

Taken throughout, there can be no doubt that the Exhibition at Philadelphia had the effect of enhancing the feeling of self-respect and patriotism of many thousands of Canadians who visited it, and who saw that, except in some special classes of production, sometimes depending wholly upon the climate or other accidental circumstances, Canadian industries were in no respect behind those so much vaunted in the United States. They had reason, indeed, to believe that while they produced articles of as great excellence, they produced them at lower prices than their rivals, and that nothing prevented a valuable trade in many articles between the two countries except the excessively high tariff of the United States. At the same time, the Exhibition has afforded proof that the demand for useful articles is not limited to a single nation, and has given cause to hope that if our products are debarred from a particular market, they may, nevertheless, find a ready sale in other parts of the world.

Nothing can be more encouraging than the manner in which many of our manufactures have been sought by the Australian colonists, and it is to be hoped that other nations will be found hereafter to be not insensible to the possibilities of profitable Canadian trade. In many visitors to the Exhibition, not belonging to the British Empire, the display made by Canada excited not only lively interest, but great astonishment. The Commissioners were repeatedly told, as well by the citizens of the United States as by highly intelligent gentlemen from other countries,

European and American, that, until they saw the variety and perfection of the goods in the Canadian department, they had formed no just idea of the country from which those articles came. They were, of course, aware that the Dominion had a place on the maps of the world, and of North America, but they had no conception that what they had regarded only as a strip of land, remarkable chiefly for ice and snow, could be capable of furnishing domestic animals of the greatest perfection; all the grains used for food in equal plenty and excellence; wine of a quality by no means despicable, and a variety of manufactures which extend throughout all the articles necessary for the use, if not for the ornament and luxury of life. In this respect, even if no direct pecuniary advantage should arise from the Exhibition, there can be little doubt that its value must be incalculable. Hitherto, when Canada has appeared at an international exhibition, it has been as the exhibitor of a few articles, which, excepting lumber and cereals, were looked upon as curiosities. For the first time she has met the nations of the world as a nation, and has held her own with all but those of the very first class, giving indications, at the same time, of an ambition, in due course, of taking place among the latter. The intelligent interest excited in Canada by the Exhibition was manifested by the large number of our fellow-countrymen from all parts of the Dominion who flocked thither. Registers were kept at the office of the Commission, in which Canadian visitors were invited to enter their names. These entries amount in number to 15,000; but, as a very large number of persons neglected this formality, it is believed safe to put the Canadian visitors at not less than 30,000.

Among the visitors from the Dominion were members of the Senate and House of Commons, and of the Provincial Legislatures; several members of the Dominion and Provincial Ministries, and the Premiers of the Dominion, Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia. His Excellency the Governor General also spent some days in inspecting the most interesting features of the collection, paying especial attention to the various branches of the Canadian Department. He was received with marked respect by the American authorities of the Exhibition, and by Colonel Sandford, the British Commissioner. He did the Canadian Commissioners the honor of residing at their house during his stay in Philadelphia, and after his departure was pleased to address a letter to them through the senior member, in which he thus expressed his satisfaction with the Canadian display:—

‘ Lord Dufferin furthermore desires to express to you the very great satisfaction with which he has witnessed the admirable arrangements under which the Canadian exhibits have been displayed. The whole organisation of the department is most creditable to you and to your colleagues, evincing, as it does, good taste, good judgment, and a thorough appreciation of the manner in which the products and the industries of Canada should be set out to the best advantage. Excellent as were the materials with which you had to deal, their effect has been undoubtedly very much enhanced by the admirable way in which they have been arranged, and I am sure it must have been a great satisfaction to you to have perceived how very much every one has been struck by the Canadian contributions, and the important part taken by the Dominion in the general display.’

Highly flattering notices of the Canadian portion of the Exhibition appeared



in most of the languages of the civilized world, through articles in the press. It would occupy too much space in this report to quote these complimentary statements, but the following remark by General Hawley may perhaps not be considered out of place here. It was made on the occasion of a public reception of Canadian Schoolmasters by the General, as President of the Centennial Commission. He said that :—‘ Canada had done more for the success of the Centennial Exhibition, than any eight of the States of the American Union, with the exception of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.’

The number of Centennial medals taken by Canadian exhibitors was 564 in all, which shows a large percentage upon Canadian exhibits as compared with the percentage of prizes on the aggregate of the World’s exhibits at Philadelphia.

The whole number of judges were 250; 140 were American, and 110 foreigners. Those named by the Canadian Commission were as follows :—

*Animal and Vegetable products.*—H. JOLY, M.P.P., Quebec.

*Productions of the Forest.*—Hon. Senator SKEAD, Ottawa.

*Ready-made Clothing and Furs.*—E. EMPEY, Hamilton.

*Carriages.*—WM. DUFFUS, Halifax.

*Horses.*—IRA MORGAN, Ottawa.

*Horned Cattle.*—ALEX. BARRY, Dumfries.

*Swine.*—COL. RHODES, Quebec.

*Sheep.*—JOHN D. MOORE, Dumfries.

*Cheese, Butter and Poultry.*—F. W. FEARMAN, Hamilton.

This Exhibition did very great service to Canada. Coterminous with a country containing a population of forty millions,—remarkable for their ingenuity and practical skill, and supplied by nature, in profusion, with most of the minerals which go to the creation of great wealth, Canada had hitherto been working under a cloud. Though overshadowed by the great people at her side, whose name was known in all the markets of the world, she, nevertheless, had been unostentatiously advancing in all the industries fitted to her climate and her productions. Her admirable system of Township, County, Central and Provincial exhibitions, had been for years quietly and effectually preparing her for the great contest at Philadelphia, where she was placed face to face with the experience, skill and wealth of the globe. It was found that in all the productions of the farm she was equal, and, in some instances, superior to most of the contesting countries. A land stigmatized as one of ice and snow, sent grain and fruit which proved the great productiveness of her soil. Her horses and farming stock, the extent and excellence of her butter and cheese industries, excited the admiration of her neighbors. Her wonderful display of agri-

cultural implements and the products of her machine shops called forth exclamations of surprise even from her competitors. Her exhibition of school books and the appliances of popular education gave support to her boast that she possessed the best educational system known. Her gold from the Maritime and Pacific Provinces ; her silver and platinum and copper from the Lake Superior regions ; her iron and coal from the Maritime Provinces, Vancouver Island, the mainland of British Columbia, and the valley of the Saskatchewan ; her splendid marble and building stone from all parts of the Dominion ; her gypsum and alabaster ; her invaluable plumbago and phosphates ; her lithographic, burr, and other stones, for mechanical and scientific purposes ; her unrivalled salt, from the inexhaustible reservoirs of Goderich and its vicinity ; her manufactured iron and steel ; her oil, from the unfailing wells of Petrolia, with its numerous progeny of soaps, candles, paraffine, benzine, axle oil, and tar ; her pigments for paints ; her earthen and stoneware ; her decorative glass ware ; her furniture, mirrors and picture frames ; her cotton and woollen fabrics ; her wonderful timber and lumber from British Columbia, the Ottawa Valley, and the Maritime Provinces ; her cereals, grasses and forage plants ; her fish, gathered from the banks of Newfoundland to the waters of the Pacific ; her collection of furs ; and her works of art ; all these, gathered with care and selected with judgment, raised Canada to a proud position in the eyes of the world.

The Exhibition rendered Canada a double service. It disclosed to her the immensity of her strength, hitherto unsuspected even by herself, and it placed her in the front ranks of the nations of the world. She at once sprung into enviable distinction. Her products were instantly purchased for the most distant markets, and "Canada" may now be seen on thousands of parcels of goods in the shops of Europe, and the bazaars of Africa and Asia.\* The Exhibition was an emigrant agent of most effective power, for it proved by actual sight and

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\* The sewing machines of Messrs. Wanzer & Co., of the city of Hamilton, Ontario, may now be found throughout all Europe, and are at this moment lessening the fatigue of the women of Persia, Hindostan, China and Japan. It may be consoling to those who purpose to devote themselves to Missionary work in Australia and the Pacific Islands to know that the aborigines of those countries who are so fond of "roasted missionary" can now cook them in a civilized manner, for the stoves and ranges of Messrs. Gurney & Co., of Hamilton, may be found in most of the chief towns of those regions.



personal inspection the excellence of her productions, and as an advertizing medium it was worth a thousand agents.

The great success of Canada on this occasion, and the immense benefit derived by her from the competition, encouraged the Government to make a special effort to have her properly represented at the Exhibition at Sydney, New South Wales, during the year.

## CHAPTER IX.

Opening of Parliament, 8th February, 1877—Speech from the Throne—Mr. De Cosmos moves for a Committee to enquire into the progress of the Pacific Railway—Protection and Free Trade—Motion of Sir John Macdonald, 2nd March—Amendments of Mr. Wood and Mr. Orton—Motion negatived—Mr. Costigan's motion respecting O'Donoghue—Discussion on the Pacific Railway—House prorogued, 28th April—Visit of His Excellency to Manitoba proposed—Sketch of the Province—Hudson's Bay Charter—Rupert's Land—Earl of Selkirk's Settlement in 1811—Re-purchase of his lands by the Hudson Bay Company—System of Government—Sir George Simpson, Mr. Dallas and Mr. McTavish, Governors—Came under Canadian rule, 1st December, 1869—Governor and Council of Assiniboia—Population in 1869—State of the country—Canada sends in surveyors before entitled to possession—Dissatisfaction of the inhabitants—Mr. McDougall appointed Governor—Reaches Red River, October, 1869—Refused admission to the Territory by Kiel and his associates—Troubles consequent thereon—Manitoba set off as a Province—Mr. Archibald appointed Lieutenant Governor, May, 1870—Military expedition under Col. Wolsley—State of the Province when Mr. Archibald arrived—Policy of Mr. Archibald—The Amnesty question—Addresses to Mr. Archibald—His measures to organize a Government—Titles of Honor (note)—Improved state of the country in 1871—Troops disbanded—Agricultural Exhibition in October, 1871—The Fenian Raid, October, 1871—Delicate position of the French Half-breeds—Capture and escape of O'Donoghue—Steadfast loyalty of the French Half-breeds—Review of affairs 1st January, 1872—Opening of the House of Assembly in 1872—Lieutenant Governor resigns—Departure in June, 1873—Reply to Farewell Address—Appointment of Mr. Morris as Chief Justice in July, 1872—His appointment as Lieutenant Governor in December, 1873—Estimate of Mr. Archibald as an administrator—Importance of the assistance of Mrs. and Miss Archibald—Levee at Government House—Popular gratification at appointment of Mr. Morris—Social policy of Mrs. and Miss Morris—Their great influence—Manitoba Parliament opened 5th February, 1873—Purchase of Indian Rights—Treaty of the North West Angle, No. 3, October, 1873—Its terms—Account of the proceedings—Execution of Treaty—Its importance—Festivities at Government House—Mr. Becher (note)—Treaty of Qu'Appelle—No. 4, in September, 1874—"Who Calls"—Indian Tradition—Account of the proceedings at Fort Qu'Appelle—Importance of this Treaty—Beren's River Treaty, No. 5, September, 1875—Mr. Laird appointed Lieu-



tenant Governor of the North West Territories, in October, 1876—Treaty No. 6—Treaty No. 7—Arrival of the Governor General at Winnipeg, August, 1877—Reception and proceedings—Visit to places of interest in the neighborhood—Admirable address of the people of St. Boniface—Ball at Government House—Lord Dufferin and the “native ladies”—Tour through the Province—Visit to the Mennonite Settlement—Account of these people—Speech of His Excellency—Visit to Gimli, the Icelandic Settlement—Speech of His Excellency—Farewell *déjeuner*—The great Manitoba Speech of His Excellency—Speech of his Hon. Lieutenant Governor Morris—Departure of the Vice-Regal Party—Arrival at Ottawa, October, 1877—Effects of the Manitoba Speech.

The Fourth Session of the Third Parliament of the Dominion opened on the 8th February.

His Excellency briefly alluded to his visit to British Columbia, and stated that the surveys of the Pacific Railway, though they had been prosecuted with the utmost vigor, and at a larger cost during the past than in any previous year, would not yet permit the complete location of the line. He continued :—

“A further correspondence on the subjects at issue between my Government and British Columbia will be laid before you.

During the recent suspension of the Extradition arrangements with the United States I took care that the importance to Canada of a speedy resumption of these arrangements should be represented to Her Majesty's Government, whose attention has been further invited to the expediency of largely extending the provisions of the existing Treaty.

I am glad to be able to state that while the operation of the Treaty has been resumed, negotiations are in progress for a convention, more liberal, and better suited to the circumstances of the two countries.

The attention of my Government having been directed to some anomalies in the Royal Commission, and Royal Instructions to the Governor General, particularly with regard to the exercise of the Prerogative of Pardon, steps have been taken towards the amendment of these instruments.

Papers on this subject, as well as on that of the Extradition question, will be laid before you.

The great public works connected with the St. Lawrence navigation, and the canals required to complete the system, have been prosecuted with success during the past year.

Nearly all the works on the Welland and Lachine Canals have been placed under contract on terms favorable to the country.

The active prosecution of these works during the last three years has necessarily increased the public debt, and, though expectations are entertained that the outlay may ultimately be repaid to the country, it may be considered advisable not to press all the works contemplated in the earlier years of Confederation to completion at present.

I am happy to state that the Intercolonial Railway was opened for traffic, throughout its entire length, early in the summer, with as favorable results as could have been expected.

One of the immediate advantages of the completion of the railway was the delivery and reception of the British Mails at Halifax after the closing of the St. Lawrence; and I am happy to say that up to the present time mails and passengers have been successfully carried over the line without any interruption.

The exhibition of Canadian products, manufactures, and works of art at the United States National Exposition at Philadelphia was eminently successful, and proclaimed to the world that Canada has already taken a high place as a farming, manufacturing, and mining country.

It is gratifying to be able to state that the expenditure was kept well within the estimate.

It is but just that I should acknowledge that the success achieved by the enterprise of our people was largely aided by the energy and wisdom of the Commissioners who had charge of the arrangements.

I have considered it advisable in the interest of the country to make arrangements for exhibiting Canadian products at the Exhibition to be held at Sydney, New South Wales, for which you will be asked to make provision.

Notwithstanding the loss of revenue, consequent chiefly on the diminution of our importations, the reductions effected during the current year have gone far to restore the equilibrium between income and expenditure, though great economy will be still needful to attain this object.

I regret that I am still unable to announce any progress in obtaining a settlement of the Fishery claims under the Washington Treaty, though my Government has made every effort to secure that result.

My Commissioners have made further treaty arrangements with certain of the Indian tribes of the North West Territories, by which their title is extinguished to a very large portion of the territories west of Treaty No. 4; and although some of the provisions of this treaty are of a somewhat onerous and exceptional character, I have thought it nevertheless advisable on the whole to ratify it. This treaty will be placed before you. I have made an engagement to negotiate a treaty with the remaining tribes east of the Rocky Mountains.

The expenditure incurred by the Indian Treaties is undoubtedly large, but the Canadian policy is nevertheless the cheapest, ultimately, if we compare the results with those of other countries; and it is above all a humane, just, and Christian policy.

Notwithstanding the deplorable war waged between the Indian tribes in the United States territories, and the Government of that country, during the last year, no difficulty has arisen with the Canadian tribes living in the immediate vicinity of the scene of hostilities.

You will be asked to consider the expediency of making such changes in the Joint Stock Companies Act as may obviate for the future the passage of special Acts of Parliament for the incorporation of various classes of companies, including



such corporations as seek to engage in the borrowing and lending of money, by providing for their organization by Letters Patent.

The desirability of affording additional security to policy-holders of life assurance companies has engaged the attention of my Government, and I trust that the measure which will be submitted will accomplish the desired object.

A measure will be submitted to you for the purpose of extending to the navigation of the great inland waters, rights and remedies at present confined to waters within the jurisdiction of the Courts of Vice-Admiralty.

You will be asked to amend and consolidate the laws relating to Customs.

I have considered it advisable to provide for the permanent prosecution of the Geological Survey, which has heretofore been carried on under temporary enactments, and to make this a distinct branch of the Civil Service ; your attention will be invited to a Bill for that purpose.

Measures will be submitted also for the amendment of the Weights and Measures Act, the Excise laws, and other Acts, and also a Bill relating to Shipping."

On the 14th March, Mr. De Cosmos moved for a Committee to enquire into the progress made with the surveys of the line of the Pacific Railway, and the complaints of British Columbia were reiterated. Mr. Mackenzie refused the commission, and declared he did not intend to be drawn into a general discussion of the railway question on Mr. De Cosmos's motion. Mr. Bunster repeated the oft-made charge of culpable indifference to the claims of British Columbia on the part of the Government ; but the motion produced nothing more than a repetition of the old charges and the old excuses. It was evident that no haste was being shown by Mr. Mackenzie, and that he was resolved to take his leisure in doing justice to the Province, and that he was regardless of her complaints.

The question of "Protection" and "Free Trade" had during the recess been fully discussed in the country. The continued depression had forced upon the people a consideration of the intricate questions of trade, and a large and increasing interest was taken in these discussions. Whether correctly or erroneously, a large portion of the inhabitants of the Dominion had arrived at the conclusion that though the financial and industrial depression was not to be charged to the Ministry, yet that they were highly blameable in doing nothing for its alleviation. This it was averred could be done by so altering the tariff as to afford an adequate protection to many important, but suffering industries. The policy of the Government, however, was opposed to this, and as time moved on the contention against the policy of the Ministry became daily more and more bitter. The Opposition made the question an important one,

and it culminated during the Session of 1877 into the great dividing question between the two parties. Mr. Cartwright, the Finance Minister, had been compelled at each Session, after the Liberal party had obtained power, in 1873, to admit a decreasing revenue, and yet he submitted no plan of relief. The attack on the Ministry began on the 2nd March, by Sir John Macdonald, who moved :

“ That this House regrets that the financial policy submitted by the Government increases the burthen of taxation on the people, without any compensating advantage to the Canadian industries ; and, further, that this House is of the opinion that the deficiency in the revenue should be met by a diminution of expenditure, aided by such a re-adjustment of the Tariff as will benefit and foster the agricultural, mining, and manufacturing interests of the Dominion.”

Sir John, on moving the resolution, alluded to the deep dissatisfaction so prevalent throughout the Dominion at its financial and industrial condition. He averred that throughout the whole country a feeling of general despondency prevailed ; that the measures of the Ministry held out no hope to the struggling industries of Canada. He charged that the want of confidence in the trade policy of the Government was expanding and widening, and that no word of encouragement were uttered, nor any steps taken in the way of protecting, developing, or sustaining our traders and manufacturers. He affirmed that had the Government taken one step in assisting one single industry, it would have had a salutary effect ; it would have redounded to their credit, and have greatly raised them in the estimation of the country, while it would, at the same time, perhaps, in some degree have reconciled the people and the various industries to a suspension of their hopes for protection for another Session. He charged that the proposed alterations in the tariff, instead of assisting any industry, instead of holding out a hope to any class whatever, actually attacked valuable industries already languishing. He forcibly pointed out that the Finance Minister had lost a good opportunity of accomplishing two objects at the same time, viz. :—meeting a deficiency if necessary, by increased taxation, and so adjusting the taxation that it might incidentally be of some service to some interest, to some class, industry, or manufacture. Instead of that, he continued, the Government have told the House that they had adopted what might be called “ the fly on the wheel ” policy ; that they had no interest in it, as it were, further than to raise the necessary amount of revenues in the easiest way, the way most comfortable to themselves, without regarding the general welfare and prosperity of the country.



To this amendment, Mr. Wood, one of the members of the city of Hamilton, Ontario, made an amendment which was negated by a majority of thirty-one. Mr. Orton moved another, which was negated by a majority of thirty-nine, and Sir John's original amendment was negated by a majority of forty-nine.

What is popularly known as the "Free Trade" policy of the Government was thus solemnly approved by the Commons, and the Opposition now devoted its chief energies among the constituencies to the advocacy of what is just as erroneously called the "Protection" policy of Sir John Macdonald. Both parties admit that unrestricted free trade is an impossibility, and that unrestricted protection is also one. Mr. Mackenzie was not disposed to any modification of the tariff. Sir John holds that very extensive modification of it is absolutely essential to the alleviation of the national distress; but what those precise modifications are he declares himself not able to indicate until a full examination of the requirements of each important industry had been made, and to obtain this a new Ministry would be required. In this state the question was left by the Session of 1877.

On the 12th April, the North West troubles were again brought before the House by the motion of Mr. Costigan:—

"That in pursuance of an address passed by this House on the 13th February, 1875, full amnesty was granted to all persons concerned in the North West troubles, for all acts committed by them during the said troubles, save only Louis Riel, A. D. Lepine, W. D. O'Donoghue, and a partial amnesty was granted to Louis Riel and A. D. Lepine, conditional on five years' banishment from Her Majesty's Dominion, thereby leaving the said W. D. O'Donoghue as the only person liable to the extreme penalty of the laws, for all acts committed by him during the said troubles. That this solitary exception has created dissatisfaction among a large class of Her Majesty's loyal subjects of the same nationality as the said W. D. O'Donoghue, and that, in the opinion of this House, as all disquiet and fear of disturbances have long since ceased in the North West Territories, it is just and proper that the said W. D. O'Donoghue be placed in the same position, with regard to the said troubles, as Louis Riel and A. D. Lepine."

Had O'Donoghue's offence been simply his connection with political difficulties, he would doubtless have been included in the amnesty of 1876, but it was clear that he had aided and abetted the Fenian invasion of Manitoba in September, 1871, and the Ministry were firm in withholding from him the indulgence shown to Riel, Lepine and others. The motion was negated by a majority of

forty-five. The persistent demand, however, of O'Donoghue's friends caused the Ministry to change their views, for in the autumn of 1877 the amnesty was extended to him.

On the 20th April, the Pacific Railway matter came before the House on "Supply," and the treaty with British Columbia was again discussed; but no policy satisfactory to that Province was announced, and the determination of Mr. Mackenzie to take his own time was again made clear. The Session closed leaving British Columbia more dissatisfied than ever.

On the 28th April, His Excellency prorogued the House with the usual ceremonies.

A visit to Manitoba and the North West Territories, by His Excellency, was now determined on, and on the 30th July, the Vice-regal party departed on the tour. Before giving an account of this visit, it may be convenient to give a sketch of that Province, particularly with reference to the Administrations of Mr. Archibald, the first Lieutenant Governor, and his successor, Mr. Morris, who was ruling Manitoba when His Excellency arrived in August, 1877.

The Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated in the year 1670 under a charter by Charles II. The territory conferred was called Rupert's Land, and consisted in general terms of the whole region whose waters flow into Hudson's Bay. The operations of the Company as a trading community extended over vast regions other than those embraced in the charter, but its proprietary rights and its responsibilities as a governing body were confined to the limits prescribed by this document.

Until about 1774, the country was used purely as a fur-bearing region, and its sole value then consisted in the pelts it supplied for the European market. Its only inhabitants were the native Indians and the employees of the Company. The first project for colonizing any portion of the country was instituted by Thomas Douglass, Earl of Selkirk, in about the year 1811. The country had belonged to France and became English in 1763, when it was ceded under the Treaty of Paris. As early as 1640 many French colonists had been led to pursue the calling of the trapper, and had gradually spread themselves over the whole country far to the west of Lake Superior. These were called "Coureurs des Bois." In 1731, a Lower Canadian Seigneur, M. Varennes de la Verandrye, acting under a license to trade, granted by the Canadian Government, was the first white man



to reach Winnipeg River. Descending this stream to the borders of Lake Winnipeg, he penetrated up the Red River and the Assiniboine to the prairie lands of the Far West, recently known as the Districts of Swan River and the Saskatchewan. In 1811, the Earl of Selkirk purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company a large tract of land, a small part of which was the region long known as the Red River Settlement, and forming part of the present Province of Manitoba. At about this time a compulsory exodus of the inhabitants of the mountainous regions in the county of Sutherland in Scotland was in progress, and many of them found their way to Red River under the protection of the Earl of Selkirk. They formed a settlement at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, where now stands the City of Winnipeg, the Capital of the Province of Manitoba. The new comers soon became involved in the quarrels of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies, and the immigrants were reduced to great wretchedness. They persevered, however, and gradually secured comfortable dwellings and productive farms. Lord Selkirk died in 1821, and from that date the late Mr. Ellice became the principal figure in the affairs of the colony, and under his auspices an agreement was arrived at between the rival trading companies, the Hudson's Bay and the North West, and from this period the settlement flourished. General contentment prevailed. In 1836, the Hudson's Bay Company purchased from Lord Selkirk's heirs all the country ceded to him in 1811, and the Red River Settlement again fell under the rule of these traders.

The supreme control of the affairs of the Company was vested, under the charter, in a Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of five Directors, all annually chosen by the stockholders, at a general meeting, held in London, each November. These functionaries, residing in Britain, appointed an official resident in their North American possessions, called the Governor of Rupert's Land. Sir George Simpson was the first who held this office. He died in 1860, and was succeeded by Mr. Alexander Grant Dallas, who, resigning in 1864, was succeeded by Mr. William MacTavish, who held the office when the country came under Canadian rule, on the 1st December, 1869. The territories of the Company were divided into four vast sections, known as the Northern, Southern, Montreal and Western Departments. Red River Settlement was comprised in the Southern. This section was, however, set off into a distinct corporation, ruled by the "Governor and Council of Assiniboia." Municipal institutions of a very rude character existed here, for it was the only spot where there

was a resident population to be governed. Previous to 1848 the office of Governor of Assiniboia was almost invariably held by the officer in charge of the Company's trading interests in the Colony. His duties were of a very simple nature, the condition of the young municipality not being such as to demand much attention. In that year Lieutenant Colonel Caldwell was appointed Governor of Assiniboia. He retained his office until 1855, when he was succeeded by Mr. Frank Godshall Johnson, a barrister from Montreal, who was also appointed Recorder of Rupert's Land. He resigned in 1858, when Mr. MacTavish succeeded him, who, in 1869, filled the office conjointly with that of Governor of Rupert's Land. Assiniboia was governed by a Council consisting of the Governor, and settlers appointed by the Company on the recommendation of the Governor. The result was that the community was governed by the leading men of the Colony in position, influence, wealth and intelligence. In 1869 the Council included the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Boniface. The French Canadian, the original Scotch, the mercantile, and the general communities were fairly represented in the Council. At this period the population of the settlement numbered about 12,000; of these about 6000 were French Half-breeds, about 4000 were English or Scotch Half-breeds—the Scotch predominating,—about 1500 were pure whites of various nationalities, and the remainder were Indians. The majority of the people were Roman Catholics, the minority was composed of Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Wesleyan Methodists. There were about thirty common schools,—fifteen Protestant and fifteen Roman Catholic, several conventual academies and schools controlled by the Roman Catholics, and three colleges,—St. John's (Episcopal), St. Boniface (Roman Catholic), and Kildonan (Presbyterian). There were besides about twelve Episcopal, two Methodist, three Presbyterian, and twelve Roman Catholic churches. The population comprised many highly educated men, and very many well qualified to undertake all the duties appertaining to a Constitutional Government. The people were loyal to the British Crown, and there was no section of the Dominion where the republican element was weaker than in the Red River Settlement. The population was in the enjoyment of a degree of liberty and happiness unsurpassed by any civilized country, and the practical working of their Government was easy and satisfactory. But public attention had been drawn to the North West, and its great advantages as a home for the immigrant



soon attracted many new comers. It became desirable to open up these vast tracts ; but, in order to achieve this, the rights of the Hudson Bay Company would first require to be purchased. Negotiations were opened, and after a long negotiation Sir George Cartier and Mr. McDougall were sent to England by the Dominion Government to secure an agreement with the Company. It was ultimately settled that the Dominion should pay the Company £300,000 for its claim to the whole North West, retaining only their forts and a small tract of land around each one ; and the 1st December, 1869, was fixed upon as the day on which Canada was to receive the Territories into the Confederacy. This was to be done under the authority of the Imperial Statute, "The British North America Act, 1867." Messrs. Cartier and McDougall placed their report before the Dominion Parliament in May, 1869, and during the Session an Act was passed providing for the temporary government of the Territories so soon as they became part of the Confederacy.

In July, 1869, several months before the country could become the property of the Dominion, for the 1st December, 1869, had already been settled upon as the day of transfer, the Dominion Minister of Public Works despatched Col. Dennis with a party of surveyors to Red River with instructions to make surveys of the country for the purposes of settlement.

On the 29th September, 1869, a Commission passed under the great seal of Canada appointing the Hon. Wm. McDougall, C.B., to be Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories, the appointment to take effect on the transfer. In October, he set out for Red River, having with him several gentlemen ready to receive some of the highest offices under the new Government.

While on his way, the indignation of the people of Red River burst forth. It is an almost incredible fact that all these proceedings had been taken to transfer twelve thousand intelligent and comparatively wealthy people from one Government to another without the slightest communication with them. None of them had been consulted. They had been treated with contempt. The author of the transfer looked upon them as so many sheep who had neither feelings to be hurt, nor interests to be respected. A Government had been framed for them by the Dominion Act of May, of which they knew nothing until they saw it noticed in the public prints. A Governor had been appointed for them without the slightest intimation to them ; he was on his way to assume their rule, surrounded by officers whose seats in

and about the Provincial Cabinet and Courts had already, as they believed, been settled upon. A system of Government had been established for them, in the formation of which they had been denied all voice, and surveyors had invaded their country sent by a power really as alien to them in this respect as the American Government would have been.

Mr. McDougall arrived on the frontier on the 30th October, but nine days before, a barrier had been raised across the road leading to Winnipeg by a party of armed men headed by Riel. This man was then and for some time after cordially supported by the great mass of the people. The English and Scotch Half-breeds joined with the French "Metis" in their determination not to permit Mr. McDougall to enter the country until their rights were secured. All creeds and all classes, excepting a few of the pure white population, were loud in their denunciation of what they declared to be the tyrannical conduct of the Dominion Government, of which Mr. McDougall was the exponent. Had this gentleman even now, when the country was full of armed men, determined to defend their rights by force, understood the real state of the public mind, the difficulty might have been overcome, for even Riel did not then desire to oppose the authority of the Crown. His opposition was confined to the arbitrary proceedings of the Dominion Government, but as Mr. McDougall attempted to raise an armed force among the people by which to crush the opposition, he really added strength to his enemies. Riel and his associates up to this point were unquestionably in the right, and had Mr. McDougall candidly admitted his error, it is more than probable that the wretched North West troubles of 1870 would never have arisen. But Mr. McDougall's measures only increased the popular indignation, and then, as Riel found himself growing daily more powerful, his vanity and ignorance and greed led him to his destruction. Had he held the Provisional Government, which he had established, in trust for the Dominion, and honestly carried it on for the simple purpose of giving the Dominion authorities an opportunity of retracing the false steps into which it had been hurried he would have done the country excellent service and established an enviable reputation for himself,—but success turned his head. He cruelly imprisoned a number of harmless people; he treated them harshly while under a confinement which none but a savage could have continued; he laid violent hands on the property of the Hudson's Bay Company; he pillaged the private



property of individuals for his own use; he imprisoned Governor MacTavish, and forced him, even then dying, by bayonet wounds, to give up the keys of the safe, whence he abstracted several thousands of dollars, the property of the Company; he committed a barbarous murder on poor Thomas Scott, and ended by defying the power of Her Majesty.

On the 18th December, Mr. McDougall left Pembina, where he had made his head-quarters since his arrival in October, and returned to Ottawa. In the meantime negotiations had been going on with the Dominion authorities to settle the unfortunate difficulties; and, as a result of these an Act of the Dominion was passed on the 12th May, 1870, to provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba, and to continue the Act of 1869 as regarded such of the North West Territories as were not included within the new Province. The terms of this Act were settled by arrangements between members of the Government of Canada, and delegates sent to Ottawa from Red River by the authority of Riel, who was acting as President of the insurrectionary Government,—and \$1,300,000 were appropriated by the House of Commons on the 21st April, 1872, for the purpose of opening communications, establishing a Government, and providing for the settlement of the North West Territories.

It had been determined to send an armed force to re-establish order in the West. On the 22nd April, while the resolution for the appropriation of the \$1,300,000 was before the House, Mr. Masson, of Soulanges, (Que.), moved the amendment:—

“Provided that no portion of the funds should be expended in employing troops or militia in acquiring possession of the territory by force of arms.”

This led to a long debate, by which it appeared that a great part of the French-speaking members of the House were in opposition to the armed expedition contemplated; a circumstance which was subsequently found to create much difficulty in the Province.

By the Act the limits of the new Province were, on the east the 96°, and on the west the 99° of longitude. The United States boundary or 49th parallel of latitude was the southern limit, and 50½ the northern. The Province therefore comprised land from east to west over 3 degrees of longitude, and from north to south over 1½ degrees of latitude.

The Act appropriated 1,400,000 acres for the benefit of the families of the Half-breeds, and confirmed all grants made by the

Hudson Bay Company in freehold, and gave the option to the holders of estates less than freeholds under such grant to have the same enlarged into freehold.

The Act authorized an Elective Assembly, to consist of twenty-four members, and a Legislative Council of seven.

The Province was to have the right to send four members to the House of Commons and to have two Senators.

Provision was made giving the Lieutenant Governor power to make rules in respect of the Provincial Elections.

On the 20th May, 1870, Mr. Archibald was appointed Lieutenant Governor, and received instructions as to the mode of carrying on the Government of the country.

In June, 1870, an expedition consisting of two regiments of militia and a battalion of the 60th Rifles proceeded by Thunder Bay to Red River by the Canoe Route, under command of Colonel Wolseley. That officer, with the Regulars, reached Fort Garry on the 24th August. Riel and his party fled from Fort Garry a few minutes before the troops entered.

Mr. Archibald proceeded to Red River by canoe, by the route pursued by Colonel Wolseley.

It was understood, on the passage of the Compromise Act, that all parties were satisfied to receive a Canadian Government, and it was arranged that, if a deputation of the English and French parties would meet the Lieutenant Governor at the N. W. angle of the Lake of the Woods, which is within one hundred miles of Red River, he would proceed to the Province within two days journey of Fort Garry, and yet nothing was known at the Fort of the arrival of the Military at Fort Garry, which had taken place ten days before.

The insurrectionary party were also without intelligence of the arrival of Colonel Wolseley in the Red River until he was within two miles of the Fort.

The Province on the arrival of the Lieutenant Governor was in a state of great excitement.

For many months during the ascendancy of the insurgents, the French Half-breeds, under Riel, Lepine and O'Donoghue had treated the English portion of the population with great cruelty : they had made prisoners of a large number of the people—had confined them in close, ill-ventilated houses within the precincts of Fort Garry, and had treated them with great harshness. Dr. Shultz, who was one of the prisoners, made his escape and found his way to Ontario in the dead of winter, through the Lake district, after incredible hardships.



Thomas Scott, an emigrant from Ontario, who was confined at Fort Garry, was brutally shot, after a pretended trial by Riel's party, and buried, it was supposed, within the precincts of the Fort.

The stores of the Hudson's Bay Company were sacked by Riel and his people at their pleasure, and the goods applied to support the insurrection.

The loyal part of the population had suffered great wrongs, and, now that their friends were in the ascendant, were determined on vengeance. They had suffered when the French had power, and insisted, now that the tables were turned, on compensation for the injuries sustained and on punishment of the offenders. The French were sullen and discontented; they knew too well the feelings of the rest of the population to expect much consideration.

In this condition of affairs the Lieutenant Governor thought best to take no active steps to organize a Government for a few days, and, in the meantime, to take the opportunity of seeing and conferring with the leaders of the population on both sides.

On the 6th September, he held a levee at which Colonel Wolseley and the officers of the Regulars and Militia attended, together with the members of the old Council of Assiniboia and leading men of both sections of the population.

On this occasion the commissions to the Lieutenant Governor were read with as much ceremony as possible, so as to indicate the inauguration of the new *régime*.

The Council of Assiniboia presented an address to the Lieutenant Governor in presence of the gentlemen assembled at the levee.

The Lieutenant Governor's instructions required him to be guided by the constitutional principles and precedents which obtained in the older provinces, in other words, he was to conduct the administration on the principles of Constitutional or Responsible Government.

There is comparatively little difficulty in doing this in a settled country, but where the majority of the people have taken part in an organized insurrection and have constituted a *de facto* Government and carried it on for nearly a year, where half the population has been in fact technically guilty of treason, it is a difficult task to carry on a Government according to the well-understood wishes of the people, while undertaking to punish offences to which the majority of the people had been party.

One would scarcely expect a verdict for the Crown from a jury the majority of whom had been accomplices of the culprit, and yet

that was practically what was asked by the extreme men on the English side, who insisted that, under a Government conducted on the principles of responsibility to the people, punishment should be inflicted on the men who had in their favor the feelings and sympathies of the majority of the electors.

An additional element of difficulty arose from the uncertainty that existed as the terms in which the compromise at Ottawa had been effected.

The delegates of the insurgents who had been invited to attend at Ottawa to treat about the Provincial difficulties, reported on their return that they had been promised an amnesty for offences committed during the insurrection, and, whether this was true or not, the effect was the same : it was generally believed among the French section of the population, who naturally became excited on seeing that the English parishes were clamouring for investigation and punishment.

The Government of Canada denied that any actual promise had been made, and insisted that the question was one for the Imperial Government, the offences in question having been committed before the Province was transferred to Canada.

The addresses to the Lieutenant Governor from the loyal parishes always contained a clause such as this, extracted from the St. James' address of the 15th September :—

“We have no wish to dictate to your Excellency any policy which you may deem it wise to adopt in the administration of affairs, but we most earnestly trust that the English-speaking portion of this Province (the larger and more influential portion) will be fully and fairly represented in the new Government. Nor can we conceal from your Excellency our earnest wish that a full and impartial investigation be made as soon as possible into the proceedings of the past few months, during which, among other things, many of Her Majesty's loyal subjects were seized and imprisoned, the life of one cruelly taken, and a large amount of property stolen and made away with.”

The reply of the Lieutenant Governor, of which the following is an extract, indicates the line taken by him in answering these addresses :—

“I am quite aware of the difficulties connected with my position, but if the people of this Province, irrespective of past differences, will give me their confidence—I have reason to hope and believe that they will—I feel no doubt that we shall be able to re-establish the affairs of this country on a solid basis, and that we may look forward in the future to a period of peace and prosperity. It shall be my aim to do justice to every part of the population, irrespective of origin or creed.

As to the composition of any Government which may be formed hereafter, the arrangements must be largely moulded by the wishes of the population, as expressed through the men of their choice.



Our first duty must be with regard to the future. Let us place the affairs of the country upon a settled footing. Let us re-establish security. Let us give to the people of the country the assurance that, henceforth at least, the law shall be triumphant, and we shall take the best steps to make practicable and safe any investigations that may be thought desirable into the events of the past year."

In addition to the written and formal replies to addresses the Lieutenant Governor took occasion to address the members of each deputation orally, urging upon them the necessity of uniting with him to put down any attempt at violation of the law, and the members of the several Committees were pledged to do so.

While this excitement prevailed on both sides, and the Lieutenant Governor was attending a meeting of Indians at the Lower Settlement, with the view of inducing them to disperse to the hunting grounds, an event occurred which inflamed the excitement still more. A man of the name of Goulet, who had been concerned as a principal actor in the insurrection, had made his appearance in the town of Winnipeg. Being recognised, he was chased, when he made for the river. Entering it and attempting to swim to the other side, he sank and was drowned.

It was said that, among the persons who were engaged in the chase, were some of the soldiers of the militia, which exasperated the French, and led to a belief on their part that their lives were unsafe, and that the fate of Goulet might be that of any Frenchman who should venture into the town of Winnipeg.

It was never ascertained with certainty whether the charge against the soldiers was well founded, but from their first arrival in Winnipeg, they invariably took sides against the French, and were a source of constant trouble. With a company of fifty regular soldiers, who would obey commands, the peace of the Province could have been preserved, but, for any purpose of support to the civil authorities, the militia were of little or no value. Many of them were said to be Ontario Orangemen, who enlisted to avenge the death of their countryman, Scott. They were supposed by the French to have taken an oath to punish his murderers. If the policy had been to trample down the French and inflict punishment upon every man who had been in the insurrection, men of this stamp, if they had not been restrained, would have been proper agents to effect that purpose. But they would have rendered it impossible to govern the country on the principles on which the Lieutenant Governor was instructed to proceed. They would have driven the majority of the population into the arms of any marauders who could be induced by hope of plunder to cross the border.

The anxieties of the French part of the population are depicted in an address from the parish of St. Norbert, the parish of Father Ritchot, the priest who had been one of the delegates at Ottawa.

This address was printed on the 31st October, and, after the usual compliments and apologies for the delay in its delivery, it proceeds thus :—

“Your Excellency will nevertheless permit us not to conceal from you that one thing is wanting—a very essential thing, indeed. We expect it with certainty, because we have been promised it by men whose word cannot be broken. You yourself have told us that we may be sure that any stipulations which have been solemnly made with us, of whatever nature, will be honorably fulfilled.”

Mr. Archibald's reply describes the situation :

“I need hardly say to you that your kind address gives me the most lively satisfaction. You speak of the delay in presenting it, but I have reason to be glad of the delay which assures me I have conquered your good-will. The address delivered on my arrival would have been but a compliment ; it is now a certificate. I am pleased, indeed, that my conduct under circumstances of much difficulty has been such as to command your appreciation ; and, gentlemen, I am happy to be able to say to you that assurances of similar approval are daily reaching me from quarters where I least expected it,—approval of a policy which I propounded the first day of my entrance into the Province, a policy from which I have not swerved for an instant from that day to this—a policy of good will, of fair play, of justice to all. It has been my study in the past, it will be my study in the future, as far as I can, to put down the spirit of faction,—to heal the wounds of the past, to treat all as one people, estranged, it is true, by the unhappy events of the past years, but yearning to resume the affectionate relations which become you as men having in your veins the same blood and kindred by the ties of nature, relations which have hitherto been of the most close and intimate character, and which differences in language and creed have been powerless to sunder.

With this policy enrolled on my banner, and with the assurance you give me of support from all who wish the good of the Province, I have not a doubt that, ere long, with the blessing of Providence, we shall be willing to exchange the painful recollections of the past for the happier feelings which grow out of peace, progress and prosperity.

When that time comes, and I feel that it is not far off, it will be the desire of every body, from the Queen on the throne to the humblest of her subjects, to bury in oblivion much that is painful in the history of the past years. What shape this desire may assume it is not for me to say. That belongs to Her Majesty's Imperial Government, not to this Province or to Canada, but I cannot doubt that Her Majesty's policy will be one in accord with the honor of her crown and the good of the people.”

By steadily pursuing the course marked out in this answer, the policy of conciliation gradually became less unpopular on the English side, and, in the meantime, the Lieutenant Governor had endeavored



to turn the thoughts of the people into other channels by engaging in the varied work that was necessary in laying the foundation of civil Government in the country.

On the 17th September, he appointed two gentlemen to the office of Executive Councillors. Mr. Boyd, an Englishman and loyalist, represented one section of the population ; Mr. Girard (now senator) represented the other. A body of Justices of the Peace, comprising representatives of every section of the population, were sworn into office ; the Courts of Law were opened ; proclamations of various kinds were issued, all intending to indicate that the reign of lawlessness was over, and that the inhabitants of the country could return to their various pursuits.

A census of the inhabitants was taken, on a principle which gave assurance of its fairness. The Province was divided into five sections, for each of which two enumerators were appointed, one of English the other of French origin. Each made a separate enumeration in a separate book and sent in a sworn return. It turned out that the returns made by the separate enumerators were almost identical. In the number of the total population there was a difference of only two. The people on both sides were satisfied that the census was correct.

The next work of the Lieutenant Governor was to organise the Legislature. Under the Act the Lieutenant Governor was to divide the Province into twenty-four electoral districts, each of which was to return a member.

The census having shewn the distribution of the population and that the numbers of each section were about equal, the French having a slight majority, the Province was divided into twenty-four sections each containing about the same population, but bounded as far as possible by old Parish lines, and so arranged as to give twelve divisions in which the French were in the majority and twelve with an English majority.

Under the authority conferred by the Act, the Lieutenant Governor prepared a Code of Rules for the Election, and appointed returning officers and clerks for the different sections.

No returning officer or clerk had ever seen an election or knew anything of the form by which an election was to be conducted, and yet they did their work with a correctness that would have been creditable to experienced hands. Great pains had been taken in making them comprehend their instructions before the work was begun.

A Legislative Council was appointed in due course, and after the election of the Assembly, the members of the Executive Council were increased to the number pointed out by the Act. The members of the two bodies of the Legislature were soon brought into working order. No member of either body having ever been member of a Legislature, and the great bulk of them having no knowledge of the working of such bodies, a large amount of extra labor necessarily devolved on the Lieutenant Governor in setting the machinery in motion.

There was great need for the action of a Legislative body.

The only Code of Laws existing at the time was made under the charter of 1670 granted to the Hudson Bay Company. It was comprised in a pamphlet of eight pages, and consisted of ordinances made by the Council of Assiniboia, a district comprising all the country included within a circle with a radius of sixty miles of which Fort Garry was the centre.

The Council consisted of the two Bishops, one Catholic and one Protestant, some eight or ten of the leading Half-breeds of French and English origin, residing in the district, and was presided over by the Governor of the Hudson Bay Company stationed at Fort Garry.

Of the eight pages of which the Code was composed one half was devoted to matters which indicate the peculiar condition of the country.

The first head of Legislation was Fires, a matter all important in a prairie country ; the second was Animals ; the third, Horse-taking ; the fourth, Hay ; the Intoxicating of Indians and the Liquor Laws form two additional heads of Legislation, followed by an article offering a premium for wolf heads.

The Code is wanting in the general provisions which are considered to form the very foundations of civilized society.

There was no provision for the descent or transfer of real or personal property ; no provision regulating the execution or registration of deeds or wills. In fact, landed property passed from hand to hand, like an ox or a load of hay, and was devised by word of mouth on a dying bed. While such a state of things existed nothing but the general honesty and probity of the people, and probably to some extent the small value of the property, real and personal, could have prevented endless disputes.

It was the first duty of the new Legislature to provide the laws required for the state of society which had commenced.

A Code was accordingly prepared, drawn by the Lieutenant Governor, by which a Supreme Court was created, with jurisdiction



over all matters of law and equity, wills and intestacy. Provision was made for the prevention of frauds and perjuries, for prescribing the requisites for the execution of wills, for the descent of real and personal estate, its transfer by deed or execution, for the registration of deeds, the appointment of magistrates and coroners, for the establishment of a system of police and a system of education in the Province.

In his opening address to the Legislature the Lieutenant Governor said:—

“You are about to furnish a test, I trust I may say you will furnish a vindication, of the policy which has given you elective and representative institutions. These are seldom conferred on so small a population. Your case is almost, if not quite, exceptional. It will be your duty to show that the legislature of the Dominion has not over-estimated your fitness for the discharge of the very grave duties imposed upon you by your new Constitution. The work before you is sufficient to task your utmost judgment and discretion. You have to construct your institutions from the foundation. The arrangements which have sufficed for the Government of this country in the past will no longer serve their purpose. Your isolation from the rest of the world, which deprived you of some advantages, protected you from many evils.”

Then, after referring to the lines of communication about to be opened up, the establishment of the telegraph and the influx of immigration, the Lieutenant Governor went on to say:—

“In the new state of things which is at hand you will find scope for the exercise of the best abilities and the purest patriotism. Your first duty will be to organize the Province, to make arrangements for the preservation of law and order, to establish Courts of Justice and to provide the auxiliary machinery required in the decision of controverted rights. You will have to define more accurately than they are now defined what are the rights of property, how it shall be transmitted by conveyance, to whom it shall descend by inheritance, how it may be disposed of by will, what safeguards may best be provided against fraudulent conveyances, in short, to lay the foundations of property upon a basis of law. You will also have to provide the arrangements which every self-governing country requires for the management of its local and municipal affairs. You cannot be expected, it would I think be unwise for you to attempt, to frame a complicated code. The laws to be first enacted should be plain and simple. They should provide for the essential and the immediate, leaving it to future legislation to deal with matters of less importance and to adopt the amendments and changes suggested by the wants arising from the progress of the country.

\* \* \* \* \*

In conclusion, allow me to congratulate you upon the prospects now dawning on your country. I have been able for several months that I have been in the Province to maintain peace and order, with scarcely any of the institutions of an organized society.

In my efforts to calm down the exasperations arising from the painful events of last winter I have been seconded by the co-operation of the great body of the intelligent and respectable people of this country, irrespective of race or creed, and I owe it to you to say that the manner in which the people generally have conducted themselves at the polls, on their first essay under the new Constitution, is such as would reflect no discredit upon people longer exercised in elective institutions."

The hopes held out in this address were fully realized, and the legislation of the Session placed on a sound foundation such as was required for the preservation of law and order in the Province.

In his closing speech to the Legislature on the 3rd May, 1871, the Lieutenant Governor alluded to the work of the Session in the following terms:—

"You have applied yourselves with energy and ability to the task to which I invited your attention at the opening of the session, and you have done much towards organizing and establishing upon a solid basis the institutions of the country.

The laws you have passed may not be framed on the model of those of older countries, but they are at all events suited to the circumstances of your own country, and they will remove much of the doubt and uncertainty which until this hour have hung over the rights and obligations of the inhabitants of this Province. \* \* \* Great changes are impending in the material circumstances of this country. The arrival in your midst within a few days of a new and well built steamship, constructed in view of these changes and to meet the wants which they create, laden on its first voyage to its utmost capacity with passengers and freight, pressing close on the receding ice of the river, heralds the events which are at hand and closes the history of your isolation."

One of the Acts of this session gives incidental proof of the fertility of a soil which required no manure. The accumulations of the barn yards instead of being used for the land were carted into the river to be carried away by the current. To prevent a practice which was deleterious to the health of the inhabitants, who obtained water for domestic use from the river, a fine of \$25 or an imprisonment for two months was imposed on every person who got rid in this way of what in Manitoba was a nuisance, but in any other country would have been thought of priceless value.

An attempt was made during the Session, by a resolution moved by Mr. Hayes, to raise the questions connected with the insurrection, calling upon the Government to punish the offenders in the insurrection of 1869, but a resolution moved in amendment, and passed by a majority of nineteen to five, showed unmistakably the views of the House, and constitutionally of the people, on the inexpediency at that moment of raising questions of so exciting and dangerous a character.



During the summer of 1871, a large number of immigrants poured into the Province, who found employment for their industry. Peace and prosperity returned to the country.

In September the Lieutenant Governor visited the different parishes on the Assiniboine, all inhabited by English Half-breeds, and at first violently opposed to the policy of conciliation.

The new turn which had been given to the thoughts of the people,—the interest which they had taken in the proceedings of the Legislature,—the increase of farming and other industries,—the prospects of a good crop, and the general prosperity of the country, soon generated a feeling of confidence and satisfaction.

At Portage la Prairie, sixty miles west of Winnipeg, where the English feeling had been the strongest, the following address to the Lieutenant Governor was presented :—

\* “MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :—We, the inhabitants of Portage la Prairie, extend to you a most hearty welcome, and extremely regret that we are unable on this occasion to furnish you with a stronger proof of our loyalty and attachment to your position as Her Majesty’s Representative.

Your Excellency’s short stay prevents us from giving expression to all our sentiments and feelings in reference to the great future of this Province.

We are aware of the difficulties attending your high and honorable position amidst the surges of political strife and animosity which have prevailed to a great extent in this colony during the last two years ; and we cannot but avail ourselves of this opportunity of assuring your Excellency that, although we have been stigmatized as ‘Rebels,’ you will find us in the hour of call as ready to support you again as we were before, to come forward and risk our lives and our liberties in support of Constitutional Government and the authority of Her Majesty the Queen, of whom you are the Representative.”

\* Before Confederation the Lieutenant Governors of the Provinces were properly addressed as “Excellency,” because they represented Her Majesty, receiving their commissions directly from her, in which this title was expressly given. But on Confederation the system was changed. These officers now received their appointments from the Dominion Government, and communicated with the Imperial authorities, not directly, but through the Governor General, who is the only representative of Her Majesty in the Dominion. His title is “His Excellency,” but custom retained the same title for the Lieutenant Governors. This was wrong, as well as inconvenient, and the error was corrected by an order of the Imperial Privy Council of the 24th July, 1868, which declared that, in consequence of the Confederation of the British Provinces, some revision of the former usage there about titles, had become necessary, and Her Majesty then approved of the adoption of the following regulations, which, it will be seen, correct several other errors which even yet are freely indulged in :

I. The Governor General of Canada to be styled “His Excellency.”

To this address the following reply was given :—

“TO THE INHABITANTS OF PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.

GENTLEMEN,—Allow me, in the name of Her Majesty, to thank you for the expressions of loyalty contained in your address, and for the cordial welcome you have extended to me as Her Majesty’s representative on the occasion of my first visit to this interesting part of the Province.

I have long desired to see for myself the Parishes of the Upper Assiniboine ; but until now, the pressure of engagements that could not be postponed has prevented the indulgence of my wishes. I had heard much of the beauty and fertility of this district ; much of the industry and prosperity of its people ; and now gentlemen, that I have seen for myself, I am happy to say to you that the expectations formed from what I had heard are more than fulfilled by what I have seen.

You have a country of which any people may well be proud ; and if I may judge from the evidences of energy and progress that I have marked as I passed up, it is inhabited by a people not unworthy of such a heritage.

You allude to the great future of this new Province. I have never felt so assured of that future as I do at this moment. For two days I have been moving as rapidly as horses could take me over the virgin districts that lie west of this Parish, and during that period I have seen some of the most beautiful spots upon which my eyes have ever rested. My whole journey has been through a country more uniformly rich and fertile than any equal space I have ever seen. Taking the tract I have passed over as a fair sample of the West (and I believe it to be so), I may say that any one who has seen it may be pardoned for indulging in bright hopes of the future, not only of this Province, but of the whole of the vast domain which extends westwardly to the Rocky Mountains.

Now that Indian treaties—liberal to the natives and honorable to the Government,—treaties which, let me say in passing, will be observed with the fidelity that always distinguishes the dealings of the Crown with the native tribes,—I say, now that these treaties have opened to immigration a tract of land equal to four such Provinces as this, we may fairly begin to look in the face the future that awaits us.

II. The Lieutenant Governor of the Provinces to be styled “His Honor.”

III. The Privy Councillors of Canada to be styled “Honorable” and for life.

IV. Senators of Canada to be “Honorable,” but only during office, and the title not to be continued afterwards.

V. Executive Councillors of the Provinces to be styled “Honorable,” but only while in office, and the title not to be continued afterwards.

VI. Legislative Councillors in the Provinces not in future to have that title, but gentlemen who were Legislative Councillors at the time of the Union, to retain their title of “Honorable” for life.

VII. The President of the Legislative Council in the Provinces to be styled “Honorable” during office.

VIII. The Speakers of the House of Assembly in the Provinces to be styled “Honorable” during office.



This country, in soil and climate, is at least equal to the adjoining State of Minnesota. It has many advantages which that State has not, and the time has now come when the British North-West is to enter on an era of progress and development such as has made that State what it is. Twenty years ago Minnesota had a population less than half of what Manitoba now has. Twenty years ago, Minnesota numbered only five thousand inhabitants. It has now five hundred thousand.

Twenty years ago, nay, only ten years ago, Minnesota had not a mile of railway; now it has a thousand miles in actual operation and two thousand more either in progress or under charter.

Twenty years ago, a straggling population on the Upper Mississippi contended, as yours has hitherto contended, against the difficulties of distance and isolation from the centres of industry and progress. Now the State is studded with cities and towns and villages. The hum of industry is heard on all sides, and with every considerable town united by rail and telegraph with the rest of the continent, the whole country has become part and parcel of the living and moving world, and is stirred by the impulses and animated by the spirit which moves the great hearts of intelligence and industry.

All this mighty change has taken place within a period which some of you have lived who were children when it began, and who are not yet of age. As Minnesota was twenty years ago, this country is now. The iron road was stretching out its arms towards it from the East. Vast tracts of soil of good quality, but not so good as yours, were holding out invitations to the immigrant—invitations less seductive and less tempting than those which are extended by your fertile plains.

The same causes which have made Minnesota develop with a rapidity unexampled in the history of the world will act upon this country in the same way, and before those of you who are now entering upon manhood shall have reached the vigor of your age the same transformation which has passed over the surface of that country will pass over the surface of yours.

The iron horse is now at your doors. A stream of immigration is about to pour into your country, keeping pace with the progress of railways. In a short period, much shorter than most of you think, vast tracts of land which now yield only grass for prairie fires to devour, will teem with agricultural productions, and the surplus over what is required for your own uses will be whirled with railway speed past your doors to the shores of the great waters that form the highway of the world. The grain of the West will go to countries whose niggard soil refuses to produce the food its inhabitants need, and will bring you back in return the products of the more advanced civilization of the countries of the East.

With my eyes steadily fixed upon this great future, you will not wonder, gentlemen, that I have considered my other duties to some extent subordinate to the great duty of preserving the peace and order of the Province which forms the key to this vast domain.

You will make some allowance for me if my eyes, dazzled by the bright vision ahead, refuse to turn or turn with reluctance to look behind amid the obscurity of times of commotion and disorder that occurred before the responsibility of Canada commenced, to strain for the discovery of dark spots that may be found in the events of the past.

You refer to the feelings which are incident to the condition of a Province situate like this.

I may say, gentlemen, I have no objection to vigorous criticisms on the part of the Press. A certain portion of the political strife and animosity to which you refer is an inseparable incident of free institutions. It is the condition annexed by the Almighty Himself to the development, the progress, and the improvement of Civil Government. I accept, as I always have accepted such criticism, with the determination of giving it no other answer than that of living it down.

Let me ask you to treat in the same manner the imputations which you say have been cast upon you. Let us, in our respective spheres, strive to do our duty as God gives us light to see it. We shall then, at all events, be sustained by the sweetest consolation which we can enjoy, the consciousness of having done what we believed to be right."

A sketch of the journey, prepared at the time and published in the *Manitoban* of the 30th September, 1871, gives an accurate description of the then state of the country, which is not without interest:—

#### THE WEST.

"We publish in another column an address presented to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, by the inhabitants of the Portage, on Friday last, and His Excellency's reply thereto.

The estimates formed by His Excellency of the character and capabilities of the Western section of the Province are quite in accordance with the opinions we have heard expressed by every person who has visited it.

We have gathered from one of the gentlemen accompanying His Excellency on his visit to the West, some details which are not without interest either to the people of this country, or to persons intending to come here.

His Excellency, attended by the Honorable Provincial Secretary, and Mr. Bouthillier, his A.D.C., left Silver Heights on Monday, returning home on Saturday evening. The party travelled first to the Portage. There taking the Fort Ellice road running nearest the Assiniboine, they proceeded by it in a westerly course some 15 miles beyond Rat Creek. Then crossing northwardly over the open prairie, they struck the other road leading to Fort Ellice, near the Mission on White Mud River. They traced the road westwardly to what is called the Third Crossing, which is at a distance from the Portage of about 40 miles, the Mission at White Mud River being about half-way to that point.

They found the principal body of the settlers who have come to the Province during the present year stationed on the White Mud River, Rat Creek and Pine Creek, and the affluents of these streams. The Third Crossing is near the western limit of settlement.

A few of the immigrants have taken their location on the rear of the old settlers' lots at Poplar Point, High Bluff and the Portage, on the tract intervening between the front lots and the Lake. Rows of houses on the open prairie in two or three ranges, indicate the spots on which half mile squares have been roughly laid off



by the settlers, and where in a year or two there will be valuable and fertile farms. In some places the settlement extends near to the lake shore.

The main body of the new immigrants have gone further west—between the Portage and Rat Creek, on the banks of Rat Creek, between the Portage and White Mud, and on the banks of White Mud, from its mouth for many miles up. At the Third Crossing, as it is called (which is not, as generally supposed, the White Mud River, but is really Pine Creek, or, as the Indians call it, Manito-mena-qua), the great bulk of the new population is clustered. In all, judging from the houses in course of erection, and from the best evidence that could be procured by the party, there are about six hundred persons added to the population of the Western district by the immigration of the present year.

All along the banks of White Mud River and Pine Creek, houses are being built and preparations made for the coming winter. The place is alive with the sounds of industry. Everything indicates vigor and activity—the settlers are gathering hay, preparing wood for building, breaking land, and next year the whole face of the country will be changed. The land on the route first travelled by the party is of excellent quality. It is well provided with wood, and the soil, as judged from the places where it was exposed, is excellent. On this road, at the crossing of Rat Creek, is Mr. Kenneth McKenzie's excellent farm, distant some seven miles from the Portage. Already a large quantity of land has been brought under cultivation and wherever the eye wandered, plough and team were at work under the charge of one or other of the seven strapping boys of which Mr. McKenzie's family consists. The party were surprised and delighted to see at this remote part, on the extreme confines of civilization, some of the finest thorough-bred stock that could be found on the continent. We trust that Mr. McKenzie will send to our Exhibition his yearling Durham heifer. We are sure that such an animal would take one of the first prizes in the agricultural shows of Western Canada, so celebrated for the fineness of the stock they exhibit.

In this neighborhood, claims are marked off for several miles, and in some places houses are being erected and fields being ploughed.

But, unquestionably, the favorite spot is on the Upper or North Fort Ellice Road, leading to White Mud River and Pine Creek. Two years since the only settlement at White Mud was at the First Crossing. There, some years ago, Archdeacon Cochrane established an Indian Mission, and called it Westbourne. Till last summer, all the settlement at this place consisted of a few English Half-breeds, some half-dozen in number, who succeeded to the religious privileges which the dispersion of the Indians diverted from the original object. The little church, erected in the middle of a beautiful grove of young oaks on the margin of the stream, has become by the events of a single year the centre of a large population, and Archdeacon McLean, with the energy which always distinguishes his efforts in the cause of his Church, had, just before the arrival of the Governor and party, visited the spot and made arrangements for stationing a clergyman permanently there to break the Bread of Life to men who could hardly have expected so soon to enjoy such a privilege in their western home.

The scenery of the White Mud River is beautiful. Along the margin of the stream the wood is very fine. Forests of oak and maple and poplar stretch away

from the banks on either side to a considerable distance from the river. The prairie is studded with groves and clumps of every variety of shape and form that the most vivid fancy could suggest. Glades of park-like prairie open as the road winds among the trees, and it is impossible to resist the delusion that the visitor is gazing on an English park artistically laid out and beautifully kept. All this, in the lovely light of an autumnal day, with the leaves reflecting every variety of tint, formed a scene that was delightful to gaze upon. Now and then a house built on the edge of a grove, embayed as if to receive and enfold it, suggested the idea of a plantation artificially made for the purpose of shelter. Some of the sites of the dwellings were beautiful in the extreme. The party were much struck with the position of a cottage built by a Mr. Doggett, a Nova Scotian, who has taken up his residence near the Third Crossing. The house is built on the north bank of the river—a beautiful stream flows in front—the house itself nestles at the foot of a maple wood which towers majestically behind it, and sweeping with the curvature of the river, partly encloses it, forming a beautiful background to the silver stream which meanders in the front.

Many of the dwelling houses were built on sites which excited the admiration of the party, who returned from the river with the conviction that, for excellence of soil, beauty of scenery, for abundant supplies of wood and water, the country near the Crossing exceeds anything they had ever seen.

Stretching away to the west from this place, the land is described as increasing, if possible, in beauty and fertility all the way to the Riding Mountains.

The settlers met with on the journey seemed delighted with their selections. In a very short time this tract will, in all probability, be traversed by the Pacific Railway. The settlers who have had the good sense to make their selections in this direction will soon reap, in the enhanced value of their farms, a fit reward for their enterprise in pushing westward.

Two years hence, the White Mud and its affluents will be a continuous farm. In this country there is none of the tedious toil which a settler in the old Provinces has to undergo. Here the farmer may purchase his labor-saving implements and proceed at once to his work. The grass lies spread on the level prairies; he may enter with his mowing machine and cut in any direction any quantity which his needs may suggest; he may gather it with his horse-rake and cart it over roads made without the aid of the hands of man; the plough may be put into the soil the first day of his arrival; no need here to wait months of toil to prostrate the monarchs of the forest; no need to wait till logs are rolled and burned; no need to grub for soil amid the burly roots; no need to wait for years till sun and rain shall rot the charred stumps; no need for the slow and tiresome progress of rooting these from the soil and filling the ungainly wounds their removal makes in the earth's surface. All this is done to hand. Where the Canadian farmer ends, after years of ceaseless toil, there the farmer of this Province begins. Two years only are required to make a farm of any size, and put it into the best condition; the extent is not a question of time but of expenditure. A farm of five acres, or of fifty, or of 500, can be made within the same period—all that is wanted is the capital and the energy. To the men who, in the toil of woodland farming, become prematurely old in the labor of chopping, and rolling, and burning, and grubbing, and



stumping, and levelling—all work which the hand alone can do—what must be the relief to farm where men are not required to do the work of cattle—where their task is to drive, to guide, to plan; in short, to make their cattle, and not themselves, beasts of burden.

The crops of the old settlements on the Assiniboine have been very good this year. All the way up through Poplar Point, High Bluff and the Portage, where the houses are built on the roadside, and not, as is usual in the other parts of the Province, on the river bank, stacks of wheat and barley and oats stand in every homestead. An average of from six to ten of these stacks shews the cereal productions of the farms, and the pure clean straw, glittering in the sunshine, testifies to the quality of the grain.

Some of the farming operations witnessed by the party would astonish an Ontario farmer.

At Poplar Point a settler was threshing his wheat. A ponderous machine drawn by horses was at work; at one end men were pitching the unthreshed grain into the machine; as the straw emerged at the other end other parties were removing it a few feet and burning it as fast as delivered from the machine. In the evening all that remained of the stacks was the grain in one heap and ashes in another. In the East this would be considered a wanton waste; here it is looked upon as labor saved. The limitless prairie yields all the food the cattle require, while the richness and fertility of the soil are such, that the people consider the making or saving of manure as labor lost.

At High Bluff an energetic and enterprising gentleman, who has set an example in farming that the people of the neighborhood would do well to imitate, pointed out the richness and the depth of his soil. He had dug a lime kiln, and the section showed a solid bed of over two feet of the richest mould. He asked triumphantly whether any soil such as that could be shown, even in the rich Province of Ontario, from which he had come. There is no wonder that with ground like this, attempts to make or save manure are at present looked upon with derision. In this quarter the main difficulty seems to be how to get rid of the manure. The party saw what had been the site of a barn. It had assumed the shape of an old cellar—in point of fact the barn had been used till heaps of manure collected all around it had rendered it inaccessible; it was then removed to some distance, again to be surrounded, and barricaded, and smothered; and then, if the timber is sound enough, to be again removed. The time will come when the value of these heaps, even with land such as ours, will be appreciated. Meanwhile, the Legislature have passed a law to prevent their being thrown into the river. It is possible the time may come when it may be thought worth while to dispose of them on the fields. The manure heaps of this settlement, if in Ontario, would sell for more than the cost here of the 'fee simple' of the farms on which they lie and rot.

The Governor, on his return from White Mud to the Portage, was waited upon by a number of the inhabitants, who expressed their desire to present him an address. They suggested that it should be received the next day at the Parish school house. At the time appointed the house was filled by the principal part of the old residents of the Parish, and a number of the recent immigrants. Mr. Set-

ter read the address. His Excellency's reply was listened to with marked attention and respect, and after the reading, a number of the principal inhabitants were presented to the Lieutenant Governor, who expressed his gratification in making their acquaintance, and conversed freely with them for some time. The meeting was closed with three hearty cheers for the Queen, and three more for the Lieutenant Governor.

The party returned to the Seat of Government much delighted with all they had seen and heard, and fully satisfied that there is no finer country in the world than the one lying towards the Western boundary of this Province."

During the summer the affairs of the Province presented so pacific an aspect that the Dominion Government yielding to the pressure of opponents who were clamoring against the expense of maintaining an armed body of troops at Manitoba, moved their disbandment, with the exception of eighty men intended to guard the stores at Fort Garry. Some of the men returned to Ontario, others took up lands in the Province, while the worst of them remained about Winnipeg and were an element of danger to the country.

During the summer an agricultural society was formed which determined upon having an Exhibition on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of October. Extensive preparations were made to carry out the arrangements, and the Exhibition, which took place on the days named, brought together a collection of horses and stock which would have been creditable to a country much more advanced, and of roots and cereals that no country could surpass.

The peace and quiet of the country were rudely shocked by alarming rumours which had gradually become current of an armed invasion. The first loose report of the kind reached the ears of the Lieutenant Governor on the eve of his return journey from the West during the last week in September. These rumours gradually grew more and more circumstantial, till they assumed a shape which seemed to require vigorous action.

On the 3rd October, 1871, the first day of the Exhibition, the Lieutenant Governor issued the following Proclamation :—

*"To our loving subjects of the Province of Manitoba, GREETING :—*

Whereas, intelligence has just been received from trustworthy sources that a band of lawless men, calling themselves Fenians, have assembled on the Frontier Line of the United States, at or near Pembina, and that they intend to make a raid into this Province from a country with which We are at peace, and to commit acts of depredation, pillage and robbery and other outrages upon the persons and property of Our loving subjects, the inhabitants of this Province. While not unprepared to meet the emergency with Our regular forces, We do hereby warn all



Our said loving subjects to put themselves in readiness at once to assist in repelling this outrage upon their hearths and homes. We enjoin them immediately to assemble in their respective parishes and enroll themselves for this purpose. We call upon all Our said loving subjects, irrespective of race, of religion, or of past local differences, to rally round the flag of Our common country. We enjoin them to select the best men of each locality to be officers, whom We shall duly authorize and commission, and We enjoin the officers so selected, to put themselves in immediate communication with the Lieutenant Governor of Our said Province. We shall take care that persons possessed of military skill and experience shall be detailed to teach the necessary drill and discipline. All officers and men when called into service shall receive the pay and allowances given to the Regular Militia. The country need feel no alarm. We are quite able to repel these outlaws, however numerous. The handful of them who threaten Us can give no serious difficulty to brave men, who have their homes and families to defend. Rally, then, at once! We rely upon the prompt response of all Our people of every origin, to this, Our call."

Of this, the *Manitoban* of the 7th October, 1871, observes:—

"No proclamation ever met with a more hearty response. Two hours after the proclamation was issued the men of Winnipeg turned out *almost* to a man, and a monster meeting was held at the Court House. It was found the Court room would not contain a third of those who had assembled, and accordingly the meeting was held in the open air. Mr. Garratt was called on to preside, and stirring speeches were made.

Archdeacon McLean thrilled the audience in an address replete with force and power, the Rev. Messrs. Young and Black and Mr. D. A. Smith followed in a similar strain, and from the enthusiasm manifested it was evident that the men of Winnipeg were not only alive to the importance of the crisis, but were prepared to go shoulder to shoulder to face the foe that menaced the Province. A list was opened, and before the evening was ended every man in Winnipeg with the exception of ten or twelve (of whom more again) had enrolled himself a volunteer.

But this manifestation of spirit and loyalty was not confined to Winnipeg, Although the Proclamation was not issued till Tuesday afternoon, on Wednesday the people of Winnipeg were somewhat surprised to see marching along the street some forty men from Mapleton, hearty and spirited after a walk of some thirty miles. On Thursday morning the Parish of Kildonan turned out to a man, and it did one's heart good to see some of the old veterans, 'leaning on their staves for very age,' hobbling along prepared, to fight for their hearths and homes, manifesting even in these modern days the spirit which Burns ascribes to Scotchmen of old, a true appreciation of

'Now's the day and now's the hour.'

In fact all over the Province, among English and French, amongst young and old, there was such a spirit manifested that it was evident that O'Neil and O'Donoghue had a day's work before them ere they could take Manitoba."

A body of some two hundred troops, under command of Major Irvine, crossed the Assiniboine at Fort Garry to meet the invaders at the frontier. It was very uncertain what were the numbers of the Fenians at the border. They were variously estimated at from two hundred to one thousand, and, having the sympathies of the border population, it was impossible to conjecture how many of these people would be found to swell their ranks.

Meanwhile the Lieutenant Governor was exceedingly anxious about the part which should be taken by the French Half-breeds on this occasion. He, therefore, when the rumours of invasion assumed definite shape, put himself in communication with the French Members of the Legislature, Archbishop Taché and the clergy, who were the natural leaders of these people, to bring about a co-operation of the entire population to resist the invasion.

He had succeeded in persuading them to come into line, and while the English were the first to respond to the call, the French Parishes held meetings at which they determined to unite in resisting the invaders. When the troops had reached a point some ten miles south of Fort Garry on the march to the front, intelligence reached Colonel Irvine that the Fenians had crossed the border, and robbed the Hudson Bay Fort, near the boundary line, but had been followed by Captain Wheaton, of the United States Army, in command at Pembina, who with a company of his regulars had dispersed the marauders and made prisoners of their leaders.

Major Irvine forwarded the report to Fort Garry, with a statement that he had information there was to be a renewal of the raid the next day, and asked for fifty additional troops to be sent to the front. With his message he sent letters from Hudson's Bay and Dominion officials near the frontier, confirming the report of a renewed raid, stating it as his belief, and that of the French Half-breeds in the neighborhood, that the rumour was well grounded.

Letters containing this information reached the Lieut. Governor on Sunday morning. It became, therefore, of the first importance immediately to secure the adhesion of the French to the defence of the country. A body of mounted French Half-Breeds had assembled to the number of two hundred or thereabouts, on the east side of Red River, at St. Boniface, who had sent word through Mr. Girard, the Provincial Treasurer, that they wished to have an interview with the Lieutenant Governor to assure him of their loyalty and willingness to be enlisted in the defence of their country.



The Lieutenant Governor accordingly crossed the river with Capt. McDonald, of the Militia, and was received with great enthusiasm. The people had, under the terms of the Proclamation, chosen their captains and lieutenants, who were ranged in order with their companies, and were formally introduced, by Mr. Girard, as the officers whom the people had chosen.

The interview was concluded by three cheers for the Queen and three for the Lieutenant Governor. The adherence of the whole people was thus secured, and the country was safe from any chance of the marauders being joined by a section of the population.

O'Donoghue, the leader of the band, having escaped from Cap. Wheaton's Company, was subsequently arrested in British Territory, some miles from the border, by some French Half-breeds, and brought to the border. Mr. Bradley, the British Custom House officer at that quarter, not being aware of the demonstration made by the French Parishes, and fearing to send the prisoner through the settlements intervening between the frontier and Fort Garry, decided to hand him over to Captain Wheaton, who took charge of him, but the civil authorities intervening, discharged him and the other prisoners.

On the 3rd October, the Lieutenant Governor issued the following Proclamation:

“TO THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

In the name of the Queen I thank you, one and all, for the promptitude and spirit with which you have rushed to the defence of the country, when called upon by Her Majesty's Proclamation.

From the moment when the rumours of a Fenian raid assumed a character to be relied upon, my great anxiety was, that our people, irrespectively of past differences, should present a united front to the band of miscreants—the scum of the cities of the United States—who were collecting on our border for purposes of plunder, robbery and murder.

I had the best reason to know that the plans of the marauders were based on the belief that there were divisions in your ranks which would drive a part of the population into their arms.

O'Donoghue, one of the leaders of the gang, assured his companions that, on their arrival at the frontier, they would be joined by a party of our people disaffected to the Crown, and ready to aid any invasion.

The events of the last few days have repelled this slander. At this moment our whole population has assumed an attitude which affords no encouragement to these dastardly marauders.

On Tuesday, the 3rd inst., information reached me, that left no doubt of a raid being at hand.

On Wednesday, I issued a proclamation, calling upon you to assemble and enroll in your various parishes. Copies were distributed all over the Province, and, by the evening of Thursday, the people of every English parish had met, had made up, and sent to me, lists shewing 1,000 men, ready at a moment's warning to shoulder their muskets and march to the front.

In the French parishes, meetings were also held, and by the same evening I was assured, upon unquestionable authority, that my proclamation would meet with a loyal response. I suggested that it should be such as to admit of no misinterpretation, and received the assurance that it would assume a shape entirely satisfactory.

The reports from the front on Thursday left no doubt that the raid was to commence at once, and next day, orders were given to advance a body of troops towards the frontier.

Major Irvine detailed, with that view, the bulk of the Service Companies in the Fort, two of those organized at Winnipeg, under Captains Mulvey and Kennedy, and a Company of Canadians and Half-breed French under Captain de Plainval.

In two hours from the issue of the order, two hundred men, with their accoutrements, camp equipages and munitions of war, were across the Assiniboine *en route* for the frontier. The movement was executed in a manner that reflects the highest credit on Major Irvine, the officers of the different corps, and the men.

The march was continued till events occurred to render further advance unnecessary.

On Thursday, about noon, Colonel Wheaton, of the U. S. forces stationed at Pembina, with a loyal discharge of international duties, honorable alike to himself and to his country, attacked and dispersed the raiders as they were crossing the frontier, making prisoners of their self-styled Generals, and a number of the privates.

O'Donoghue escaped to this side of the line, but was arrested in the course of the evening by some French Half-breeds. During the night, under a mistaken view of what was best to be done, he was taken to the frontier and placed in the same custody as the other prisoners, by parties who acted very naturally under the circumstances, but still in a way to be regretted.

Meanwhile, the French parishes were completing the arrangements which I had been assured were in contemplation. On the afternoon of the 8th inst., about 4 o'clock, Mr. Royal, the Speaker of the Assembly; Mr. Girard, the Provincial Treasurer, and several other of the Representatives of the French parishes, waited on me to say that a body of French Half-breeds were assembled on the east bank of the Red River, and wished to be permitted to assure me personally of their loyalty, and to proffer their services as soldiers. I went over immediately, in company with Captain McDonald, the commander at Fort Garry in Major Irvine's absence. I found assembled on the bank 200 able-bodied French Métis; of these, fifty were mounted, and a considerable part of the whole body had fire-arms.

They received me with a *feu de joie*.

Mr. Girard then, in the name of the men assembled—in the name of the French Métis of all the Parishes—expressed, amid loud cheers and much



enthusiasm, the loyalty and devotion of the Métis of every origin; and assured me they had rallied to the support of the Crown, and were prepared to do their duty as loyal subjects in repelling any raid that might now, or hereafter, be made on the country.

I thanked the people very cordially for the assurances given in their name, and told them I should take care to make this demonstration of their feelings known to His Excellency the Governor General.

If among these people there were—and I believe there were—some persons whose exceptional position might have led O'Donoghue to look for their support, it only adds to the value of the demonstration, and removes the last hope of the miscreants who have invaded your soil that they would receive sympathy or aid from any class of the population.

On Monday, the troops returned to the Fort, and the volunteers from Winnipeg were allowed to go to their homes and resume their occupations.

I regret to have to inform you that, on the same day, the United States civil authorities at Pembina, to whom Colonel Wheaton was obliged to hand over his prisoners, discharged these marauders, for reasons which I am unable to comprehend, and that one of them, O'Donoghue, still remains in the neighborhood of Pembina, awaiting an opportunity of renewing the attack. Nevertheless, the raid for the moment is over. If renewed, it will not be immediately. If the Fenians were men actuated by ordinary reason, it would never be renewed. But they are not. They will trade, while they can, upon the simplicity of their dupes, and hope by excitement to replenish their exhausted exchequer. There is nothing in the wickedness or folly of any scheme to prevent their attempting it.

Rest assured I shall watch over your safety. Should danger come, you will be appealed to again, and you will respond like men of courage—of loyalty—of patriotism.

The Queen relies upon the fidelity of her people of this Province, of every origin.

ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD, *Lieut. Governor.*

Winnipeg, Oct. 13, 1871.

The importance of getting the adhesion of all sections of the population was, at the time, loyally admitted on all hands; but, without some explanation, the circumstances would not be so well understood beyond the Province.

A glance at the map of Manitoba will shew that the Assiniboine, running in a course from west to east, meets the Red River, which runs from north to south. Fort Garry is situated at the north of the Assiniboine and the west of Red River at the point of their junction.

Between the Assiniboine and the frontier, a space of about sixty miles along both margins of the Red River, the population was entirely French.

Below the mouth of the Assiniboine the settlements on Red River were entirely English, so were they for some ten miles up the Assiniboine. Then came a large parish of French, and then again the English settlements—Poplar Point and Portage la Prairie.

Thus the English population were divided into two sections by the French parishes on the Assiniboine, whose people had free communication with the French settlements on the north and a direct road across the prairie to the American settlement of St. Joseph, containing a French Half-breed population in active sympathy with the insurgents; consequently the English population were all on the north side of the Assiniboine, with no outlet east, west, or north. The lakes and swamps of the east interposed an impenetrable barrier, particularly in winter, between the Province and Canada; westward the prairies, inhabited only by savages, extended for eight hundred miles. On the north there was no outlet. While therefore on the approach of the early winter of the North West the English were shut up in a *cul de sac*, south of the Assiniboine the whole world was open to the French Half-breeds. The question of life and death for the infant colony depended on the action of the French settlements between Fort Garry and the American boundary. The moment these men joined the invaders, the American frontier would be advanced to the Assiniboine. The country between it and the frontier becoming the reward of the marauders, with the probability of a large influx of the men who constitute the class of filibusters in the United States. The inroad would have lost the character of a Fenian attack, the adhesion of half the population would have given it the proportions and character of a civil war, and the people of the United States, whatever might have been the wishes of their Government, would have been dragged into the quarrel. There were other circumstances to aggravate the position at the moment.

Mention has been already made of the feelings of the class of men who enlisted as soldiers. The same feeling was prevalent among the emigrants from Ontario. So that when the disbanded soldiers and the emigrants were in search of land, they did not take much pains to spare the feelings of the French Half-breeds.

A body of these emigrants had during the summer made selection of a tract of land on the river "Aux Isles de Bois." It was true that the same tract had previously been in the possession of the Half-breeds, and that the rights of possession were assured by the Manitoban Act, but the tract of land being admirably situated for farming purposes, was



enough for the new comers. They took possession of it in spite of the French, and by way of insult to the religion of the Half-breeds, christened their new home by the name of "The Boyne." This, of course, inflamed the French; they met in several of their settlements and arranged to arm and proceed in a body to drive off the invaders. The Lieutenant Governor heard of the meetings, and immediately sent for the leading French members of the Legislature and other influential men on that side, and after great efforts and much persuasion induced them to give up their determination and await redress to be obtained by due course of law.

In this condition of affairs, with so much of inflammable material accumulated; with the feeling on the part of the Half-breeds that they had been robbed of their rights; with the dread that this was only a foretaste of what was to come, it may readily be imagined what was the danger of the position. A single spark might cause a conflagration. It required great delicacy and some tact to induce these people, who had already been in armed insurrection, and who were now treated as enemies by many of the English population, not to be what they were supposed to be; they argued with some force that if they were to be dealt with as public enemies, they could hardly be called on to incur the dangers or assume the responsibilities of friends.

Happily the danger was averted; several companies of Half-breeds were organized, and did good service in scouring the plains and preventing the second inroad which was generally believed to be intended.

While the danger existed there was on the spot a general feeling that the French Half-breeds had done their duty. But it was not very long before the old antagonisms were revived, and, now that all fear of danger had subsided, the worst construction was put upon the action of the French. It was asserted that so long as the danger continued they were hesitating and uncertain, and that their loyalty came only after the danger had passed away. This was unjust to the French; their movements though less rapid than those of the English, were not too late to be useful, and their action put an end to the idea that a Fenian invasion would enlist on its side any part of the French population. This was a sore discouragement to O'Donoghue and the other men who had traded on a different belief.

The French felt the injustice of the charges made against them all

the more that they well understood the importance of the assistance they had given in a critical emergency. Still, as the autumn went on and the people returned to their usual vocations with a sense of security from future inroads, the differences between two sections living almost entirely apart, produced little or no effect on the progress and prosperity of the country.

In an editorial of the *Manitoban* newspaper, published on the 1st January, 1872, the changes that the country had undergone are thus graphically and truthfully described:—

“Be ours the task—an humble, but not necessarily useless task—to review the year, so far as our little Province is concerned. To the bulk of the outside world, our affairs may be of little moment. To us who have made Manitoba our home—to those who purpose to make it their home,—it cannot but be interesting to know what progress a year has made in laying the foundations of Civil Government in the country, and paving the way for the prosperous future that awaits us.

We shall begin with the time when the Lieutenant Governor landed at Fort Garry. This will comprise rather more than a year, but so little more, that, up to the present moment, we may assume to be dealing with the first year of Manitoba.

Let us recall for a moment the excitement which existed at the period when our review commences. It was a time of universal uneasiness. We shall not refer to the events of 1869 and 1870, further than to say that they had left behind them memories of the most painful and irritating character, and that a large portion of the people felt that the time had come to exact a return in kind for the sufferings of which their memories supplied such vivid recollections.

The excitement was still further increased by the presence of bands of roving Indians scattered up and down through the settlements. These savages drawn to the front by the prospects of war, had been appealed to for support, and, from fear or recklessness, had received promises it was impossible to fulfil. They were hovering round the settlements in a state of starvation, living on pillage and making night hideous with their frightful orgies. The antagonism between the English and French races divided the country into two hostile camps—not only arrayed against each other, but subject to the danger of collision with the hungry and disappointed savages who were prowling about the settlements. This was not a state of things to be rashly dealt with. It required great tact, great courtesy, and great firmness to dispel the elements of danger and bring about a better state of affairs. To this task the Lieutenant Governor devoted himself. He sought to soothe the irritated passions of the two white races; he persuaded the Indians to return to their hunting grounds; gave them food to carry them there, and powder and shot to enable them to support themselves by hunting when there. Gradually, the seething excitement began to subside, and in the course of a few months a feeling of safety and security dawned upon all classes, and our people, in the usual employments of peace, began to forget the troubles and turmoils, through which they had passed.

The establishment of a Police force was one of the first requirements for the



organization of stable Government. This was done as rapidly as the circumstances of the country permitted, and we may say of the Police, which has now been organized for a year, that, first year though it be, and with all its shortcomings, it may fairly challenge comparison with that of older countries. For the last nine months, life and property in this Province, have been as secure as in any other Province of the Dominion.

The next thing to be done towards organizing Civil Government was to obtain an accurate knowledge of the number and distribution of the people. Arrangements were made for that purpose. The census had to be taken under circumstances when it was all important not only that it should be done fairly but that the returns should be above doubt or suspicion. The arrangements made were without precedent, as the result is beyond experience. Each return for every District is certified and attested by men enjoying the confidence of the most opposite sections of the population. An Englishman and a Frenchman, a Protestant and a Catholic, men of the most opposite political and religious sentiments, have united in signing each return, and swearing to its correctness; and at this moment no man doubts that the Census has been impartially and honestly taken.

After this came the necessary preparations for the introduction of representative institutions. There was no Election Law in the country. A law had to be framed by the Lieutenant Governor under the provisions of the Act of Manitoba. The country was divided into twenty-four Electoral Divisions. The proceedings at the hustings were conducted by men, scarcely one of whom had ever seen an election, yet their duties were discharged in a manner that would have reflected credit on any country.

When Parliament met, a code of laws was submitted and passed, laying broad the foundations of civil government—a code which, we may venture to say, will challenge comparison with the first year's work of any Legislature in the world.

Already, we have had the experience of a twelve-month under these laws, and it will be found, when the Legislature meets again, that amendments, if any are required, will be in the way of extension and development. The simplicity of the original laws was intentional. They were framed to admit additions or enlargements without violence to the original fabric, and to receive such additions and enlargements as the circumstances of the country demanded them. Till this code was passed, crime could not be punished in the Province. Not that the court was without jurisdiction, but there was no power to convene a grand jury, and without a grand jury, there could be no indictment. There was no authority to summon a petit jury, and without a petit jury there could be no trial. From the time, therefore, when the Governor arrived, till the third day of April, when this law passed, our tribunals had no power to punish. Offenders, to be sure, might be arrested; but they must have remained in prison or be let loose again on the community without conviction or punishment.

Under the new law, the machinery of the court has been called into operation. The grand inquest has been convoked; juries summoned and impanelled; offenders indicted, tried, convicted, and condemned. The astute lawyers who were engaged in the defence failed to find a single flaw in the machinery constructed to carry out the laws of the land.

The only gaol existing in the country at the time of the Lieutenant Governor's arrival, he found occupied by the military as an hospital. Besides this, the old gaol had an inauspicious history—its doors had so often yielded to pressure from within, that it could hardly be looked upon as a place of safe custody. It was therefore necessary to provide other prisons.

A Police Station was built at Winnipeg, and a suitable stone building at the Lower Fort, hired from the Hudson Bay Company, was repaired and remodelled to adapt it to the purposes of a Gaol and Penitentiary.

At the last meeting of the General Court the grand jury visited this prison and pronounced the highest eulogium on its condition and management.

Next came the question of the Indians. We have seen the state of their feelings when they left the settlement. They had been promised that they should be sent for when the spring came round, and dealt with for their lands. They were summoned to meet at the Lower Fort. After a fortnight's tedious discussion, after the patience of every body was exhausted, a solution was at length reached, and a treaty made which, while doing full justice to the Indians, at the same time provides for the cession of their rights upon terms which contrast very favorably with those contained in the treaties the Americans have made with the tribes across the frontier. It is something to have conducted an operation of this kind with two thousand savages encamped for a fortnight in the midst of our population, and all this without disturbance or disorder of any kind, without a blow being struck, or even a glass of intoxicating liquor being consumed, by a people whose craving for drink amounts to insanity.

It may be possible that the police arrangements which established a cordon on every road, and permitted no intoxicating liquors to pass, were a little beyond the strict letter of the law, but it was worth while to strain a point to be able to place before the world the spectacle of a vast horde of savages demeaning themselves for a fortnight with a decency and propriety which might well put our civilization to the blush.

The Indians returned to their homes without committing the smallest depredation, even to the extent of taking a pole from a farmer's fence or a potato from his field.

A similar treaty was negotiated shortly afterwards at Lake Manitoba. Under the arrangements so made, a tract of land equal to four such Provinces as this has been thrown open for occupation and cultivation.

When the Lieutenant Governor came here, there was no postal system in operation. Once a week our mails were carried to Pembina. We had to pay a fee on every letter sent there. We had, also, to frank our letters with American stamps, and to transmit them, subject to inspection at the American border, by the people who throng the office at Pembina, many of whom had been connected with our troubles here in a way to make this inspection most undesirable. In a year all this has changed. Our mails are transmitted and received three times a week instead of once. They are carried in closed bags, sealed before they leave the territory of the Dominion and kept sealed till they reach it again. They are carried, not as formerly, in a Red River cart, but in carriages drawn by four horses and driven at the rate of seven miles an hour. All over the country, post offices



have been established on a simple system, and there is not a cluster of houses in any part of the Province sufficiently compact to be called a settlement where the mail is not, once a week at least, in many places twice a week, received with its welcome budget of letters and intelligence.

The vast interior lying to our west, has hitherto been open only to the dog-train or the Red River cart. At this moment, within a few miles of where we write, may be seen the hulls of two steamers—one of which, in the early part of next season, will startle with its shrill whistle the wandering savages of Lake Manitoba; while the echoes of the others will reverberate from the winding banks of the Saskatchewan.

The interior will hereafter be accessible without exposure and without toil, and the shrieks of the steamship along the great river of the West will herald a population that will spread itself along its banks, and carry the arts of civilization and refinement to our western wilds.

A year ago we were riven by intestine dissensions and angry feelings—some of our people, few in number but noisy in demonstration—with little to lose and everything to gain from civil convulsions, did their best to inflame these dangerous passions. A band of lawless men speculated upon this state of things and invaded our territory, hoping that in the excitement of passion one half our people would flock to their standard. The indignant uprising of a thousand Englishmen, ready to defend their country and their flag—the united phalanx of the French Métis of all the parishes, avowing a determination to rally to the Crown, was the response these marauders received. We gave proof to the invaders and to the world that, differ as we might among ourselves on matters of minor moment, our hearts were right and our hands ready when duty called us to the defence of our common country.

A year ago it took thirty days to receive from Ottawa a reply to a telegraphic message; now as many hours suffice.

A year ago the nearest communication with the outside world was by way of St. Cloud. A dreary journey of 400 miles separated Fort Garry from the terminus of the railway.

In one year the iron road has abridged that distance by half, and we are now within 200 miles of the North Pacific Crossing at Morehead, in the neighborhood of Georgetown.

A little over a year ago the military expedition, sent from Collingwood by the Lakes, after prodigies of toil and endurance, succeeded in reaching Fort Garry by the circuitous route of the Winnipeg River, after a march of three months. This year, so much is the line improved, that 200 men, at a season when snow and frost had increased enormously the hardships of the route, reached Fort Garry in perfect health, and without an accident, in twenty days from the day they left Thunder Bay.

A year ago, the question of a railway to the Pacific was a thing of theory. Its practicability was based upon conjecture. The whole country between this and the western frontier of Ontario was unknown. During the past season the intervening space has been divided into sections. An efficient surveying party has been despatched into each, while between Fort Garry and the West a party has been

organized to reconnoitre the ground and pursue their explorations till they shall meet, in the gorges of the Rocky Mountains, other parties sent out from the Pacific Coast. By the time Parliament shall have met, the Government of the Dominion will be in a position to judge of the whole line of country intervening between the Ottawa and the borders of the Pacific Ocean.

A year ago there was neither custom house nor customs' officers to be found in the Province. The Act of Manitoba had continued the powers of the officials of the Hudson Bay Company, but the men were either ignorant of, or failed to discharge, their duty—no entries were made—no duties collected. When it became desirable to ascertain, approximately, the extent of our importations, the Lieutenant Governor was obliged to resort to the offices of a foreign country, and form his estimate from the entries for exportation made in the United States custom house at Pembina. Mr. Spencer was sent here to organize the department, and, under his able and efficient management, the customs have been put in perfect order.

When he arrived, the authority of the Dominion officials to collect duties was denied. A leading trader from Montreal, gravely alleging that he had the best advice the bar of that city could furnish, deliberately refused to pay duties and threatened resistance if any attempt were made to collect them. Mr. Spencer acted with vigor. Supported by the police authorities, he seized the goods of the offender, and proceeded to deal with them according to law. One example was sufficient. From that hour to this no man has ventured to refuse, and Mr. Spencer's arrangements leave no chance to evade the payment of duties.

Under a tariff of 4 per cent., \$40,000 have poured, during the present year, into the treasury of the Dominion. With the tariff what it will be after 12th May, 1873, the duties of this year would have more than doubled the sum allotted by the Act of Manitoba to the uses of this Province.

A year ago there was not a line run or a Crown Land Surveyor to be found in the Province. The maps of the country were made from the crudest information. Its physical features were distorted—the lakes and rivers misplaced. Now the whole Province has been mapped off into blocks containing four townships each; the site of the rivers and lakes ascertained, the errors in the topography adjusted, and arrangements for the final subdivision into sections so far complete as to make the country ready for any amount of immigration in the coming year.

The local management of the Crown domain has been placed in charge of Mr. M'Micken, and that gentleman has entered upon the business of his office with an energy and spirit which guarantee his fitness for the difficult and laborious duties incident to the position.

May we not fairly say, then, that this Province has made great strides during the year that is just closing?

Out of the chaos in which the arrival of the Lieutenant Governor found us, order and peace have been evoked. The excitements of times of trouble have passed away. A police has been organized; an enumeration of the inhabitants made; the country has been parcelled off into electoral divisions; elections have been held; an Assembly returned and convened; a responsible Ministry constituted; a code of laws enacted; courts of justice organized, and put in operation; justice



administered ; criminals tried, convicted, and sentenced ; the Indian title to half a continent released ; the public domain of the Province surveyed, laid off in blocks, and made ready for immigration ; lines of communication with Thunder Bay by the lakes, and with Duluth and St. Paul by the United States, improved ; steamships for communicating with the interior in course of construction, and railway explorations across the Continent almost complete ; mail routes and post offices established all over the Province ; custom houses instituted and duties collected ; and last of all, a telegraph line built, making us part and parcel of the living world. We may well ask whether the crowding of all these events into the compass of a single year is not a theme upon which we may congratulate ourselves and the Dominion to which we belong. We challenge the world to produce an instance where such an amount of work in any country, or about any country, has crowded the annals of a single year. Some of this work has been done outside of the authorities of the Dominion, but it is fair to say even of what has been so done, that much of it is due to the energy with which the Dominion and the local authorities have applied themselves to the task of opening and developing the vast resources of the country committed to their charge.

Of the rest of the work we are not concerned to apportion to each of the parties engaged in it the exact measure of praise which may be due.

Where all have worked well it would be invidious to distinguish, but this we may say, that the Government of the Dominion, and the officials they have sent here, the Lieutenant Governor of the Province and the gentlemen with whom he has been surrounded as his constitutional advisers, have acted with but one aim—that of faithfully discharging the responsible functions which the possession of this noble heritage imposes upon those who have in their hand the administration of public affairs.”

On the opening of the Session of 1872, the Lieutenant Governor was able to congratulate the Houses on the progress of the Province during the year past. In alluding to the Fenian invasion he said:—

“ I have reason to congratulate you on the attitude assumed by all classes of the people on the occasion of the recent Fenian raid.

Your loyal response, irrespectively of race and creed, to the call made upon you to rally round the flag of the Empire, is a convincing proof of the soundness of the policy which, notwithstanding the troubles of the past, has aimed to treat you all as one people, interested in a common country and sharers of a common destiny. That policy, uniting the whole people in support of the Throne, enables me to deal vigorously with offences committed since the official responsibilities of Canada commenced. The Government accepts it as a paramount duty to preserve peace and maintain order in the Province.”

He called attention to the necessity of some additional legislation in these words:—

“ A year's experience of the laws passed at the last Session has proved the wisdom of the principle on which you acted in adapting your legislation to the existing condition of the country. There is little in these enactments which will

require amendment, but the development of the institutions of the Province, and the necessity of keeping pace with its progress, will require some additional legislation."

In reference to emigration he said :—

"This subject demands, and, I am convinced, will receive, your attentive consideration. No part of the British Dominions presents such a field for immigration as the country intervening between the Lake of the Woods and the Rocky Mountains. Of the questions which concern the country so situate, none can compare in importance with the one to which your attention is now invited. The future of this country will be largely shaped by the mode in which the question of immigration shall be dealt with, under the joint authority of the Dominion and the Province."

The results of the Session were exceedingly satisfactory. The laws suggested were carried through with little delay. Attempts were made by the extreme English party in the House to revive the old antagonisms, but the sense of the House being opposed to such action, all the motions on the subject were voted down by a majority of eighteen to five.

On the close of the Session, the Lieutenant Governor was able to congratulate the Houses on the important addition made to the Legislation of the Province.

In reference to the state of the country, he said :—

"Eighteen months of tranquillity are already producing good fruit.

This is seen in the development and activity of every industrial pursuit, in the enhanced value of landed property, in the new branches of enterprise springing up among you on all sides, in the hopefulness for the future which pervades the entire population. Let the wise councils which have brought about so happy a condition of affairs continue to prevail. If we cultivate among ourselves a spirit of harmony and good will; if we discharge the duties devolving on us, under responsible institutions, in such a way as to invite and encourage to come among us a class of immigrants that will improve and develop our country, we shall afford the best proof it is possible to give that we are animated by a spirit of true patriotism and loyalty."

This is the policy which the Lieutenant Governor made it a point at all times to avow and encourage.

To those of the English extreme party who were constantly clamoring for proceedings which would revive the feelings of 1869 he represented how much better it would be to await the victory which could be won constitutionally by the exercise of a little patience; that the main influx of immigration would, from the situation of the country, necessarily be from Ontario; that everything was being made ready for any immigration that should come; that peace and good order in the



country were all the encouragement which immigration would need ; that if they kept open their doors, and did not by intestine broils frighten away the people that were ready to enter, a year or two would make a thorough change in the elements and proportions of the population, and that, when the next election came round, a victory at the hustings would in a legitimate way bring about a peaceful revolution that would necessarily give the power into the hands of the English. The only fear he had was that the revolution would come before the exasperations of 1869 had been sufficiently soothed, and before the extreme English party were prepared to extend to the section of the population which had been misled in 1869 that forgiveness which was necessary to secure the peace and progress of the Province.

The Lieutenant Governor when accepting the appointment had stipulated that he was to return to the East after a year, and having now filled the position for double that time, claimed to be relieved, or at all events to be allowed, after a period of great toil, to visit the Eastern Provinces.

Mr. Archibald left Manitoba in June, 1873, on a visit to the Eastern Provinces. His great services called for a more than passing recognition, and on the 25th June, he was waited upon by a deputation who presented him with an address on the occasion of his departure from the Province. Amongst those present were the Ven. Archdeacon Cowley, Andrew McDermott, Esq., Hon. Attorney General Clarke, Hon. Provincial Treasurer Howard, Hon. Provincial Secretary Royal, Mr. Bannatyne, Wm. Drever, jun., Dr. Bird, M.P.P., J. W. Taylor, American Consul ; Mr. McMurray, Mr. McTavish, M.P.P., Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Beauchemin, M.P.P., Mr. R. Cunningham, Mr. Schmidt, M.P.P., Mr. Lemay, M.P.P., Dr. O'Donnell, Hon. Pascal Breland, Mr. C. Nolin, Hon. A. Boyd, Mr. A. M. Brown, Mr. G. B. Spencer, Mr. Thos. Spence, Mr. Blanchard, Mr. Bouthillier, &c., &c.

Mr. McDermott presented to His Excellency the address, which was also read in French by Mr. Lemay :—

“ TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. ADAMS GEORGE ARCHIBALD,  
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF MANITOBA, &c., &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :—We, the subjects of Her Majesty, resident in Manitoba, beg leave most sincerely to offer you, on the occasion of your departure from the Province, our most sincere congratulations on the fair, able and impartial manner in which you have administered the very arduous and onerous duties devolving upon you as the Governor of this Province. We beg leave to assure you

that on leaving us you carry with you the esteem and gratitude of all good and loyal men. Your policy, as we view it, has been in the highest degree successful in securing peace and prosperity in the Province, and your statesmanlike action has resulted in bringing about a state of matters which could hardly have been anticipated.

Whilst many of your acts and motives have been misrepresented and condemned for party purposes by a certain section of the press and people of the other Provinces in the Dominion, we, who have had the opportunity of realizing from day to day the result of your policy, and who from experience can compare the present comparatively happy and prosperous state of the country with the state of confusion it was in when you arrived in our midst, can only assure your Excellency that the Dominion of Canada owes you a deep debt of gratitude for the unceasing labor and untiring care with which you have crowned your policy with success.

Trusting that your Excellency, with Mrs. Archibald, when you return home, will meet your family in good health, and that you will be long spared to be useful in any sphere to which you may be appointed is the earnest wish of the undersigned."

This address was signed by nearly one thousand people irrespective of class, races and religion. His Honor replied as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,—The address you have just presented me is signed by so large a proportion of the substantial inhabitants of the Province, that I may fairly accept it as expressing the voice of the mass of the people. The generous estimate you have formed of my public conduct is most gratifying to me. I have always aimed to deserve your good opinion. I have always believed that, eventually, my motives and conduct would be understood and appreciated; but I did not dare to entertain the hope that the time had already come when the spontaneous voice of the people would award the very flattering testimonial I have this day received from you.

Arriving among you, as I did, at a time of great excitement, when the passions of the people of all classes were much inflamed, I should not have been doing my duty by you or by my Sovereign if I had not counselled and practised the greatest forbearance.

It required no sagacity to foresee that this course would be distasteful to a considerable body of the people of the country. Least of all could I hope it to be acceptable to those of you who, smarting under the recollection of recent sufferings, were not in a frame of mind to form a calm judgment of what was really for the best, in the interests of all. I was, therefore, not surprised at, indeed I fully anticipated, the disappointments and misapprehensions which many of you entertained, flowing, as they naturally did, from this policy of forbearance, but I was content to await, and I am now rewarded for awaiting, the verdict of the sober second thought of the people.

Your address, signed, as it is, by numbers of the persons to whom I refer, shows that I have succeeded in conquering the confidence of many who at first were suspicious or adverse, and I may now fairly cherish the hope that, in parting with you, I leave in the minds of the mass of the people the conviction that, in my



conduct as Governor, I had—as in truth I have had—but one aim, that of promoting the true and lasting interests of the whole people.

Sent here to inaugurate representative and responsible institutions, I had to frame an Administration which would command the confidence of the people. It is most gratifying to me to be able to say that the Administration, so framed, has been sustained through two sessions of the Legislature by an overwhelming majority of the people's representatives—by a majority, not only of the whole of these representatives taken together, but by a majority of each of the races and creeds to which the representatives belong. By a majority, as well of English as of French; by a majority of Protestants, as well as of Catholics; by a majority alike of Half-breeds and men of unmixed blood; a majority, too, which has not only been maintained, but has been actually increased up to the close of the last Session.

You speak in your address of the happy and prosperous condition the country is now in, as compared with the state of confusion which prevailed at the time of my arrival. On this subject, many of you, as old residents of the country, are peculiarly qualified to judge, and the assurance you are able to give is the best justification of the policy which has aimed to administer the public affairs in a spirit of forbearance and fair play.

I have every reason to hope and believe that this happy state of affairs will be maintained. The most difficult and embarrassing questions are either disposed of, or are on the eve of solution.

The laws enacted by your Legislature base your institutions on a solid foundation. With these laws administered by an upright and independent judiciary, you have guaranteed to you the protection of life, liberty and property, and you may look forward, with reason, to an era of increased prosperity. You may fairly hope to see your country and the West assume the position in the Dominion to which they are entitled by their great natural resources and their geographical position.

The inexorable logic of physical facts assigns to the passage scooped by nature through the Rocky Mountains, in the heart of British Territory, a governing influence, in fixing the future course of much of the traffic of three continents. The time is at hand when the Yellow Head Pass, lately established by the Government of the Dominion, as the gateway to the Pacific, will be as well known to commerce as the Straits of Gibraltar or the Isthmus of Suez. The trade with China and the East is one for which nation after nation has contended in Europe, and which has in turn enriched every people that has secured a large share of it. A main current of this trade will flow through your country, and will give a powerful impulse to a prosperity, which, even without it, would be assured by the vast extent, and boundless fertility of the region which lies between the Rocky Mountains and the Lake of the Woods.

It is for the people of this country, and the people who are pouring into it, to prove themselves worthy of the portion which is thus falling to their lot. Go on as you have begun. Build on the foundations you have laid; and, without being a prophet, or the son of a prophet, I may safely predict that you will at no distant date, in the enjoyment of the fruits of a prosperous industry, forget, or will look back with the desire to forget, the clouds and darkness which overshadowed the infancy of the Province, till dispersed by the outburst of this glorious sunshine.

I shall bear with me to my distant home a kindly recollection of you all. I have formed many friendships here ; I have received much kindness from you, and when I leave you, I shall retain a lively interest in your welfare and prosperity.

Mrs. Archibald, whom you associate with me in your good wishes, makes me the channel to convey to you her appreciation of the kindness which we have all received at your hands, and unites with me in wishing you, one and all, a happy and prosperous future.

In July, 1872, the Hon. Alexander Morris, then Minister of Inland Revenue in Sir John Macdonald's Government, had accepted the office of Chief Justice of Manitoba, and on Mr. Archibald's departure for the East he was sworn in as Administrator. Mr. Archibald did not return, and on 2nd December, 1872, Mr. Morris received the appointment of Lieutenant Governor.

Great space has been given to Mr. Archibald's administration, for the reason that his admirable management has gained for him the reputation of an excellent administrator, and because his policy shaped that of his successor. He was peculiarly fitted for the very difficult position. He is by nature of a mild and conciliating disposition, and his knowledge of public men and public affairs enabled him to repose confidence where it was not abused. The errors of the Dominion Ministry, intensified by the injudicious and arbitrary conduct of Mr. McDougall, had produced a state of feeling in the Territories which but for his gentle treatment and admirable tact would have sunk them into absolute anarchy. He was seated on a powder magazine which a single spark might ignite. He was surrounded by the exasperated and excited French population, by the dissatisfied English and Scotch Half-breeds and the discontented whites, all having real and many serious grievances of which to complain. Peace was life to the colony, disturbance would be death, for the tide of immigration was now running to the rich lands of the new Province, and had it then been diverted into other channels, decades might have passed before its return. Mr. Archibald was compelled to choose, and that instantly, between a policy of conciliation and one of severity. The first involved the opposition of the small but powerful party who sought vengeance for their wrongs, and that they had suffered most grievous wrongs no one could deny. The second involved a contest with the French Half-breeds and the Roman Catholics. He appealed to the never-failing good sense of the pure white population, and implored them to exercise a forbearance which their less favored fellow citizens were perhaps not so well qualified to exhibit. This



was a hard request to make on his part, and one still harder to grant on theirs. The brutalities of the Riel regime required a spirit almost divine for its condonation, and while Mr. Archibald most deeply sympathized with the sufferers, he saw with a statesman's eye that to let loose the ministers of vengeance would be to set fire to the country. He was much blamed for availing himself of the assistance of Riel and his associates in meeting the Fenian raid, but he would have been unwise in neglecting any legitimate means of opposition to the wild schemes of these marauders, who were nothing better than bandits, and were entitled to no more consideration than midnight robbers. This use of the man was a proof of Mr. Archibald's skill as a negotiator and as a deviser of expedients in a moment of supreme importance; he made Riel a friend, and thereby prevented him from becoming an enemy. This surely was wiser than a sullen frowning on the traitor which would possibly have driven him into an active participation with O'Donoghue and his Fenian rabble, carrying with him, perhaps, no inconsiderable portion of his old friends. Mr. Archibald's position was one of exceptional difficulty, and the unprincipled portion of the Ontario press, which has ever been ready to sacrifice the interests of the country to the interests of party, greatly added to the weight of his troubles. But he triumphed. By a happy admixture of justice and mildness, firmness and gentleness, tact and judgment, he brought the Province from a state of chaos to one of order, from turbulence to quiet, from threatened ruin to assured prosperity. It would be wrong to omit notice of the invaluable aid received by him from Mrs. and Miss Archibald. The French are a gallant and chivalrous people, and no race more sincerely respects female gentleness and kindness than the Anglo-Saxon. These ladies did the honors of Government House with an especial view to the arduous duties which their commanding social position laid upon them. The influence of women at the seats of Government is one of great consequence, and when duly exercised is a most important factor in governmental machinery. The great governing qualities of Mr. Archibald were quite equalled by the admirable social ones of his wife and daughter, and the fiery but chivalrous Métis was always ready to lower his sword with a graceful bow to the fair rulers of Government House. Amid the rude population of the North-West the gentle smile of women of high position, who had left homes of luxury and ease to exhibit among them the graces of society, their example and influence were of immense value,

and their departure from Manitoba was a source of grief to the whole population.

As already intimated, Mr. Morris received the appointment of Lieutenant Governor on the 2nd December, 1872. The appointment was received with universal approbation. Mr. Morris had, in the performance of his duties as Chief Justice, and as Administrator, exhibited qualities most essential in a ruler at all times, and peculiarly necessary in the successor of Mr. Archibald. Most fortunately for the Province, he was well qualified to continue the policy so happily inaugurated by the late Lieutenant Governor, and by steadily adhering to it, he proved, by its success, that it was the true one.

On the 21st December, 1872, Mr. Morris took the oath of office at Fort Garry. On taking possession of Government House his daughter, Miss Morris, in the absence of Mrs. Morris, who did not join him until July, 1873, was found very well able to preside over the social domain in which she was now installed as mistress; and, having the example of the Countess of Dufferin and of Mrs. and Miss Archibald before her, she determined to assist her father by the practice of those graces which had so elevated those ladies in the public estimation.

A levee was held at Government House on New Year's Day, which, as it had a semi-political character, must have been very gratifying to the new Governor. It was by far the largest reception ever held in the country. The Bishop of Rupert's Land and the leading clergymen of all denominations were present, and all classes of the community were well represented. More than one hundred and fifty French Half-breeds crossed the river to pay their respects, and they evinced the most cordial good feeling towards the English and Scotch portions of the population. The Roman Catholic Archbishop was prevented by illness from attending, but, as a token of his respect, sent his photograph to his Honor, with a congratulatory message. But he was immediately beset by the clamorers for vengeance. These men, delighted at the resignation of Mr. Archibald, hoped to be able to secure from the new Governor what they had tried in vain to wring from the old one,—a policy which they dignified by the term "justice," but which should more properly be known by the term "vengeance." But neither his natural temperament, nor his clear view of the necessities of the time, permitted him to encourage the feeling. He contented himself with declaring that the laws would be carried out, and urged upon all



who approached him to exercise a patient forbearance. He avoided the amnesty difficulty by explaining that it was a matter to be dealt with solely by the Imperial and Dominion Governments. He tempered all his words by a spirit of forgiveness and charity, which went far in allaying the fierceness of the "vengeance" party on the one hand, while it went quite as far in allaying the apprehensions of the French Half-breeds on the other. He trusted, and rightfully trusted, much to his personal influence. By moving freely and unostentatiously among the people; listening with an attentive respect to the expression of their opinions; dropping kind words of advice in one place, of encouragement in another, of sympathy here, and eulogy there; shunning severity in act and language; avoiding expressions of suspicion and depreciation; treating all classes as earnestly loyal to the Crown, to the Dominion, and to his Government, he gradually dissipated the hopes of the extremes of both sides, and brought them down to the quiet level of his own pacific temper. In this he was powerfully assisted by his daughter, Miss Morris, and by Mrs. Morris after her arrival at Winnipeg, in July, 1873. These ladies made Government House a delightful neutral ground where all respectable people were welcome, and where, in the soothing atmosphere of frequent social gatherings, the harshness and bitterness of political and religious differences were sensibly assuaged.

Mr. Morris opened the Third Session of the First Parliament of Manitoba on the 5th February, 1873. Up to this period the labors of the House and the Government had been chiefly those of organization, and the measures were largely experimental. Mr. Archibald had chiselled out with skill and boldness the outlines of the young athlete of the West, and now Mr. Morris was called upon to give expression to the features, and finish to the figure. The very favorable impression which his position of Chief Justice and Administrator had given him opportunities of forming on the public mind, was now of great value. He was received with universal kindness, and, as he was well fitted by his previous life for all the duties of administration, the state machinery moved smoothly.

One of the most important and delicate duties imposed on the Lieutenant Governor was the purchase of the Indian rights. The Indians saw that these must be obtained by the Government, and they knew that strict justice only would be employed in dealing with them. They therefore became unreasonable in their demands, and sometimes

offensive in their behaviour. On the 24th September, 1873, Mr. Morris and the Commissioners appointed for the purpose met about eight hundred of the Lake Indians at the North West Angle, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with them. Great state was observed, for to the four thousand owners of fifty-five thousand square miles of some of the finest land in the world, which this treaty involved, the meeting was of the gravest consequence. But it was not until the 1st October that the proud savages could be induced to commence the proceedings; they put them off from day to day on various pretexts, and it was not until his Honor informed them that, if they did not proceed on the 1st October, he would stop their flour and pork and return to Fort Garry, that they moved. This firmness startled them, and the pow-wow began. The offer of the Governor was couched in these words:

“I will give you lands for farms, and reserves for your own use—these not to exceed a square mile for every family of five persons. You will be permitted to fish and hunt over them. I will also establish schools whenever any band asks for them, so that your children may have the cunning\* of the white man. I will also give you a sum of money for yourselves. I will give you \$10 for every head of the population this year, and for every other year \$5 a head. To the chief men, not exceeding two to each band, I will give \$20 a year forever. I will give to each of you this year a present of goods and provisions to take you home, and I am sure you will be satisfied.”

This offer the sharp negotiators took time to consider, and the next day Ma-ni-to-ba-sis, the Fort Francis Chief, harangued the Council, and defined their demands thus:

“We ask \$15 for all that you see, and for the children that are to be born in future. This year only we ask for \$15, years after \$10. Our Chiefs \$50 per year for every year.”

Another Chief said:

“I take my standing-point from here. Our Councillors have in Council come to this conclusion, that they should have \$20 each, our Warriors, \$15 each; our population, \$15 each.† We have now laid down the conclusion of our Councils by our decisions. We tell you our wishes are not divided. We are all of one mind. (Here he placed in the Governor's hands a paper.) I now let you know the opinions of us here. We would not wish that any one shall smile at our affairs, as we think our country is a large matter to us. If you grant us what is written on that paper, then we will talk about the reserves. We have decided

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\* To the Indian, this means “skill” or “knowledge.”

† This modest demand amounted to \$125,000 per year.



in Council for the benefit of those that will be born hereafter. If you do this the treaty will be finished, I believe."

To this exorbitant demand, Mr. Morris replied :

"I quite agree that this is no matter to smile at. I think that the decision of to-day is one that affects yourselves and your children after, but you must recollect that this is the third time of my coming here. If we do not shake hands and make our treaty to-day I do not know when it will be done, as the Queen's Government will think you do not wish to treat with Her. You told me that you understood that I represented the Queen's Government to you, and that I opened my heart to you,—but you must recollect that if you are a Council, there is another great Council that governs a great Empire, and they hold their Councils the same as you hold yours. I wish to tell you that I am a servant of the Queen, I cannot do my own will, I must do Her's, I can only give you what she tells me to give you. I am sorry to see that your hands were very wide open when you gave me this paper. I thought what I promised you was just, kind and fair between the Queen and you. It is now three years we have been trying to settle this matter.\* If we do not succeed to-day I shall go away, feeling sorry for you and for your children that you could not see what was good for you and for them. I am ready to do what I promised you yesterday. My hand is open, and you ought to take me by the hand and say, 'Yes, we accept your offer.' I have not the power to do what you ask of me. I ask you once more to think what you are doing, and of those you have left at home, and also of those that may be born yet,—and I ask you not to turn your backs on what is offered to you, and you ought to see by what the Queen is offering you that she loves her red subjects as much as her white ones. I think you are forgetting one thing, that what I offer you is to be while the water flows and the sun rises. You know that in any other country they only pay the Indian for twenty years, and you come here to-day and ask forever what they get for twenty years. Is that just? I think you ought to accept my offer, and make a treaty with me as I ask you to do. I only ask you to think for yourselves and for your families, and for your children, and children's children, and I know if you do that you will shake hands with me to-day."

To this the Chief replied :—

"I lay before you our opinions. Our hands are poor, but our heads are rich, and it is riches that we ask so that we may be able to support our families as long as the sun rises, and the water runs."

Mr. Morris here again expressed regret, but plainly told them he would go away. The Chief now urges the great value of their country, and with true Indian poetry of expression made a statement which, if

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\* Governor Simpson and his agents had had much trouble from these Indians, and active hostilities might at any time for several years past have been at any moment expected from them.

true, indicated their knowledge of the existence of precious metals in their territory. He replied :—

“My terms I am going to lay down before you, the decision of our Chiefs. Ever since you came to a decision you push it back. *The sound of the rustling of the gold is under my feet where I stand.* We have a rich country. It is the Good Spirit who gave us this. Where we stand upon is the Indians' property, and belongs to them. If you grant us our requests you will not go back without making the treaty.”

Another Chief now intimated that Mr. Morris was not the important or the rich man he professed to be. He said :—

“We understood yesterday that the Queen had given you the power to act upon ; that you could do what you pleased, and that the riches of the Queen she had filled your head and body with, and you had only to throw them round about ; but it seems it is not so, but that you have only half the power she has, and that she has only half filled your head.”

Several other Chiefs now joined in the discussion, but the divergencies became greater as it proceeded. The last speaker said :—

“Our Chiefs have the same opinion. They will not change their decision.”  
*Mr. Morris*—“Then the Council is at an end.”

This promptitude had the desired effect. The Chief of Lac Seule then addressed the Council :—

“I understand the matter that he asks. If he puts a question to me as well as to others, and I say so as well as the rest : We are the first that were planted here,—we would ask you to assist us with every kind of implement to use for our benefit, to enable us to perform our work,—a little of every thing, and money. We would borrow your cattle—we ask you this for our support—I will find whereon to feed them. The waters out of which you sometimes take food for yourselves we will lend you in return. If I shall try to stop you, it is not in my power to do so. Even the Hudson Bay Company, that is a small power, I cannot gain my point with it. If you give what I ask, the time may come when I will ask you to lend me one of your daughters and one of your sons to live with us, and in return I will lend you one of my daughters and one of my sons for you to teach what is good, and, after they have learned, to teach us. If you grant us what I ask, although I do not know you, I will shake hands with you. This is all I have to say.”

It was now clear that the Indians were divided, and a ray of hope appeared. After some further discussion the council closed for the day. It was extremely doubtful whether an agreement could be arrived at. The Rainy River Indians were careless about the treaty, because they could get plenty of money for cutting wood for the boats, but the Northern and Eastern bands were anxious for one. The Indians held a council among themselves in the evening, to which they invited the



Hon. James McKay, Mr. Pierre Léveillé and Mr. Nolin, when after a very lengthy and exhaustive discussion, they decided to accept the Governor's terms with some slight modifications, and the final meeting was announced for the next day.

The Fort Francis Chief opened the negotiations. The Lieutenant Governor replied:—

“I am glad to meet the Chiefs. I hope we are going to understand one another to-day, and that I can go back and report that I left my Indian friends contented, and that I have put into their hands the means of providing for themselves and their families at home; and now I will give you my last words. When I held out my hands to you at first I intended to do what was just and right, and what I had the power to do *at once*,—not to go backwards and forwards, but at once to do what I believe is just and right to you. I was very much pleased yesterday with the words of the Chief of Lac Seul. I was glad to hear that he had commenced to farm, and to raise things for himself and family, and I was glad to hear him ask me to hold out my hand. I think we should do everything to help you, by giving you the means to grow food, so that if it is a bad year for fishing and hunting you may have something for your children at home. If you had not asked it, the Government would have done it all the same, although I had not said so before. I can say this, that when a band settles down, and actually commences to farm on their lands, the Government will agree to give two hoes, one spade, one scythe, and one axe for every family actually settled; one plough for every ten families, five harrows for every twenty families, and a yoke of oxen, a bull and four cows for every band, and enough barley, wheat and oats to plant the land they have actually broken up. This is to enable them to cultivate their land, and it is to be given them on their commencing to do so, once for all. There is one thing that I have thought over, and I think it is a wise thing to do,—that is, give you ammunition, and twine for making nets, to the extent of \$1500 per year for the whole nation, so that you can have the means of procuring food. Now, I will mention the last thing I can do. I think that the sum I have offered you to be paid after this year for every man, woman and child now and for years to come is right, and is the proper sum. I cannot make any change in that, but we are anxious to show you we have a great desire to understand you; that we wish to do the utmost in our power to make you contented, so that the white man and the red man will always be friends. This year, instead of \$10, we will give you \$12, to be paid you at once, as soon as we sign the treaty. This is the best I can do for you. I wish you to understand that we do not come here as traders, but as representing the Crown, and to do what we believe is just and right. We have acted in that spirit, and I hope you will meet me in that spirit, and shake hands with me to-day, and make a treaty forever. I have no more to say.”

But the Indians were not satisfied. While they determined to accept the offer made, they also sought a number of other benefits, which if yielded, would be followed by the demand for more.

*Chief*—"One thing I did not say, that is most necessary,—we want a cross-cut saw, a whip saw, grindstone and files."

*Governor*—"We will do that; and I think we ought to give a box of common tools to each Chief of a band."

*Chief*—"Depending upon the words that you have told us, and stretched out your hands in a friendly way, I depend upon that. One thing more we demand,—a suit of clothes to all of us."

*Governor*—"With regard to clothing, coats will be given to the Chiefs and head men, and as to the other Indians, there is a quantity of goods and provisions here that will be given them at the close of the treaty. The coats of the Chiefs will be given every three years."

*Chief*—"Once more,—powder and shot will not go off without guns, we want guns."

*Governor*—"I have shown every disposition to meet your views, but what I have promised is as far as I can go."

The chief now wanted what he called the "poor Indians who may happen to fall in our road" to be assisted, and he included in these the Half-breeds of their tribe, but this was refused.

*Chief*.—"You must remember that our hearts and our brains are like paper, they never forget. There is one thing that we want to know. If you should get into trouble with the nations, I do not wish to walk out and expose my young men to aid you in any of your wars."

*Governor*.—"The English never call the Indians out of their country to fight their battles."

*Another Chief*.—"I ask you a question. I see your roads passing here, passing through the country, and some of your boats, useful articles that you use for yourself. By-and-by we shall see things that run swiftly, that go by fire, carriages, and we ask you that us Indians may not have to pay their passage on these things, but can go free."

*Governor*.—"I think the best thing I can do is to become an Indian. I cannot promise you to pass on the railway free, for it may be a long time before we get one; and I cannot promise you any more than other people."

The Chief then wanted liberty to travel over the country when it was vacant. That was granted. He next demanded that in case they discovered any valuable mineral, they should be allowed to put their own price on it; that they should be permitted to select their own reserves; that they should have the appointment of the Indian agent; that no one should be permitted to sell fire-water, "though," he added, "perhaps, at times, if I shall be unwell, I might take a drop just for medicine," and that if the Government agents should neglect the Indians he "should have the right to put them in prison," and added:

"One thing I find that deranges a little my kettle. In this river where food



used to be plentiful for our subsistence, I perceive it is getting scarce. We wish that the river should be left as it was found from the beginning, that nothing be broken."

*Governor.*—"This is a subject that I cannot go into."

*Chief.*—"We wish the Government would assist us in getting a few boards for some of us, who are intending to put up houses this fall, from the mill at Fort Francis."

*Governor.*—"The mill is a private enterprise, and we have no power to give you boards from it."

*Chief.*—"I will now show you a medal that was given to those who made a treaty at Red River by the Commissioner. *He* said it was silver, but *I* do not think it is. I should be ashamed to carry it on my breast, over my heart. I think it would disgrace the Queen, my Mother, to wear her image on so base a metal as this. (Here the chief held up the medal, and struck it with the back of his knife. The result was anything but the 'true ring' and made every spectator ashamed of the petty meanness that had been practiced.) Let the medals you give us be of silver, medals that shall be worthy of the high position our Great Mother the Queen occupies."

*Governor.*—"I will tell them at Ottawa *what* you have said, and *how* you have said it."

*Chief.*—"I wish you to understand that you owe this treaty much to the Half-breeds."

*Governor.*—"I know it. I sent some of them to talk with you, and I know that all the Half-breeds from Manitoba who are here gave their Governor their cordial support."

The business of the treaty having now been completed, the Chief, Manitobasis, who, with Powhassan, had with great tact carried on the negotiations, stepped up to the Governor, and said:

"Now you see me stand before you all. What has been done here to-day has been done openly before the Great Spirit, and before the nation, and I hope I may never hear any one say that this treaty has been done secretly. And now, in closing this Council, I take off my glove, and, in giving you my hand, I deliver over my birth-right and lands; and, in taking your hand, I hold fast all the promises you have made, and I hope they will last as long as the sun goes round, and the water flows, as you have said."

Mr. Morris then took his hand and said:—

"I accept your hand, and with it the lands, and will keep all my promises, in the firm belief that the treaty now to be signed will bind the red man and the white together as friends forever." \*

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\* The treaty commences thus: "Articles of a Treaty made and concluded this third day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy three, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners, the Hon. Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and of the North West Territories; Joseph Albert Norbert Proven-

A copy of the treaty was then prepared and duly signed, after which a large quantity of presents, consisting of pork, flour, clothing, blankets, twine, powder and shot, was distributed to the several bands present. On the next day Mr. Peither, Local Superintendent of Indian affairs at Fort Francis, and Mr. Graham of the Government Works began to pay the treaty money—an employment that kept them busy far into the night. Some of the chiefs received as much as \$170 for themselves and families.

As soon as the money was distributed the shops of the Hudson Bay Company and other resident traders were visited, and, while all these did a great trade,—the Hudson Bay Company alone taking in \$4000 in thirty hours,—it was a noticeable fact that many took home with them nearly all their money. When urged to buy goods there, a frequent reply was : “ If we spend all our money here, and go home and want debt,\* we will be told to get our debt where we spent our money.”

The Lieutenant Governor was warmly congratulated by all parties upon the ability and tact displayed by him throughout the whole of these negotiations. Had it not been for his manly firmness, combined with his patience and kindness of manner, there may have been in that part of the North West, instead of 4000 loyal subjects of their “ Good Mother the Queen,” 4000 disaffected people as a chronic sore in the heart of the Province, a hindrance to immigration and settlement, and a constant source of annoyance and expense to the Dominion. Now, all is peace ; and we are friends with the red man, who, after all, is docile, and, if justly treated, ever ready to fall in with the civilization of the white man.

On the 18th January, 1874, the Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Morris gave a grand ball at Government House, which was spoken of

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cher, and Simon J. Dawson, of the one part, and the Salteaux tribe of the Ojibeway Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their chiefs, chosen as hereafter mentioned, of the second part.” It is executed by Alex. Morris, Lieutenant Governor ; J. A. N. Provencher, I. Com. ; S. J. Dawson, and twenty-four chiefs and head men, and is witnessed by James McKay, Robert Pitton, Christine V. K. Morris, Captain E. Macdonald, Commanding escort to the Lieutenant Governor, Joseph Nolin, Geo. Macpherson, sen., W. Fred Buchanan, Alfred Codd, M.D., Nicholas Chastelain, Molyneux St. John, Charles Nolin, James F. Graham, H. McLeod, Sedley Blanchard, Frank G. Becher, and Pierre Leveillé.

\* This word is used by the Indians for “ credit.”



as the most brilliant affair of the kind ever yet witnessed in the North West.\* While his Honor was pacifying the discontented inhabitants of the country, and while he was at the same time winning the esteem and confidence of the Indians who yet held the right to hundreds of thousands of square miles of most valuable lands, which the Government wanted to have secured to them by treaty, Mrs. Morris and her daughters, by a system of "At Homes" and other festive gatherings at Government House were bringing the various grades of society into a state of social harmony.

On the 8th September, 1874, Mr. Morris, attended by the Hon. David Laird, Minister of the Interior, and Mr. J. W. Christie, the Commissioner appointed by Order in Council to treat with the Indians, proceeded to Qu'Appelle, three hundred and fifty miles west of Winnipeg. The most important functions of the Lieutenant Governor were now the extinction of the Indian rights. Immigrants were pouring into the country, and it was of the gravest consequence that the Indians should not have a single complaint to make respecting the invasion of their territory. Each year added to the value of their lands, and they were astute enough to see and to take advantage of this fact. Former agents had endeavored to make fair treaties with them, but they had all failed, except to a very limited extent. The North West Angle treaty was a splendid success, and Mr. Morris had obtained such a reputation among the red men for justice, courtesy and kindness, that his presence at the Indian Councils had become indispensable when treaties were to be negotiated.

The Council at Fort Qu'Appelle,† a Hudson Bay trading post, at

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\* His Honor the Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Morris, with her daughters, who added much to the brilliancy of the entertainments at Government House, were materially assisted in all these matters by the skill, taste and politeness of Mr. Becher, the private secretary and A. D. C. to his Honor. He was as valuable at Manitoba as Captain Hamilton was at Rideau Hall, Ottawa; and for the popularity and success of the social gatherings of Mr. and Mrs. Morris they were in no slight degree indebted to that young gentleman's admirable bearing and unflinching courtesy.

† There is a tradition among the Indians concerning the Qu'Appelle River. A solitary Indian was coming down the river many summers ago, when he heard a loud voice calling to him—he stopped and listened, and again heard the same voice. He shouted in reply, but there was no answer. He searched carefully, but could find no tracks. From that time the stream was known as "Qu'Appelle" or "Who calls" River.

the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine, was composed of representatives of the Plain Crees and Salteaux nations.

At 4 o'clock the Commissioners entered the marquee erected for the accommodation of themselves and the Indians, who in a short time arrived, shook hands with the Commissioners, the officers of the guard, and other gentlemen who were in the tent, and took their seats.

It having been noticed that Cote, "the Pigeon," a leading chief of the Salteaux tribe had not arrived, but that several of his band were present, and claimed that they had been sent to represent him. His Honor the Lieutenant Governor instructed the (acting) interpreter, William Daniel, to enquire why their chief had not come to meet the Commissioners, the white chiefs?

To this question they answered that he had given no reason.

His Honor, through the interpreter, told them that the Queen had sent him and the other Commissioners to see their chief and their nation, and that the least a loyal subject could do would be to meet the messengers of the Queen.

His Honor then addressed the Crees as follows :

"The Commissioners have agreed that as Lieutenant Governor I should speak for them, as we are sent here by the Queen, by the Great Mother—the Queen has chosen me to be one of her Councillors, and has sent me here to represent her and has made me Governor of all her Territories in the North West. She has sent me another of her Councillors who has come all the way from Ottawa. She has also sent with us Mr. Christie, whom you all know, who has lived for a long time in this country, but who had gone away from it to live in another part of the Dominion of Canada. The Queen loves her red children ; she has always been friends with them ; she knows that it is hard for them to live, and she has always tried to help them, in the other parts of the Dominion. Last year she sent me to see her children at the Lake of the Woods. I took her children there by the hand, and the white man and the red man made friends forever. We have come here with a message from the Queen and want to tell you all her mind. We want to speak to you about the land and what the Queen is willing to do for you, but before we tell you we want you to tell us who your chiefs and headmen are who will speak for you while we speak for the Queen, and we want to know what bands of Crees are here and who will speak for them. We wish to know if the Crees are ready to speak with us now?"

Ra-ku-shi-way, the "Loud Voice," said in reply :

I do not wish to tell a lie. I cannot say who will speak for us ; it will only be known after consultation."

*His Honor the Lieutenant Governor*"—By to-morrow you will probably have chosen whom you will have to speak for you, and the Commissioners will be glad



to meet you after you have chosen your spokesman, and will meet you at ten o'clock. We want you to tell us openly what you want, and we will speak to you for the Queen in the same way. The Colonel will send a man round to sound a bugle at 10 o'clock to let you know."

To the Salteaux His Honor said :

"We have here with a message from the Great Mother, and want you to open my mouth so that I can tell you what I have to say. If you and your chiefs will meet together in council and talk it over I will be glad to meet you, if you bring your chief to-morrow. You must also choose your speakers who will come with your chief and speak for you."

*Loud Voice*—"I will tell the message that is given me to tell. I have one thing to say, the first word that came to them was for the Salteaux tribe to choose a place to pitch their tents.

*His Honor*—"This place was chosen because it is a good place for my men—for the soldiers—there is plenty of water and grass, and I will meet you here to-morrow. That is all at present."

After the departure of the main body, three Indians, Salteaux from the Cypress hills, entered the tent, saying that they had no chief, and did not want to go with the main body of the nation, that they had plenty of friends on the plains. His Honor said they would hear the Queen's message with the rest of the Indians.

#### SECOND CONFERENCE.

*September 9, 1874.*

The Indians having arrived, his Honor Lieutenant Governor Morris said :—

"I am glad to see so many of the Queen's red children here this morning. I told those I saw yesterday that I was one of the Queen's Councillors, and had another Councillor with me from Ottawa, and that the Queen had sent Mr. Christie who used to live among you to help us. Yesterday the Cree nation with their chief were here, the Salteaux did not come to meet the Queen's servants, their chief was not here. I thought that the Salteaux could not have understood that the Queen had sent her servants to see them, or they would have come to meet them. If Loud Voice or any other chief came down to Fort Garry to see me, and I sent one of my servants to meet them instead of shaking hands with them would they be pleased? I wanted you to meet me here to-day because I wanted to speak to you before the Great Spirit and before the whole world. I want both Crees and Salteaux to know what I say. I told those who were here yesterday that we had a message from the Queen to them. Last year I made a treaty with the Indians, 4000 in number, at the Lake of the Woods. To-day the Queen sends us here. I told you yesterday that she loves her red children, and they have always respected her and obeyed her laws. I asked you yesterday, and ask you now, to tell me who would speak for you, and how many bands of each nation are

represented here. I have heard that you are not ready to speak to me yet, but do not know it, and I want you to say anything you have to say before all, and I will speak in the same way. What I have to talk about concerns you, your children and their children, who are yet unborn, and you must think well over it as the Queen has thought well over it. What I want is for you to take the Queen's hand, through me, and shake hands with her forever, and now I want before I say any more to hear from the chiefs if they are ready with their men to speak for them, and if they are not ready if they will be ready to-morrow."

*Can-a-hah-cha-pew, the Man of the Bow*—"We are not ready yet, we have not gathered together yet. That is all I have to say.

*Peicheto's Son—O-ta-ha-o-man, the Gambler*—"My dear friends, do you want me to speak for you to these great men? (The Indians signified their consent.) I heard you were to come here, that was the reason that all the camps were collected together. I heard beforehand, too, where the camp was to be placed, but I tell you that I am not ready yet. Every day there are other Indians coming, and we are not all together. Where I was told to pitch my tent, that is where I expected to see the great men in the camp. That is all."

*His Honor*—"With regard to the camp the Queen sent one of her chief men with us, our soldiers, and he selected the best place for the men, the place where we are now, and I think it is a good place. At first he thought to have encamped across the river, but he thought this was better ground, and chose it. I think it just as well that our bases should be at a little distance from your braves and your camp. I want to say to the Indian children of the Queen that, if their people are coming in, that our men have walked a long way here, and must go back again to Fort Garry, and I have other things to do. Mr. Laird has to go back again to look after other things for the Queen in Ottawa. I want to ask the chiefs when they will be ready to meet us to-morrow."

*Pei-che-to's Son*—"I have said before we are not ready."

*His Honor*—"Let them send me word, through their chiefs, when they are ready."

### THIRD DAY'S CONFERENCE.

September 11, 1874.

The Crees and their chiefs met the Commissioners. The Salteaux chief was not present, though most of the tribe were present.

An Indian, "the Crow," advised the assembled Crees, the Salteaux not having arrived, to listen attentively to what words he said.

His Honor the Lieutenant Governor then arose and said:—

"I am glad to meet you here to-day. We have waited long, and began to wonder whether the Queen's red children were not coming to meet her messengers. All the ground here is the Queen's, and you are free to speak your mind fully. We want you to speak to me face to face. I am ready now with my friends here to give you the Queen's message. Are your ears open to hear? Have you chosen your speakers?"

*The "Loud Voice"*—"There is no one to answer."



*His Honor*—"You have had time enough to select your men to answer, and I will give you the Queen's message. The Queen knows that you are poor; the Queen knows that it is hard to find food for yourselves and children; she knows that the winters are cold, and your children are often hungry; she has always cared for her red children as much as for her white. Out of her generous heart and liberal hand she wants to do something for you, so that, when the buffalo get scarcer, and they are scarce enough now, you may be able to do something for yourselves."

*The Loud Voice (to the Indians)*—"I wonder very much at your conduct. You understand what is said and you understand what is right and good. You ought to listen to that and answer it, every one of you. What is bad you cannot answer."

*His Honor*—"What the Queen and her Councillors would like is this, she would like you to learn something of the cunning of the white man. When fish are scarce and the buffalo are not plentiful she would like to help you to put something in the land; she would like that you should have some money every year to buy things that you need. If any of you would settle down on the land she would give you cattle to help you; she would like you to have some seed to plant. She would like to give you every year, for twenty years, some powder, shot, and twine to make nets of. I see you here before me to-day. I will pass away and you will pass away. I will go where my fathers have gone and you also, but after me and after you will come our children. The Queen cares for you and for your children, and she cares for the children that are yet to be born. She would like to take you by the hand and do as I did for her at the Lake of the Woods last year. We promised them, and we are ready to promise now, to give \$5 to every man, woman and child, as long as the sun shines and water flows. We are ready to promise to give \$1000 every year, for twenty years, to buy powder and shot, and twine, by the end of which time I hope you will have your little farms. If you will settle down we would lay off land for you, a square mile for every family of five. Whenever you go to a Reserve the Queen will be ready to give you a school and schoolmaster, and the Government will try to prevent fire-water from being sent among you. If you shake hands with us and make a treaty we are ready to make a present at the end of the treaty of \$8 for every man, woman and child in your nation. We are ready also to give calico, clothing and other presents. We are ready to give every recognized chief a present of \$25, a medal, and a suit of clothing. We are also ready to give the chief's soldiers, not exceeding four in each band, a present of ten dollars, and next year and every year after, each chief will be paid \$25, and his chief soldiers, not exceeding four in each band, will receive \$10. Now I think that you see that the Queen loves her red children, that she wants to do you good, and you ought to show that you think so. I cannot believe that you will be the first Indians, the Queen's subjects, who will not take her by the hand. We have not made to any as large an offer as has been made to this nation. The Queen sent one of her Councillors from Ottawa, and me, her Governor, to tell you her mind. I have opened my hands and heart to you. It is for you to think of the future of those who are with you now, of those who are coming after you, and may the Great Spirit guide you to do what is right. I have only a

word more to say. The last time I saw you I was not allowed to say all I wanted to say until you went away. What I wanted to say is this, I have put before you our message, I want you to go back to your tents and think over what I have said, and come and meet me to-morrow. Recollect that we cannot stay very long here. I have said all."

FOURTH DAY'S CONFERENCE.

*September 12, 1874.*

In the morning four Indians, two Crees and two Saulteaux, waited on the Commissioners, and asked that they would meet the Indians half way, and off the Company's reserve, and that the soldiers should remove their camps beside the Indian encampment; that they would meet the Commissioners then and confer with them; that there was something in the way of their speaking openly where the marquee had been pitched. Their request was complied with as regarded the place of meeting only, and the spot for the conference selected by Col. Smith and the Indians.

The meeting was opened by the Lieutenant Governor, who said:—

"Crees and Salteaux, I have asked you to meet us here to-day. We have been asking you for many days to meet us, and this is the first time you have all met us. If it was not my duty, and if the Queen did not wish it, I would not have taken so much trouble to speak to you. We are sent a long way to give you her message. Yesterday I told the Crees her message, and I know that the Salteaux know what it was, but that there may be no mistake, I will tell it to you again, and I will tell you more. When I have given my message understand that you will have to answer it as I and my friends will have to leave you. You are the subjects of the Queen, you are her children, and you are only a little band to all her other children. She has children all over the world, and she does right with them all. She cares as much for you as she cares for her white children, and the proof of it is that wherever her name is spoken her people, whether they be red or white, love her name, and are ready to die for it because she is always just and true. What she promises never changes. She knows the condition of her people here. You are not her only red children. Where I come from, Ontario, and in Quebec, she has many red children, and away beyond the mountains she has other red children, and she wants to care for them all. Last year I was among the Salteaux, we have the Salteaux where I came from. They were my friends. I was the son of a white chief who had a high place among them, they told him they would do his work, they called him Shekisik. I learned from him to love the red man, and it was a pleasant duty and good to my heart when the Queen told me to come among her Salteaux children, and I expect the Crees and the Salteaux to take my hand as they did last year. In our hands they feel the Queen's, and if they take them the hands of the white and red man will never unclasp. In other lands the white and red men are not such friends as we have always been, and why? Because the Queen always keeps her word, always protects her red men.



She heard last winter that bad men from the United States had come into her country and had killed some of her red children. What did she say? This must not be. I will send my men and will not suffer these bad men to hurt my red children, their lives are very dear to me. And now I will tell you our message. The Queen knows that her red children often find it hard to live. She knows that her red children, their wives and children are often hungry, and that the buffalo will not last forever, and she desires to do something for them. More than a hundred years ago the Queen's father said to the red men living in Quebec and Ontario, I will give you land and cattle, and set apart Reserves for you; and will teach you. What has been the result? There the red men are happy; instead of getting fewer in number by sickness, they are growing in number, their children have plenty. The Queen wishes you to enjoy the same blessings, and so I am here to tell you all the Queen's mind; but recollect this, the Queen's High Councillor here from Ottawa, and I, her Governor, are not traders; we do not come here in the spirit of traders; we come here to tell you openly, without hiding anything, just what the Queen will do for you, just what she thinks is good for you, and I want you to look me in the face, eye to eye, and open your hearts to me as children would to a father, as children ought to do to a father, and as you ought to the servants of the great mother of us all. I told my friends yesterday that things changed here, that we are here to-day, and that in a few years it may be we will not be here, but after us will come our children. The Queen thinks of the children yet unborn. I know that there are some red men as well as white men who think only of to-day and never think of to-morrow. The Queen has to think of what will come long after to-day. Therefore, the promises we have to make to you are not for to-day only but for to-morrow, not only for you but for your children born and unborn, and the promises we make will be carried out as long as the sun shines above and the water flows in the ocean. When you are ready to plant seed the Queen's men will lay off Reserves so as to give a square mile to every family of five persons, and on commencing to farm, the Queen will give to every family cultivating the soil, two hoes, one spade, one scythe for cutting the grain, one axe and plough, enough of seed wheat, barley, oats and potatoes to plant the land they get ready. The Queen wishes her red children to learn the cunning of the white man, and when they are ready for it she will send schoolmasters on every Reserve and pay them. We have come through the country for many days, and we have seen hills and but little wood and in many places little water, and it may be a long time before there are many white men settled upon this land, and you will have the right of hunting and fishing just as you have now until the land is actually taken up." (His Honor repeated the offers which had been given to the Salteaux on the previous day.) "I think I have told you all that the Queen is willing to do for you. It ought to show you that she has thought more about you than you have about her. I will be glad now to have those whom you have selected speak for you, and I again ask you to keep nothing back. This is the first time you have had white chiefs, officers of the Queen, so high in her Councils, so trusted by her among you. We have no object but your good at heart, and, therefore, we ask you to speak out to us, to open your minds to us, and believe that we are your true and best friends, who will never advise you badly,

who will never whisper bad words in your ears, who only care for your good and that of your children. I have told you the truth, the whole truth, and now we expect to hear from the two nations and any other tribe who may be represented here. My friend, Mr. Laird, reminds me that he has come from an Island in the far off sea, that he has to go back to Ottawa, and then go to his own home, that he was asked to come specially to help me in speaking to you and advising me. He is obliged to go away, as I am, and, therefore, we want you to answer us."

*Cote, or Mee-may (Saulteaux Chief)*—"I cannot say anything to you. It is that man (pointing to Loud Voice) will speak."

*Loud Voice (Cree Chief)*—"If I could speak, if I could manage to utter my feelings there is reason why I should answer you back; but there is something in my way, and that is all I can tell you. This man (the Gambler) will tell you."

*O-ta-ka-o-nan, or the Gambler*—"This morning I saw the chief of the soldiers, who asked me what is in your way that you cannot come and meet the Queen's messengers; then I told him what was in the way. And now that I am come in what do I see. You were rather slow in giving your hand. You said that the Queen spoke through you, and spoke very plainly, but I cannot speak about what you said at present; the thing that is in the way that is what I am working at."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"We have come here for the purpose of knowing what is in your mind. I held out my hand, but you did not do as your nation did at the Angle. When I arrived there the chief and his men came and gave me the pipe of peace and paid me every honor. Why? Because I was the servant of the Queen. I was not slow in offering my hand, I gave it freely and from my heart, and whenever we found I could please you by coming here, we sent the chief of the soldiers to select a suitable place to meet you. You tell me there is something in your mind. If there is anything standing between us, how can we take it away or answer you unless we know what it is?"

*The Gambler*—"I told the soldier master you did not set your camp in order, you came and stayed beyond over there, that is the reason I did not run in over there. Now when you have come here you see sitting out there a mixture of Half-breeds, Crees, Saulteaux and Stonies, all are one, and you were slow in taking the hand of a Half-breed. All these things are many things that are in my way. I cannot speak about them."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"Why are you here to-day? because we asked you to come, because it was a good place to speak with them the reason we wished to see them. I am now quite willing to tell you all about Fort Pelly. The Queen heard that Americans had come into the country and were treating her Indian children badly. I myself sent her word that twenty-five of her Indian children, men, women and children, had been shot down by the American traders, then she resolved to protect her red children, for that reason she has determined to have a body of men on horses as policemen to keep all bad people, white or red, in order. She will not allow her red children to be made drunk and shot down again as some of them were a few months ago. Now you ought to be glad that you have a Queen who takes such an interest in you. What are they doing now up there at Fort Pelly? The men must have some place to live in this winter, they cannot live out of doors, and some men have gone to Fort Pelly to build houses for them, and the



Queen expects that you will do all you can to help them because they are your friends. There was a treaty before and Indians are paid under it, but we were told as we passed Fort Ellice that there were a few Indians there who were not included in that treaty, and had never been paid, and they agreed to meet us when we go back. I do not quite understand another point. We have here Crees, Saulteaux, Assiniboine and other Indians, they are all one, and we have another people here, the Half-breeds, they are of your blood and my blood. The Queen cares for them, one of them is here an officer with a Queen's coat on his back. At the Lake of the Woods last winter every Half-breed who was there with me was helping me, and I was proud of it, and glad to take the word back to the Queen and her servants and you may rest easy, you may leave the Half-breeds in the hands of the Queen, who will deal generously and justly with them. There was a Half-breed came forward to the table. He was only one of many here. I simply wanted to know whether he was authorized by you to take any part in the Council as it is the Indians alone we are here to meet. He told me you wanted him here as a witness. We have plenty of witnesses here, but when I heard that I welcomed him as I had done you, and shook hands with him, and he ought to have told you that. I have given our answer, and I have always found this that it is good for men to try to understand each other and to speak openly, if they do that, and both are earnest, if their hearts are pure, they will and can understand each other."

*The Gambler*—"I have understood plainly before what he (the Hudson Bay Co.) told me about the Queen. This country that he (H. B. Co.) bought from the Indians let him complete that. It is that which is in the way. I cannot manage to speak upon anything else, when the land was staked off it was all the Company's work. That is the reason I cannot speak of other things."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"We don't understand what you mean. Will you explain?"

*The Gambler*—"I know what I have to tell you. Who surveyed this land? Was it done by the Company? This is the reason I speak of the Company, why were you staying in the Company's house?"

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"The Company have right to have certain lands, granted them by the Queen, who will do what is fair and just for the Company, for the Indians, for the Half-breeds and for the whites. She will make no distinction. Whatever she promises she will carry out. The Company are nothing to her, except that they are carrying on trade in this country, and that they are subjects to her just as you are. You ask then why I went to the Company's house? I came here not at my own pleasure. I am not so strong as you are, I never slept in a tent in my life before, and was only too glad to find a home to go to."

*The Gambler*—"I understand now. And now this Company man. This is the Company man, (pointing to Mr. McDonald). This is the thing I cannot speak of. The Cree does not know, the Saulteaux does not know. It was never known when this was surveyed, neither by the Cree nor the Saulteaux."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"The Company are trading in this country, and they require to have places to carry out their trade. If the Queen gives them land to hold under she has a perfect right to do it, just as she will have a perfect right to lay off lands for you if you agree to settle on them. I am sorry for you; I am

afraid you have been listening to bad voices who have not the interests of the Indians at heart. If because of these things you will not speak to us we will go away with hearts sorry for you and for your children who thus throw back in our faces the hand of the Queen that she has held out to you."

*The Gambler*—"It is very plain who speaks; the Crees are not speaking, and the Saulteaux is speaking if the Queen's men came here to survey the land. I am telling you plainly. I cannot speak any other thing till this is cleared up. Look at these children that are sitting around here and also at the tents who are just the image of my kindness. There are different kinds of grass growing here that is just like those sitting around here. There is no difference. Even from the American land they are here, but we love them all the same, and when the white skin comes here from far away I love him all the same. I am telling you what our love and kindness is. This is what I did when the white man came, but when he came back he paid no regard to me how he carried on."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I did not know till I came here that any survey had been made, because I had nothing to do with it; but my friend, one of the Queen's Councillors, tells me it was done by the authority of the Queen."

*The Gambler*—"I want to tell you the right story. I waited very much for the Queen's messenger when I saw what the Company did. Perhaps he may know why he did so. Perhaps if I were to ask him now he would say. That is what I would think. This is the reason. I am so pleased at what I see here I cannot manage to speak because of the Company."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"We cannot see why you cannot speak to the Queen's messenger because of the Company. The Company is no greater in her sight than one of those little children is in yours, and whatever she promises, either the Company or the little child, she will do. The Company ought not to be a wall between you and us; you will make a mistake if you send us away with a wall between us, when there should be none."

*The Gambler*—"I do not send you away; for all this I am glad. I know this is not the Queen's work. He (H. B. Co.) is the head; he does whatever he thinks all around here, that is the reason I cannot say anything."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I am very sorry that you cannot answer."

*The Gambler*—"The Company have stolen our land. I heard that at first. I hear it is true. The Queen's messengers never came here, and now I see the soldiers and the settlers and the policemen. I know it is not the Queen's work, only the Company has come and they are the head, they are foremost; I do not hold it back. Let this be put to rights; when this is righted I will answer the other."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"The Company have not brought their soldiers here. This man is not an officer of the Company. I am not an officer of the Company. We did not come at the request of the Company, but at that of the Queen. I told you that the Queen had sent her policemen here. You see the flag there, then know that we are the Queen's servants and not the Company's, and it is for you to decide on the message I have delivered to you."

*The Gambler*—"When one Indian takes anything from another we call it stealing, and when we see the present we say pay us. It is the Company I mean."



*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"What did the Company steal from-you?"

*The Gambler*—"The earth, trees, grass, stones, all that which I see with my eyes."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"Who made the earth, the grass, the stone, and the wood? The Great Spirit. He made them for all His children to use, and it is not stealing to use the gift of the Great Spirit. The lands are the Queen's under the Great Spirit. The Chippewas are not always here. They come from the East. There were other Indians here, and the Chippewas came here, and they used the wood and the land, the gifts of the Great Spirit to all, and we want to try and induce you to believe that we are asking for the good of all. We do not know how the division between us is to be taken away. We do not know of any lands that were stolen from you, and if you do not open your mouths we cannot get the wall taken away. You can open your mouths if you will; we are patient, but we cannot remain here always."

*The Gambler*—"I cannot manage to speak of anything else. It is this I am speaking. All the Indians know how the Company set their land in order long ago. The Company is making it more, and that is the reason I am speaking."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"Many, many years ago, before we were born, one of the Kings gave the Company certain rights to trade in this country. The Queen thought that this was not just neither to the white nor the red man. She considered that all should be equal; but when the Queen's father's father's hand had been given she could not take it back without the Company's consent; therefore she told the Company that the time had come when they should no longer be the great power in this country, that she would plant her own flag, that she would send her own Governor and soldiers, and that they must cease to have the only right to trade here (and I am glad to know that some of you are good traders); the Queen then told the Company that she would govern the country herself, and she told them she would give them some land. They had their forts, their places of trade where they raised cattle and grain, and she told them they could keep them, and she will no more break with them than she will with you. There is no reason why you should not talk to us. The Company have no more power, no more authority to govern this country than you have, it rests with the Queen."

*The Gambler*—"This is the reason I waited for the Queen's messengers to come here because I knew the Company was strong and powerful, and I knew they would set everything in order. Truly, since the Company came here they have brought me many things which are good, but the Company's work is in my way and I cannot utter my words."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"What do you complain of? I cannot tell."

*The Gambler*—"The survey. This one (pointing to an Indian) did not say so, and this Saulteau and he was never told about it. He should have been told beforehand that this was to have been done and it would not have been so, and I want to know why the Company have done so. This is the reason I am talking so much about it."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I have told you beforehand that the Queen had promised to give the Company certain lands around the forts, and she gave them land around this fort. I have told you that what she promised she will do. She has

taken all the lands in this country to manage ; they were hers ; they were her father's ; if she gives you reserves they will be yours, and she will let no one take them from you unless you want to sell them yourselves. It will be a sorry thing if this nation and that nation scattered all over the country are to suffer because of this little piece of land I see around me. What good is it going to do to raise up a question of this kind and block the way to our understanding each other when the Queen's hand full of love and generosity is held out to you ? The blame rests with you ; it is time for you to talk, to open your mouth, because I cannot take away what shuts it, you must do it yourselves."

*The Gambler*—"This is my Chief, the Queen never told this man ; if this had been told him, I would not have said what I just said now. The Company's store was only there at first. I do not push back the Queen's hand. Let this be cleared up."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"Once for all we tell you whatever number of acres the Queen has promised to you, the Company at this part they will receive no more and no less. We will ascertain what was promised, and will take care to see that what was promised and that only will be performed with regard to the land around this Fort. We can give you no other answer."

*The Gambler*—"I am telling you and reporting what I had to tell. The Company have no right to this earth, but when they are spoken to they do not desist, but do it in spite of you. He is the head and foremost. These Indians you see sitting around report that they only allowed the store to be put up. That is the reason I was very glad when I heard you were coming. The Indians were not told of the Reserves at all. I hear now, it was the Queen gave the land. The Indians thought it was they who gave it to the Company, who are now all over the country. The Indians did not know when the land was given."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I am weary hearing about the country. You might understand me now. You are stronger than that little boy over there, and the Company is stronger than a single trader, but the Company has its master, the Queen, and will have to obey the laws as well as all others. We have nothing to do with the Company. We are here to talk with you about the land. I tell you what we wish to do for your good, but if you will talk about the Company I cannot hinder you. I think it is time now you should talk about what concerns you all."

*The Gambler*—"That is the reason I waited so long. I cannot speak of anything else, my mind is resting on nothing else. I know that you have power and good rules, and this is why I am glad to tell you what is troubling me."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I have told you before and tell you again that the Queen cannot and will not undo what she has done. I have told you that we will see that the Company shall obey what she has ordered, and get no more and no less than she has promised. We might talk here all the year and I could not give you any other answer, and I put it to you now face to face—speak to me about our message, don't put it aside, if you do, the responsibility will rest upon your nation, and during the winter that is coming, many a poor woman and child will be saying, how was it that our councillors and our braves shut their ears to the mouth of the Queen's messengers and refused to tell them their words. The



Company, I have told you, is nothing to us, it is nothing to the Queen, but their rights have to be respected just as much as those of the meanest child in the country. The Queen will do right between you and them. I can say no more than what I have said, and if the Indians will not speak to us we cannot help it, and if the Indians won't answer our message, we must go back and tell the Queen that we came here and did everything we could to show the Indians we were in earnest in proving her love for them, and that when there was a little difficulty, I came at once to meet them half way. What prevents you from coming out and speaking openly? I cannot take away the difficulty you speak of, and if you will not answer us, there is no use in talking."

*The Gambler*—"I told the chief of the soldiers what was in our way, what was troubling us, and now we are telling you. It is that I am working at."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"What is troubling you?"

*Pis-qua* (the Plain), pointing to Mr. McDonald—"You told me you had sold your land for so much money, £300,000. We want that money."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I wish our Indian brother had spoken before what was in his mind. He has been going here and there, and we never knew what he meant. I told you that many years ago the Queen's father's father gave the Company the right to trade in the country from the frozen ocean to the United States Boundary Line, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. The Company grew strong, and wanted no one to trade in the country but themselves. The Queen's people said, 'no, the land is not yours, the Queen's father's father gave you rights to trade, it is time those rights should stop.' You may go on and trade like any other merchant, but as it was worth money to you to say to this trader you shall not buy furs at any post, the Queen would not act unjustly to the Company. She would not take rights away from them any more than from you, and to settle the question, she took all the lands into her own hands and gave the Company a sum of money in place of the rights which she had taken from them. She is ready to deal with you justly. We are here to-day to make to you her good offers. We have nothing to hide, nothing to conceal, the Queen acts in daylight. I think it is time you are going to talk with us about the offers we have made."

*The Gambler*—"I have made up my mind about no other article. I suppose, indeed, I would make the thing very little and very small. When I go back I will think over it."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I have a word to say to you. In our land we worship the Great Spirit, and do not work on Sunday. I am glad to see that you are going back into council, and I will only ask you to think of these things with single hearts, desiring only to do what is right and trusting my words. On Monday morning we will be glad to meet you here, and hope we will find then that your heart has come to ours, that you will see that it is for your children's good, to take our hands and promise we have given. As I told you before, we would be glad to stay longer with you, but we are obliged to go away. We ask you then to meet us on Monday morning, and Mr. Pratt will tell you so that there may be no

mistake as to what we have promised. He has it written down so that it may not be rubbed out."

The conference then ended.

#### SIXTH DAY'S CONFERENCE.

The Crees having come and shaken hands, his Honor Lieutenant Governor Morris rose and said :

"MY FRIENDS—I have talked much ; I would like to hear your voice, I would like to hear what you say,"

*Ka-ku-ish-may* (a principal chief of the Crees) *Loud Voice*—"I am very much pleased with that, to listen to my friends, for certainly it is good to report to each other what is for the benefit of each other. We see the good you wish to show us. If you like what we have to lay before you we will like it, too. Let us join together and make the Treaty ; when both join together it is very good."

The Saulteaux arrived at this juncture, when the Lieutenant Governor said :

"I will say to the two tribes what I said to the Crees before the Saulteaux came. You have heard my voice for many days, you know its sound. You have looked in my face, you have seen my mind through my face, and you know my words are true and that they do not change. But I am not here to talk to-day, I am here to listen. You have had our message, you have had the Queen's words. It is time now that you spoke. I am here to listen, my ears are open. It is for you to speak."

*Kamooses*—"Brothers, I have one word and a small one, that is the reason I cannot finish anything that is large. You do not see the whole number of my tribe which is away at my back, that is the reason I am so slow in making ready."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I want to hear the voice of those who are here, they can speak for themselves and for those who are away."

*Che-e-kuk* (the Worthy One)—"My ears are open to what you say. Just now the Great Spirit is watching over us ; it is good He who has strength and power is overlooking our doings. I want very much to be good in what we are going to talk about, and our chief will take you by the hand just now."

The Chiefs now rose and again shook hands with the Commissioners.

*Ka-ha-oo-kus-ka-too* (He who walks on four claws)—"It is very good to meet together on a fine day, father. When my father used to bring me anything I used to go and meet him, and when my father has given it to me I gave it to my mother to cook it. When we come to join together one half at least will come."

*Che-e-kuk* (the Worthy)—"Now, I am going to tell you, and you say your ears are open. You see the Qu'Appelle Lake Indians that you wished to see, you hear me speak, but there are many away, and that is the reason I cannot speak for



these my children who are away trying to get something to eat; the Cree my child is not here, the Saulteaux my child is not here, the young dogs are not here, the Stonies my children are not here; this is not the number that you see; I am only telling you this. I think I have opened my mind."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I know you are not all here. We never could get you all together, but you know what is good for you and for your children. When I met the Saulteaux last year we had not 4000 there, but there were men like you who knew what was good for themselves, for their wives, for their children, and those not born. I gave to those who were there, and they took my hand and took what was in it, and I sent to those who were away, and I did for them just as I did for those who were present. It is the same to-day. What we are ready to give you will be given to those who are not here. What is good for you, what you think will be good for you, will be good for them. It is for you to say, not for us. We have done all that men who love their red brothers can do, it is for you now to act; on you rests the duty of saying whether you believe our message or not, whether you want the Queen to help you or not, whether or not you will go away and let the days and the years go on and let the food grow scarcer, and let your children grow up and do nothing to keep off the hunger and the cold that is before them. It is for you to say that, not for us, if we had not your good at heart we would not have been here, and we would not have labored these many days if our hearts were not warm towards you, and if we did not believe what we are doing would be for your good as children of our Queen. I have said all."

*Kam-oo-ses*—"Is it true you are bringing the Queen's messenger's kindness? Is it true you are going to give my child what he may use? Is it true you are going to give the different bands the Queen's kindness? Is it true that you bring the Queen's hand? Is it true you are bringing the Queen's power?"

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"Yes, to those who are here and those who are absent, such as she has given us."

"*Kamooses*—"Is it true that my child will not be troubled for what you are bringing him."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"The Queen's power will be around him."

*Kamooses*—"Now, I am going to ask you that the debt that has been lying in the Company's store, I want that to be wiped out. I ask it from the great men of the Queen."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I told you before we have nothing to do with the Company, we have nothing to do with its debts. I have told you what we will do for you, what the Queen will do for you for ever. But the money that the Indian owes the Company is just like the money that the Indians owe to each other or to any trader, and is not due to the Queen. We have no power to put money in your hands and your children's to pay your debts, but it would not be right for the Queen to come in and take away either what is between you and the Company, or what is between you and the traders, or what is between you and each other. If one of you owes the chief is it right that the Queen should wipe it out? I would be very glad if we had it in our power to wipe out your debts, but it is not in our power. All we can do is to put money in your hands and promise to

put money in the hands of those who are away, and give you money every year afterwards, and help you to make a living when the food is scarce. I have told you from the first that whether my words please you or not I will tell you only the truth, and I will only speak as far as the Queen has given us power."

*Ka-ha-oo-kus-ka-too* (He who walks on four claws)—"Whenever you give to these my children what they desire, then you will get what you want."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"We will give them what we have power to give. We are ready to hear."

*Kamooses*—"Yes, I understand and my heart also, but it is not large, it is small, and my understanding is small; that is the word I tell you."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I have told you what we are ready to do for you. Your understanding is large enough to know what is good for you. We have talked these many days, and I ask you now to talk straight, to tell me your mind, to tell me whether you wish to take our offers or not, it is for you to say."

*Che-e-kuk*—"Twenty dollars we want to be put in our hand every year, this we have heard from the others. Twenty-five dollars to each chief."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"If I understand you aright you are mistaken. The Saulteaux did not get \$25.00 per head. They get \$5 every year. We promised them \$5 every year, and a messenger was sent this year to pay them that sum. I may tell you that my children at the Lake of the Woods had big hearts to ask. You say you have small. I told them that if the Queen gave them all they asked I would have to ask her to allow me to become an Indian, but I told them I could not give them what they asked, and when they understood that, and understood the full breadth and width of the Queen's goodness, they took what I offered, and I think if you are wise you will do the same."

A proposition was made here by an Indian that they should receive \$5 per head every second year for fifty years, but he must have done so without authority as it was not acceded to by the other Indians, who expressed their dissent strongly as soon as the offer was made.

*Kamooses*—"I am going to speak for Loud Voice and for the other chiefs. Some chiefs are not here, they are absent, hereafter you will see them. I myself will tell them, and my child that is at my back will tell them also. Will you receive that which I am asking? I want to clear up what the Indians and I want to try and put it right, what my child will say. Well, can you give me that. We want the same treaty you have given to the North West Angle. This I am asking for."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"Whom are you speaking for? Is it for the whole of the Indians? (They expressed their assent.) Are you ready to carry it out? (They again assented.) Are your chiefs ready to sign this afternoon if we grant you these terms? (The Indians assented unanimously.) It is now after twelve, we will speak to you this afternoon."

The Conference here ended to allow the Commissioners time to consult.



## AFTERNOON CONFERENCE.

The Indian having assembled, presented to the Commissioners the Chiefs whose names appear on the Treaty.

*Kamooses*—"To-day we are met together here, and our minds are open. We want to know the terms of the North West Angle Treaty?"

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"Do we understand that you want the same terms which were given at the Lake of the Woods? (The Indians assented.) I have the treaty here in a book. You must know that the steamboats had been running through their waters, and our soldiers had been marching through their country, and for that reason we offered the Ojibbeways a larger sum than we offered you. Last year it was a present covering five years, with you it was a present for this year only. I paid the Indians there a present in money down of \$12.00 per head. I have told you why we offered you less, and you will see there were reasons for it. That is the greatest difference between what we offered you and what was paid them, but on the other hand there were some things promised you that were not given at the Lake of the Woods. (His Honor then explained the terms granted in that treaty.) We promised there that the Queen would spend \$1550 per year to buy shot and powder, ball and twine. There were 4000 of them. I offered you 1000 although you are only one-half the number, as I do not think you number more than 2000. Your proportionate share would be \$750 which you shall receive. Then at the Lake of the Woods each chief had their headmen. We have said you would have four, who shall have \$15.00 each per year, and as at the Lake of the Woods each chief and headman will receive a suit of clothing once in three years, and each chief on signing the treaty will receive a medal and the promise of a flag. We cannot give you the flag now as there were none to be bought at Red River, but we have the medals here. Now I have told you the terms we gave at the North West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, and you will see that the only difference of any consequence between them and what we offered you is in the money payment that we give as a present, and I have told you why we made the difference, and you will see that it was just. We had to speak with them for four years that had gone away. We speak to you only for four days. It was not that we came in the spirit of traders, but because we were trying to do what was just between you and the Queen, and the other Indians who would say that we had treated you better than we had treated them because we put the children of this year's on the same footing as these children through whose land we had been passing and running our steamboats for four years. You see when you ask us to tell you everything, we show you all that has been done, and I have to tell you again that the Ojibbeways at Lake Seule who number 400, when I sent a messenger this spring with a copy of those terms made at the North West Angle with their nation took the Queen's hand by my messenger and made the same treaty. I think I have told you all you want to know, and our ears are open again."

*Kamooses*—"I want to put it a little light for all my children around me, something more on the top. For my chief \$30, for my four chief headmen \$20, and each of my young children \$15 a year."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"I am afraid you are not talking to us straight. When we went away you asked us to give you the terms given at the Lake of the Woods, you asked to know what they were, and the moment I told you, you ask three times as much for your children as I gave them. That would not be right, and it is well that you should know that we have not power to do so, we can give you no more than we gave them. We hope you are satisfied. I have one word more to say, we are in the last hours of the day, you asked us for and we must leave you. The utmost we can do, the furthest we can go or that we ought to go, is, to do what you asked, to give you the terms granted last year at the Lake of the Woods. We can do no more, and you have our last words. It is for you to say whether you are satisfied or not."

*Kamooses*—"We ask that we may have cattle."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"We offered you cattle on the first day, we offered your chief cattle for the use of his band—not for himself, but for the use of his band. We gave the same at the Lake of the Woods. We can give no more here."

*Kamooses*—"We want some food to take us home."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"When you sign the treaty, provisions will be given to take you home. Now I ask you, are you ready to accept the offer, the last offer we can make? You will see we have put you on the same footing as the Indians at the Lake of the Woods, and we think it is more than we ought to give. But rather than not close the matter we have given it, we have talked long enough about this. It is time we did something. Now I would ask, are the Crees and the Saulteaux and the other Indians ready to make the treaty with us? Since we went away we have had the treaty written out, and we are ready to have signed, and we will leave a copy with any chief you may select, and after we leave we will have a copy written out on skin that cannot be rubbed out and put up in a tin box, so that it cannot be wet, so that you can keep it among yourselves, so that when you are dead your children will know what was written."

*Kamooses*—"Yes, we want each chief to have a copy of the treaty, we ask that the Half-breeds may have the right of hunting."

*Lieutenant Governor Morris*—"We will send a copy to each chief, as to the Half-breeds. You need not be afraid, the Queen will deal justly, fairly and generously with all her children."

The Chiefs then signed the treaty, after having been assured that they would never be made ashamed of what they then did.

One of the chiefs on being asked to do so, signed; the second called on said he was promised the money when he signed, and returned to his seat without doing so. The Lieutenant Governor called him forward, held out his hand to him and said, "Take my hand, it holds the money. If you can trust us forever, you can do so for half an hour the treaty." The chief took the Governor's hand and touched the pen and the others followed. As soon as the treaty was signed



the Governor expressed the satisfaction of the Commissioners with the Indians, and Mr. Christie and Mr. Dickenson, the Private Secretary of the Minister of the Interior, were ready to advance signers the money presents, but the Indians requested that the payment should be postponed till the next morning, which was acceded to. The Chiefs then formally approached the Commissioners and shook hands with them, after which the conference adjourned, the Commissioners leaving the place of meeting under escort of the command of Lieutenant Colonel Smith, who had been in daily attendance.

This important treaty, known as No. 4,\* secured 50,000 square miles of territory, and quieted a very troublesome people. It comprised a country of unsurpassed fertility, and full of mineral wealth. It will be observed that the policy forming the basis of all our Indian treaties differed materially from that adopted by the United States Government. The Americans were continually removing their Indians to the West, while we respected, what may be termed their "homesteads." The natural affection of all men, savage as well as civilized, for the land of their birth was not assailed; they were provided against want, in the same grounds over which their forefathers had hunted, and every appliance was furnished for their transition, first to a pastoral, then to an agricultural life. The remarkable ability of Mr. Morris in dealing with the simple-minded and yet acute children of the forest was as conspicuous at Fort Qu'Appelle as at North West Angle,—one secret of his success undoubtedly was, that they had implicit confidence in his integrity and honor; and his patience and kindness in dealing with them was doubtless in strong contrast with the manner of some former negotiators.

A year afterwards, on the 20th September, 1875, Mr. Morris, in company with his associate, the Hon. James McKay, effected another very important treaty, No. 5, with the "Salteaux and Swampy Cree Indians" at Beren's River, and at Norway House on the 24th of the same month. Supplementary treaties were concluded with the band at the mouth of the Saskatchewan river on the 27th, and with the Island band at Wapaw on the 28th. The area covered by these treaties is about 100,000 square miles, and may be described as lying north

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\* Treaty No. 1, secured Manitoba; No. 2, a territory west and north of it. These were negotiated by Mr. Archibald. No. 3 is the North West Angle Treaty, negotiated by Mr. Morris. No. 4 is the Qu'Appelle one. No. 5 is the one made at Beren's River in September, 1875.

of the territory covered by treaties No. 2 and No. 3, extending west to Cumberland House, and including the country east and west of Lake Winnipeg and of Nelson river, as far north as Split Lake. The terms secured were nearly the same as those of No. 4.

During August and September, 1876, Mr. Morris, with his associates, the Hon. James McKay and Mr. W. J. Christie, negotiated a treaty with the Assiniboines and Crees of the unceded territory between the Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains. The territory included in this treaty contains 120,000 square miles, and is inhabited by about five thousand Indians. The Dominion acquired by this last exertion of Mr. Morris nearly the whole of the wonderful "fertile belt" now becoming famous, and all the lands for some distance north of it; in fact, all the lands east of the Rocky Mountains, with the exception of a small district of about 50,000 square miles inhabited by the Blackfeet, Blood, and Sancee or Piegan Indians.

By these four treaties, for which the country is mainly indebted to Mr. Morris, no less than 325,000 square miles of territory, unsurpassed by any in the world for fertility and mineral wealth, were relieved from the Indian rights, and rendered free for settlement.

During the Session of 1877 an Act was passed amending the "North West Territories Act 1875," the principle objects of the amendments being to define the scope of the legislative functions of the Council of the North West Territories, and to make better provision for the Administration of Justice in the Territories.

Immediately after the establishment of the Territories in October, 1876, as a separate Government, the Honorable Mr. Laird, ex-Minister of the Interior, was appointed Lieutenant Governor, and proceeded to Winnipeg *en route* for Livingstone, or Swan River Barracks, the Provisional Seat of Government. His Honor reached Livingstone on the 11th November, took the oaths of office, and entered upon his duties as Lieutenant Governor on the 27th of that month. By virtue of His Excellency the Governor General's proclamation, bearing date the 7th October, 1876, the 39 Vic., cap. 21, intituled "An Act respecting the North West Territories and to create a separate territory out of part thereof" came into force. By this Act a large portion (approximately about 395,000 square miles) of the North West Territories became detached therefrom, and was set apart as a separate District with its own autonomy, under the name of the "District of Keewatin."

This District may be roughly described as comprising that part of



the North West Territories included between the meridians,  $91^{\circ} 8'$  and  $100^{\circ} 8'$  west of Greenwich, stretching north to the northerly limits of Canada, and bounded on the south by the Province of Manitoba and the United States.

The supervision of the affairs of this vast District was, in the first instance, assumed by the Department of the Secretary of State, but was afterwards transferred to the Department of the Interior, to which it was thought more properly to belong.

His Honor, Mr. Morris, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, became "*ex officio*" Lieutenant Governor of the new district of Keewatin.

At his earnest solicitation immediate steps were taken for the organization of the Government of Keewatin. Accordingly, on the 25th November, 1876, an Order of Council was passed appointing, temporarily, under the provisions of the Act already cited, a Council of six persons to aid the Lieutenant Governor in the administration of the affairs of the District; and on the same day and date His Excellency in Council approved another order authorising the Lieutenant Governor of the District, with the advice and consent of his Council, to make provision for the administration of justice in the District, and generally to make and establish such laws and ordinances as might be necessary for the peace, order and good government of the country.

The conclusion in 1876 of the treaty with the Crees, Assiniboine, and Saulteaux Indians (being the sixth of the series of treaties up to that time negotiated with the Indians of the North West) left but a small portion of the Territory lying between the boundary line and the 54th parallel of latitude unsundered.

This portion of the Territory, including about 50,000 square miles, lies at the south-west angle of the territories, north of the boundary line, east of the Rocky Mountains, south of Red River (Treaty No. 6) and west of the Cypress Hills, or Treaty No. 4. It is occupied by the Blackfoot, Blood, and Sances or Piegan Indians, some of the most warlike and intelligent but intractable bands of the North West, who had for years past expected to be treated with, and were much disappointed at the delay.

Mr. Morris very strongly recommended that no further time should be lost in entering into negotiations with these Indians. His Honor reported, in effect, "that the general opinion amongst the missionaries settled in that territory and others acquainted with these Indians, was that a treaty should be made at the earliest possible date, with a view

to preserving the present friendly disposition of these tribes, who may, possibly, become unfriendly or hostile should the treaty negotiations be much longer delayed."

In view of these facts, and in order to satisfy these important tribes, and to prevent the difficulties which might hereafter arise through the settlement of whites, who were already flocking into Fort McLeod and other portions of this Territory, it was decided that these Indians should be treated with during 1877, and they were notified accordingly.

His Honor Mr. Laird, the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories, and Lieutenant Colonel James F. MacLeod, C.M.G., were selected to negotiate the treaty. The former of these gentlemen had assisted in 1874 in negotiating Treaty No. 4 with the Cree and Salteaux Indians, and the latter, during his residence at Fort McLeod, as Commandant of the Mounted Police Force, had acquired the entire confidence and goodwill of the Indian tribes proposed to be dealt with.

The Indians were, in the first instance, notified to assemble at Fort McLeod, on the 13th September, for the purpose of meeting the Commissioners, but, at the request of the chiefs of the bands interested, the place and time of meeting were subsequently changed. Blackfoot Crossing, on the Bow River, on the direct line between Fort McLeod and Battleford, being selected as the place, and the 17th September as the day for the meeting. The Commissioners accordingly on that day met the Indians, and, after five days of tedious powwows, taxing not a little their patience, the treaty was, on the 22nd September, satisfactorily concluded and signed by the Commissioners, Indian Chiefs and headmen present.

The total number of Indians represented at the negotiations who accepted the terms of the treaty and received the gratuity, was 4392.

The terms or conditions of the treaty were substantially the same as those of Treaty No. 4, with the exception that, as some of the bands are not disposed to engage in agricultural pursuits, it was arranged that, instead of giving them agricultural implements, they should receive cattle.

The conclusion of the Treaty with these warlike tribes, at a time when the Indians immediately across the border were engaged in open hostilities with the United States troops, was a conclusive proof of the



wise and just policy of the Government of Canada toward the aboriginal population.

Many persons in the North West entertained grave doubts about the results of the negotiations, and on the other side of the International boundary the newspapers did not hesitate to predict their utter failure.

Besides these valuable services Mr. Morris, through the influence he had acquired, induced the Principals of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic Colleges, to unite in forming a University to which each became affiliated, at the head of which the Episcopal Bishop of Rupert's Land was, by universal consent, made Principal. The Province has therefore a University which can confer degrees on her students, and wherein no religious differences are permitted to interfere with its beneficial operations. This noble triumph of broad-minded and generous patriotism, over the narrow and suicidal prejudices of sectarianism, was chiefly achieved by Mr. Morris.

Steady progress had been made in Manitoba. The policy inaugurated by Mr. Archibald, and continued by Mr. Morris, had produced its natural effect. The public mind settled down to order; immigration was encouraged, and, though the Province suffered with every other portion of the Dominion from the general trade depression, it yet steadily and safely progressed.

On the 10th October, 1874, Lepine was convicted of the murder of Scott, but, as has already been seen, the sentence of death was commuted by His Excellency the Governor General on the 15th January, 1875, to two years' imprisonment and the permanent forfeiture of his political rights.

On the 30th July, 1877, a Vice-regal party, consisting of His Excellency the Governor General, the Countess of Dufferin, Colonel and Mrs. Littleton, Captain and Miss Hamilton, and Major Smith, left Ottawa *en route* for Manitoba and the North West Territories.

On the 1st August, by way of Sarnia, Detroit, and Chicago, they reached St. Paul, Minnesota, where they were received with much enthusiasm, and an address was presented to His Excellency by Governor Davis on the part of the citizens. It contained expressions of cordial good-will to Canada, and spoke warmly and kindly of the future of the great Canadian North West. His Excellency, with his usual geniality, reciprocated their well-chosen expressions, and left the

people of St. Paul pleased that they had met the Governor General of Canada.

Leaving St. Paul, on the morning of the 3rd August, the party proceeded by Thompson Junction to Glyndon, and thence to Fisher's Landing, on Red Lake River. They arrived, on the 4th August, at the American Fort of Pembina from which a Vice-regal salute was fired, which was duly acknowledged from the *Minnesota*, the steamer conveying the party, who, upon landing, were very courteously received by the American officers, and escorted by them through the Fort. Leaving Pembina, they soon reached Emerson, in Canadian territory. A large concourse of people, to the number of several hundred, dressed in holiday attire, including about forty or fifty Rosseau Indians clad in their best finery of paint and feathers, assembled on the river bank to receive their Excellencies. The arrival was signalled by the firing of cannon, and by hearty cheers of welcome. His Excellency having proceeded to a platform, erected for the occasion, an address was presented to him by Messrs. F. T. Bradley, W. H. Nash and W. N. Fairbanks, the Committee on behalf of the inhabitants of Emerson, and of the Pembina Mountain country, of the Rosseau River Settlement, of the French reserve, of the Mennonite reserve, and of the whole southern portion of the Province of Manitoba. Another address was presented on behalf of the Indians of the Rosseau tribe, by their Chief Kethegyash. His Excellency replied to both, and in his reply to the Indian Chief desired the interpreter to explain to him that he had come a long way to see him and his tribe; that he was glad to find them contented with their situation, and satisfied with the manner in which Her Majesty's Government had dealt with them. He added, that not only the Government of Canada, at Ottawa, not only he himself, but their Great Mother the Queen, was especially interested in their welfare, and had directed him to come and see them, in order that he might be able to write to her and tell her whether or not he found them prosperous and happy. These pleasant words were received with great satisfaction by the Indians, and the praise of the Great Mother's Chief travelled over the North West much in advance of His Excellency himself. The Bishop of the Mennonites with several members of that body were then presented. A pleasing feature of the reception was the National Anthem, sung by a choir of little children.

Winnipeg was reached on Monday, 6th August. Upon their arri-



val the Vice-Regal party was received by the City Council, the Mayor, Mr. Thomas Scott, at their head ; and after passing through the town in a procession composed of the Winnipeg Field Battery and band, the local infantry, the students of the College of St. Boniface with their band, and the citizens, they, with his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, ascended a platform in front of the City Hall, where the City Clerk, Mr. A. M. Brown, read an address, to which His Excellency replied. A number of presentations were then made, when the Vice-regal party were driven to Silver Heights, the residence of the Hon. D. A. Smith, M. P. for Selkirk, about six miles distant, where their Excellencies took up their quarters.

As their Excellencies had intimated their intention to remain at least a week in the vicinity, every thing was done by the people to render their visit agreeable.

On Tuesday, the 7th August, the party drove into town, and called at Government House, a quaint rambling pile of buildings owned by the Hudson Bay Company, and immediately adjoining the Fort. A visit was also paid to the Fort itself, and His Excellency, accompanied by the Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Morris, inspected the various buildings and arrangements within the walls. They remained in town during the evening, and attended an entertainment at the City Hall, during which the chief buildings in the town were illuminated, and on leaving the Hall were saluted by a brilliant display of fire-works, accompanied by enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.

Wednesday, the 8th August, was observed as a public holiday. All places of business were closed, and the day was given up to amusement and rejoicing. Their Excellencies drove into town early in the afternoon, and after a short visit to Government House, proceeded to witness a game of Lacrosse.

On Thursday morning, the party drove into Winnipeg, and crossing the river proceeded to St. Boniface, the See of His Grace the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Manitoba. Great preparations were made for this visit, and the street running along the river bank was gorgeous with decorations: Before the entrance to the grounds of the Archiepiscopal Palace, a huge triumphal arch of evergreens bore the device, "Bienvenue a Notre Gouverneur," and over the door of the Palace itself, conspicuous in large letters, was suspended the device, "God Save the Queen." The bells of the neighboring Cathedral rang out a chime of welcome, and the band of the students

of St. Boniface College played the National Anthem. The party were received by a deputation consisting of a number of leading Roman Catholic citizens, headed by Archbishop Taché. Upon their entering the Palace the following address was read by Mr. Royal, the Attorney General of the Province.

This address is so admirable in itself, and the feelings expressed in it form so excellent a commentary on the prudent and conciliatory policy of Mr. Archibald, the late Lieutenant Governor, and of his successor, Mr. Morris, the then Lieutenant Governor—that it is reproduced in full. It may safely be said that but for the efforts of these rulers, and the powerful social influence of their wives and daughters, no address breathing so strongly of loyalty to the Crown, and love of Canada and her institutions, would have been presented by the Roman Catholic French population.

“YOUR EXCELLENCY,—Permit the citizens of St. Boniface and myself, on behalf of the French speaking population of Manitoba, as President of the National Society of St. Jean Baptiste, to tell you with what pleasure we welcome you as the direct representative of the highest British authority, and the illustrious Lieutenant of our Most Illustrious Sovereign.

We share to the same degree as the citizens of the Old Provinces the attachment to the noble and dear institutions which govern us with such force, such liberty and security—an attachment which has been expressed to you, my Lord, from one end of the Canadian Confederation to the other, in your Vice-regal visits.

We feel that we are free and protected, although neighbors to a country which prides itself as being the freest people of the universe.

It is with this idea of security and strength,—it is in the wise enjoyment of all the franchises of our Constitution,—it is in the respect of the rights of others,—it is in the cordial submission to the laws of the country, that we are striving to establish just now this young Province of Manitoba, the first of the group of Provinces in the Canadian Far West for which the future appears to have in store progress, wealth, and influence, perhaps equal to those of the rich and admirable Provinces of the St. Lawrence.

You are now witnessing, my Lord, the birth of a new people, and, as your Excellency has already said, you have to this day watched with the eye of the Statesman all the interesting phases, the sorrowful crises, as well as the happy and progressive development, of the short but eventful history of this rising country.

Belonging by our origin to the national group who first discovered and settled this part of America, we feel with a legitimate pride that we are truly Canadians. This land of Canada is the land of our birth for over two centuries, and it is doubtless to the force of our attachment to the soil, and to the excellent institutions that are granted to us by the metropolis, that we owe the fact of forming one of the most



moderate (French, *modérateurs*) of the populations of the whole Dominion of Canada.

To us, loyalty is not only a fact of tradition, but it is one of the happy results of our political condition. It is not only the outburst of a sentiment,—it is, and much more, a remembrance of the past, strength of the present, and hope in the future.

Nothing that makes the heart of Canada throb is foreign to us, and it was with a deep feeling of satisfaction that we felt that we were Canadians when the press was bringing to this distant Province the echo of the admirable words in which, during the last four years, and in the course of your visits, or tours, or travels in this part of the continent, you were making world-known your views, so just, so liberal, and so comprehensive of the social as well as economical condition of Canada.

We are happy, my Lord, that on the eve of your Excellency being perhaps called to a more vast theatre to occupy higher functions, you have resolved to visit this Province, the first outcrop of the Canadian Confederation of British North America.

Your Excellency will not meet here the marvels of industry, the sum of wealth, or the great public undertakings, which have excited your wonder in other parts of the Dominion; but we feel satisfied, my Lord, that you will find here the same unalterable and deep affection towards the person of Her Most Gracious Majesty, the sound attachment to the institutions of the land, and the same respect for the authority and the laws, which you have observed in the older Provinces.

Permit us, my Lord, to connect the name of your noble and charming lady, the Countess of Dufferin, with your own name, in the respectful and hearty wishes of welcome we entertain, and to earnestly hope that her sojourn in the Province may form, as well as for your Excellency, one of the happiest *souvenirs* you both will carry with you as the results of your visits to the various parts of Canada."

The address was signed by the Hon. Joseph Royal, President of the Association St. Jean Baptiste; the Hon. M. A. Girard, Chairman of the Committee of Reception, and Messieurs the Hon. Joseph Dubuc, B.C.L., and George Roy, Secretaries. To this His Excellency replied in French. The party were then escorted over the Palace, and upon returning to the reception room the Archbishop presented an address, also in French, the reply to which was made in the same language. The Cathedral and Orphanage were next visited. In the latter, where forty children, representing eleven different nationalities, are maintained under the care of the resident sisterhood, a further address was presented to His Excellency by a little Indian girl, in behalf of herself and her fellow orphans. Both it and the reply were in French.

In the evening, 9th August, an "At Home" was given by Mrs. Morris at Government House. A special ball-room of large dimensions

had been constructed for the occasion, and it was filled. It is worthy of note that in this remote and new Province, the richness and good taste displayed in the dresses of the ladies were as conspicuous as their physical beauty. The native ladies were exceptionally well dressed, and their natural vivacity and elegance attracted general notice.\* The ladies and gentlemen forming the Vice-regal set were : Her Excellency and his Honor the Lieutenant Governor ; His Excellency and Mrs. Morris ; Mrs. Davis, wife of the Premier, and the Hon. Col. Littleton ; Mrs. Littleton and the Hon. Mr. Royal ; Mrs. McTavish and the Hon. Mr. Justice Betournay ; Mrs. McKeaguey and Col. Smith.

During the evening His Excellency danced with Miss Morris and Miss Elizabeth Morris, daughters of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, Miss McKeaguey and Miss Smith.

On the next afternoon their Excellencies held a levee in the City Hall, when a great number of ladies and gentlemen were presented. In the evening a concert was given in their honor by the choir of the College of St. Boniface. The next day was devoted to races and the lasso performances of Charles Allard, reputed to be one of the most expert and daring rough riders in the whole western country.

Monday, the 13th August, was devoted to the reception of addresses. His Excellency attended at the City Hall in the morning, and received addresses from the Presbytery of Manitoba, the Manitoba College, the Diocesan Synod of Rupert's Land, the County Council of the County of Lisgar, the Corporations of Kildonan and St. Johns, to each of which His Excellency briefly replied. The Vice regal party then crossed the river and attended the annual rifle matches of the Manitoba Rifle Association. Here an address was presented on behalf of the Association and, after the reply, Her Excellency inaugurated the proceedings by firing the first shot, making a "bull's eye."

In the evening, fifteen native Sioux Indians, dressed in full regalia and accompanied by ten squaws, were escorted by the Hon. James McKay to Silver Heights where they exhibited the war dances of their nation.

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\* Lord Dufferin's innate refinement rendered him unable to speak of these ladies by the epithet they universally adopted themselves. He alluded to them as the "native" ladies, while they spoke of each other as "Half-breeds." A "Métis" is a Half-breed. The children of Indian mothers by husbands of other nations are known as "Metis" or "Half-breeds."



On the 14th August, the party repaired to the site of the ladies school of St. John's College, where His Excellency laid the cornerstone in the presence of his Lordship the Bishop of Rupert's Land and a large audience and after the ceremony, were driven to the college where an address was presented on behalf of the College Council. His Excellency having replied, presented to Masters Bannatyne and McKay, the successful competitors among the scholars of the current year, the Dufferin medals, which they had won. In the evening a citizens' ball was given in the City Hall, in honor of their Excellencies. The Vice-regal set was composed of the following ladies and gentlemen : His Excellency and Mrs. Logan ; Her Excellency and the Mayor of Winnipeg, Captain Scott ; The Hon. Mrs. Morris and Mr. Logan ; The Hon. Mrs. Wood and Mr. Blanchard ; Mrs. Bannatyne and Mr. McTavish ; Mrs. Blanchard and Mr. Bannatyne. During the evening His Excellency danced with Miss Morris, Miss Elizabeth Morris, Mrs. Colin Inkster, Mrs. Bannatyne, Mrs. Blanchard, and Mrs. Brown.

On the 15th August the Vice-regal party, under the escort of the Hon. James McKay, set out from Winnipeg on their tour of inspection through the Province. They first visited the Provincial Penitentiary on Stony Mountain, about sixteen miles north-west from Winnipeg. On their way they were met by a Reception Committee on behalf of the Electoral Division of Rockwood, headed by Mr. W. J. Luxton, the member for the county. A Red River cart, drawn by a train of thirty oxen, harnessed in single file, was provided, and His Excellency was invited to a seat in this novel vehicle. He assented, and had for his companions some of the ladies of the party who expressed their desire to travel in the uncouth barouche. A few minutes brought them in sight of an immense triumphal arch, tastefully ornamented with alternate sheaves of wheat and oats, the staple agricultural products of the country, and surmounted by a rustic spinning wheel, with a plough on each side. At Rockwood, where they were met by a large concourse of people, an address was presented on behalf of the residents of the place, read by Mr. Luxton, to which His Excellency briefly replied. At the Penitentiary the party were met by Mr. Bedson, the warden, who escorted Her Excellency along the gravel walk to the walls of the enclosure, produced a little gilt wheelbarrow, filled with gravel, and politely requested Her Excellency to "begin work" on the road to Winnipeg. It was explained to her that the

walk upon which they stood was the beginning of a gravel highway which would, when finished, extend across the prairie to the capital.

From Rockwood the party proceeded to St. Andrews. On their way they were met by the Hon. John Norquay, member for the Electoral Division of South St. Andrews, and Minister of Public Works, who escorted them to St. Andrews, where, upon their arrival, an address was presented on behalf of the Reception Committee, and was read by Mr. Norquay. From St. Andrews they proceeded to Lower Fort Garry, or, as it is commonly called, Stone Fort. Selkirk was visited during the next day, where an address from the people of Selkirk and the Electoral District of St. Clements was read by Mr. Sifton, to which a brief reply was given. On their way to St. Peter's, they were met by a band of Indians from Fort Alexander, when an address from the Chippewa and Cree tribes, commonly known as the "St. Peter's," "Broken-head River," and "Fort Alexander" bands, was presented, and read by the Rev. Mr. Settee, the missionary, and duly replied to.

His Excellency, on the 21st August, visited the Mennonite Settlement on Rat River. In order to escape military duty a number of Mennonites had left the southern parts of Russia, and settled in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Dakotah. While this exodus was going on Mr. William Hespeler, a well-known former resident of the County of Waterloo, Ontario, was acting as Emigrant Agent of the Dominion in Alsace-Lorraine, in Germany. He soon learned the fact of the emigration of these people to the Western States. His long residence among the Mennonite settlers in Waterloo had made him familiar with the character of these people, and he suggested to the Canadian Government the importance of securing a share of the emigration from Southern Russia. He was at once authorized to proceed to Russia, and lay before the disciples of Senior Menno the capabilities of the Prairie Province of Manitoba and the North West. The Government offered them free grants of land, and guaranteed them exemption from military duty and full liberty to conduct their churches and schools as they might see fit. Besides this, the Government lent them \$100,000 at six per cent. for eight years, to enable them to build houses and settle themselves with comfort in their new homes. The result of these wise measures has been astonishing. There are now two large Mennonite settlements in Manitoba. The chief one is the Rat River Reservation, which comprises a tract of eight townships, of 174,000 acres. Within its bounds there are already thirty-two vil-



lages, with a population of about 4000. The other Reservation is west of Red River, and is known as the Dufferin Reserve. It consists of seventeen townships, containing over 370,000 acres, twenty villages, and about 3000 people. The Mennonites brought into the Province half a million of dollars in cash, and are not only a thrifty and industrious people but are excellent agriculturists. On arriving at the Settlement an address was presented, to which His Excellency replied as follows:—

“FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE DOMINION AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS OF HER MAJESTY,—I have come here to-day in the name of the Queen of England to bid you welcome to Canadian soil. With this welcome it is needless that I should couple the best wishes of the Imperial Government in England or of the Dominion Government at Ottawa, for you are well aware that both have regarded your coming here with unmitigated satisfaction. You have left your own land in obedience to a conscientious scruple, nor will you have been the first to cross the Atlantic under the pressure of a similar exigency. In doing so you must have made great sacrifices, broken with many tender associations, and overthrown the settled purposes of your former peacefully ordered lives; but the very fact of your having manfully faced the uncertainties and risks of so distant an emigration rather than surrender your religious convictions in regard to the unlawfulness of warfare, proves you to be well worthy of our respect, confidence, and esteem. You have come to a land where you will find the people with whom you are to associate engaged indeed in a great struggle, and contending with foes whom it requires their best energies to encounter. But those foes are not your fellowmen, nor will you be called upon in the struggle to stain your hands with human blood—a task which is so abhorrent to your religious feelings. The war to which we invite you as recruits and comrades is a war waged against the brute forces of nature; but those forces will welcome our domination, and reward our attack by placing their treasures at our disposal. It is a war of ambition,—for we intend to annex territory,—but neither blazing villages nor devastated fields will mark our ruthless track; our battalions will march across the illimitable plains which stretch before us as sunshine steals athwart the ocean; the rolling prairie will blossom in our wake, and corn and peace and plenty will spring where we have trod. But not only are we ourselves engaged in these beneficent occupations—you will find that the only other nationality with whom we can ever come into contact are occupied with similar peaceable pursuits. They, like us, are engaged in advancing the standards of civilization westwards, not as rivals, but as allies; and a community of interests, objects, and aspirations has already begun to cement between the people of the United States and ourselves what is destined I trust to prove an indissoluble affection. If, then, you have come hither to seek for peace—peace at least we can promise you. But it is not merely to the material blessings of our land that I bid you welcome. We desire to share with you on equal terms our constitutional liberties, our municipal privileges, and our domestic freedom; we invite you to assist us in

choosing the members of our Parliament, in shaping our laws, and in moulding our future destinies. There is no right or function which we exercise as free citizens in which we do not desire you to participate, and with this civil freedom we equally gladly offer you absolute religious liberty. The forms of worship you have brought with you, you will be able to practise in the most unrestricted manner, and we confidently trust that those blessings which have waited upon your virtuous exertions in your Russian homes will continue to attend you here; for we hear that you are a sober-minded and God-fearing community, and as such you are doubly welcome amongst us. It is with the greatest pleasure I have passed through your villages, and witnessed your comfortable homesteads, barns and byres, which have arisen like magic upon this fertile plain, for they prove indisputably that you are expert in agriculture, and already possess a high standard of domestic comfort. In the name, then, of Canada and her people, in the name of Queen Victoria and her empire, I again stretch out to you the hand of brotherhood and good fellowship, for you are as welcome to our affection as you are to our lands, our liberties, and freedom. In the eye of our law the least among you is the equal of the highest magnate in our land, and the proudest of our citizens may well be content to hail you as his fellow-countryman. You will find Canada a beneficent and loving mother, and under her fostering care I trust your community is destined to flourish and extend in wealth and numbers through countless generations. In one word, beneath the flag whose folds now wave above us, you will find protection, peace, civil and religious liberty, constitutional freedom and equal laws."

The settlers listened attentively to this address, vainly endeavoring to conceal their eagerness and emotion under a mask of German stolidity. They frequently doffed their caps in token of their approval, and many of them were moved to tears by the kind, tender and feeling terms in which His Excellency referred to the associations connected with their far-away homes. One stolid-looking, rubicund-visaged, middle-aged man vainly tried to suppress his feelings—they were beyond his control. First, the muscles about his mouth were seen to quiver, then there was a perceptible trembling of the eyelids, and at last, long before His Excellency had concluded, he fairly broke down, and the tears coursed down his weather-worn cheeks. Many women, too, were affected to tears.

Returning to Silver Heights, the Vice-regal party, on the 28th August, departed, and proceeded eastward through Winnipeg, and across the Red river to St. Boniface, thence to Pointe de Chene, a French Half-breed settlement, distant about thirty miles from Winnipeg, thence to the North West Angle. From this point they proceeded by the steamer, *Lady of the Lake*, across the Lake of the Woods to Rat Portage, where they embarked in canoes, and passed down the entire length of the Winnipeg river to Fort Alexander,



where the stream enters Lake Winnipeg. From here they were taken by the Hudson Bay Company's steamer, *Colville*, up the Lake to the mouth of the Saskatchewan. Thence they proceeded to Cedar Lake, and thence down the Saskatchewan to Lake Winnipeg, running the Grand Rapids. At the outlet of the river they re-embarked on board the *Colville*, and coasted down the Lake to Gimli,\* in the Icelandic Reservation, which was reached on the 15th September.

In the summer of 1875, a small Icelandic settlement had been formed on Burnt River, in the County of Victoria, Ontario. The settlement included about two hundred and fifty souls. The land was unproductive, the settlement did not thrive, and, on their case being brought before the Government, it was determined to remove them to the West. A large reserve was set apart in Keewatin, to which they were transferred, and agents being sent to Iceland, a number of their countrymen, about 1200, were induced to join them in 1876, took up their quarters on the Reserve. This embraces an area of four hundred and twenty-seven miles, or about 273,000 acres.

His Excellency was received with great warmth by the people who, it may be mentioned, had very recently suffered terribly from small-pox. From the moment he set foot on the shore his energy and vigilance were unremitting. He visited the abodes of the poorest of the settlers, not as an official discharging an unpleasant duty, but as a great-hearted gentleman, who could sympathize with the joys and griefs of the humble and confer kindness upon the poor and needy. There was not a vestige of patronage either in his voice, his countenance or his demeanor, but there was a tenderness of manner and an earnest solicitude which brought balm to many a sore heart that day. His bearing towards the women was especially note-worthy. He enquired into their history, prospects, and domestic affairs with unwearying interest and patience, and had a kind and appropriate word for each. An address was presented, to which His Excellency made the following admirable reply:—

“MEN AND WOMEN OF ICELAND, NOW CITIZENS OF CANADA, AND SUBJECTS OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN,—When it was my good fortune twenty years ago to visit your island I never thought that the day would come when I should be called upon as the representative of the British Crown to receive you in this coun-

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\* In English “Elysium.”

try ; but the opportunities I have thus had of becoming acquainted with your dramatic history, with your picturesque literature, and the kindness I have experienced at the hands of your countrymen now enable me with the greater cordiality to bid you welcome. I have learnt with extreme sorrow of the terrible trials to which you have been exposed so soon after your arrival by the unexpected ravages of a terrible epidemic. Such a visitation was well calculated to damp your spirits and to benumb your energies, aggravating as it did those inevitable hardships which attend the first efforts of all colonists to establish themselves in a new land. The precautions which the Local Government was reluctantly compelled to take to prevent the spreading of the contagion through the Province must also have been both galling and disadvantageous, but I trust that the discouragements which attended your advent amongst us have now forever passed away, and that you are fairly embarked on a career of happiness and prosperity. Indeed I understand that there is not one amongst you who is not perfectly content with his new lot, and fully satisfied that the change which has taken place in his destiny is for the better. During a hasty visit like the present I cannot pretend to acquire more than a superficial insight into your condition, but so far as I have observed, things appear to be going sufficiently well with you. The homesteads I have visited seem well built and commodious, and are certainly far superior to any of the farm-houses I remember in Iceland, while the gardens and little clearings which have begun to surround them show that you have already tapped an inexhaustible store of wealth in the rich alluvial soil on which we stand. The three arts most necessary to a Canadian colonist are the felling of timber, the plowing of land, and the construction of highways, but as in your own country none of you had ever seen a tree, a cornfield, or a road, it is not to be expected that you should immediately exhibit any expertness in these accomplishments ; but practice and experience will soon make you the masters of all three, for you possess in a far greater degree than is probably imagined, that which is the essence and foundation of all superiority—intelligence, education, and intellectual activity. In fact I have not entered a single hut or cottage in the settlement, which did not contain, no matter how bare its walls, or scanty its furniture, a library of twenty or thirty volumes ; and I am informed that there is scarcely a child amongst you who cannot read and write. Secluded as you have been for hundreds of years from all contact with the civilization of Europe, you may in many respects be a little rusty and behind the rest of the world ; nor perhaps have the conditions under which you used to live at home—where months have to be spent in the enforced idleness of a sunless winter—accustomed you to those habits of continued and unflagging industry which you will find necessary to your new existence ; but in our brighter, drier, and more exhilarating climate you will become animated with fresh vitality, and your continually expanding prosperity will encourage you year by year to still greater exertions. Beneath the genial influences of the fresh young world to which you have come, the dormant capacities of your race, which adverse climatic and geographical conditions may have somewhat stunted and benumbed, will bud and burgeon forth in all their pristine exuberance, as the germs which have been for centuries buried beneath the pyramids and cata-



combs of Egypt are said to excel in the exuberance and succulence of their growth the corn-seeds of last year's harvest. But as sun and air and light are necessary to produce this miracle, so it will be necessary for you to profit as much as possible by the example and by the intercourse of your more knowledgeable neighbors. I have learnt with great satisfaction that numbers of your young women have entered the households of various Canadian families, where they will not only acquire the English language, which it is most desirable you should all know, and which they will be able to teach their brothers and sisters, and—I trust I may add, in course of time, their children—but will also learn those lessons of domestic economy and housewifely neat-handedness which are so necessary to the well-being, health, and cheerfulness of our homes. I am also happy to be able to add that I have received the best accounts from a great number of people of the good conduct, handiness, and docility of these young Ingeborgs, Ragnhildas, Thoras, and Gudruns, who I trust will do credit to the epic ancestresses from whom they have inherited their names. Many of the houses I have visited to-day bore evident signs in their airiness, neatness, and well-ordered appearance of possessing a housewife who had already profited from her contact with the outer world. And while I am upon this subject there is one practical hint which I shall venture to make to you. Every single house I visited to-day, many of them being mere temporary huts, with at the most two small chambers, was furnished with a large close iron cooking-stove, evidently used not merely for cooking purposes, but also for heating the habitation. I believe that this arrangement is anything but desirable, and that at all events in those houses where a separate kitchen cannot be obtained, an open fireplace should be introduced. I am quite certain that if I were to come amongst you in winter I should find these stoves in full operation, and every crevice in your shanties sealed up from the outer air. Now you are surrounded by an inexhaustible supply of the best possible fuel, which can be obtained with comparatively little labor, and consequently economy of coal, which is their chief recommendation, need not drive you to an excessive use of these unwholesome appliances. Our winter air, though sufficiently keen, is healthy and bracing, and a most potent incentive to physical exertion, whereas the mephitic vapors of an overheated, closely packed chamber paralyze our physical as well as our mental activities. A constitution nursed upon the oxygen of our bright winter atmosphere makes its owner feel as though he could toss about the pine trees in his glee, whereas to the sluggard simmering over his stove pipe, it is a horror and a nameless hardship to put his nose outside the door. I need not tell you that in a country like this the one virtue pre-eminently necessary to every man is self-reliance, energy, and a determination to conquer an independent living for himself, his wife and children by the unassisted strength of his own right arm. Unless each member of the settlement is possessed and dominated by this feeling, there can be no salvation for any one. But why need I speak to Icelanders—to you men and women of the grand old Norse race, of the necessity of patience under hardship, courage in the face of danger, dogged determination in the presence of difficulties. The annals of your country are bright with the records of your forefathers' noble endurance. The sons and daughters of the men and women who crossed the Arctic Ocean in open boats, and preferred to make their homes amid the snows and cinders of a volcano rather than enjoy

peace and plenty under the iron sway of a despot may afford to smile at anyone who talks to them of hardship or rough living beneath the pleasant shade of these murmuring branches and beside the laughing ripples of yonder shining lake. The change now taking place in your fortunes is the very converse and opposite of that which befell your forefathers. They fled from their pleasant homes and golden cornfields into a howling wilderness of storm and darkness, ice and lava, but you I am welcoming to the healthiest climate on the continent, and to a soil of unexampled fertility, which a little honest industry on your part will soon turn into a garden of plenty. Nor do we forget that no race has a better right to come amongst us than yourselves, for it is probably to the hardihood of the Icelandic navigators that the world is indebted for the discovery of this continent. Had not Columbus visited your island and discovered in your records a practical and absolute confirmation of his own brilliant speculations in regard to the existence of a western land, it is possible he might never have had the enterprise to tempt the unknown Atlantic. Again, then, I welcome you to this country—a country in which you will find yourselves freemen serving no overlord, and being no man's men but your own; each, master of his own farm, like the Udalmen, and 'Boenders' of old days; and remember that in coming amongst us, you will find yourselves associated with a race both kindly hearted and cognate to your own, nor in becoming Englishmen and subjects of Queen Victoria need you forget your own time-honored customs of the picturesque annals of your forefathers. On the contrary, I trust you will continue to cherish for all time the heart-stirring literature of your nation, and that from generation to generation your little ones will continue to learn in your ancient Sagas that industry, energy, fortitude, perseverance, and stubborn endurance have ever been the characteristics of the noble Icelandic race. I have pledged my personal credit to my Canadian friends on the successful development of your settlement. My warmest and most affectionate sympathies attend you, and I have not the slightest misgiving but that in spite of your enterprise being conducted under what of necessity are somewhat disadvantageous conditions, not only will your future prove bright and prosperous, but that it will be universally acknowledged that a more valuable accession to the intelligence, patriotism, loyalty, industry, and strength of the country has never been introduced into the Dominion."

After the delivery of this address His Excellency went through the crowd, shaking hands with each of the women, and congratulating them, as he was justly entitled to do, upon the fact that they were industriously fulfilling woman's mission here on earth.

Leaving Gimli the party returned on board the *Colville*, and set sail for Red River, and arrived safely at Silver Heights on the 16th September. The party spent the time up to the 29th in short journeys to points near Winnipeg, and as it had been determined to leave for Ottawa on that day, it had been arranged that their Excellencies should each drive two spikes in the track, as the beginning of the construction of the railway to Pembina. This was done with imposing



ceremonies, and the party then proceeded to the College of St. Boniface, where they took leave of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, and presented the "Dufferin" medals to the following successful students:—Masters W. J. Kittson, O. Monchamp, P. Haverty, and N. Betournay. After visiting the young ladies boarding school, their Excellencies recrossed the river and proceeded to the City Hall to take part in the farewell *dejeuner*.

This entertainment was the most sumptuous which had been provided during the whole tour, and was a most generous conclusion of this most important visit to the North West.

The guests entered the room and took their seats precisely at one p.m. Half way down the long table sat the Mayor, Mr. Scott, with His Excellency on his right hand and the Countess of Dufferin on his left. To the right of His Excellency were Mrs. Morris, wife of the Lieutenant Governor; His Grace Archbishop Taché, Chief Justice Wood, Attorney General Royal, Dr. Schultz, Mr. Taylor, American Consul at Winnipeg, and Colonel Osborne Smith. To the left of Her Excellency were his Honor Lieutenant Governor Morris, the Hon. Mr. Davis, the Hon. Col. Littleton, the Hon. D. A. Smith, M.P. for Selkirk, Mrs. Schultz, and Archdeacon Cowley. Three other tables were occupied by over a hundred guests, including the remaining members of the Vice-regal party and the leading citizens of the Province. On the health of His Excellency being proposed by the Mayor, he returned thanks in an address which will always be regarded as one of his "great" speeches. He said:—

"MR. MAYOR, YOUR HONOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In rising to express my acknowledgments to the citizens of Winnipeg for thus crowning the friendly reception I have received throughout the length and breadth of Manitoba by so noble an entertainment, I am painfully oppressed by the consideration of the many respects in which my thanks are due to you, and to so many other persons in the Province. (Applause.) From our first landing on your quays until the present moment my progress through the country has been one continual delight (loud applause), nor has the slightest hitch or incongruous incident marred the satisfaction of my visit. I have to thank you for the hospitalities I have enjoyed at the hands of your individual citizens, as well as of a multitude of independent communities,—for the tasteful and ingenious decorations which adorned my route,—for the quarter of a mile of evenly-yoked oxen that drew our triumphal car,—for the universal proofs of your loyalty to the Throne and the Mother Country, and for your personal good will towards her Majesty's Representative. Above all I have to thank you for the evidences produced on either hand along our march of your prosperous condition, of your perfect contentment, of your confidence in your

future fortunes,—for I need not tell you that to any one in my situation, smiling cornfields, cozy homesteads, the joyful faces of prosperous men and women, and the laughter of healthy children, are the best of all triumphal adornments. (Applause.) But there are other things for which I ought to be obliged to you, and first for the beautiful weather you have taken the precaution to provide us with during some six weeks of perpetual camping out (laughter), for which attention I have received Lady Dufferin's especial orders to render you her personal thanks—an attention which the unusual phenomenon of a casual waterspout enabled us only the better to appreciate; and lastly, though certainly not least, for not having generated amongst you that fearful entity, “A Pacific Railway question”—at all events not in those dire and tragic proportions in which I have encountered it elsewhere. (Great laughter.) Of course I know a certain phase of the railway question is agitating even this community, but it has assumed the mild character of a domestic, rather than of an inter-Provincial controversy. Two distinguished members moreover of my present Government have been lately amongst you, and have doubtless acquainted themselves with your views and wishes. It is not necessary, therefore, that I should mar the hilarious character of the present festival by any untimely allusions to so grave a matter. Well, then, ladies and gentlemen, what am I to say and do to you in return for all the pleasure and satisfaction I have received at your hands? I fear there is very little that I can say and scarcely anything that I can do commensurate with my obligations. Stay—there is one thing at all events I think I have already done, for which I am entitled to claim your thanks. You are doubtless aware that a great political controversy has for some time raged between the two great parties of the State as to which of them is responsible for the visitation of that terror of two continents—the Colorado bug. (Great laughter.) The one side is disposed to assert that if their opponents had never acceded to power the Colorado bug would never have come to Canada. (Renewed laughter.) I have reason to believe, however, though I know not whether any substantial evidence has been adduced in support of their assertion (laughter), that my Government deny and repudiate having had any sort of concert or understanding with that irrepressible invader. (Roars of laughter.) It would be highly unconstitutional for me, who am bound to hold a perfectly impartial balance between the contending parties of the State, to pronounce an opinion upon this momentous question. (Renewed laughter.) But however disputable a point may be the prime and original authorship of the Colorado bug, there is one fact no one will question, namely, that to the presence of the Governor General in Manitoba is to be attributed the sudden, total, otherwise unaccountable, and I trust, permanent disappearance, not only from this Province, but from the whole North West, of the infamous and unmentionable “Hopper” (loud laughter) whose annual visitations for the last seventeen years have proved so distressing to the agricultural interests of the entire region. But apart from being the fortunate instrument of conferring this benefit upon you (laughter), I fear the only further return in my power is to assure you of my great sympathy with you in your endeavors to do justice to the material advantages with which your Province has been so richly endowed by the hands of Providence. From its geographical position, and its peculiar characteristics, Manitoba may be regarded



as the keystone of that mighty arch of sister Provinces which spans the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. (Great applause.) It was here that Canada, emerging from her woods and forests, first gazed upon her rolling prairies and unexplored North West, and learnt, as by an unexpected revelation, that her historical territories of the Canadas, her eastern seaboard of New Brunswick, Labrador and Nova Scotia, her Laurentian lakes and valleys, corn lands and pastures, though themselves more extensive than half a dozen European kingdoms (applause), were but the vestibules and antechambers to that till then undreamt of Dominion, whose illimitable dimensions alike confound the arithmetic of the surveyor and the verification of the explorer. (Tremendous applause.) It was hence that counting her past achievements as but the preface and prelude to her future exertions and expanding destinies, she took a fresh departure, received the afflatus of a more Imperial inspiration, and felt herself no longer a mere settler along the banks of a single river, but the owner of half a continent, and in the amplitude of her possession, in the wealth of her resources, in the sinews of her material might, the peer of any power on the earth. (Loud applause.) In a recent remarkably witty speech the Marquis of Salisbury alluded to the geographical misconceptions often engendered by the smallness of the maps upon which the figure of the world is depicted. To this cause is probably to be attributed the inadequate idea, entertained by the best educated persons, of the extent of Her Majesty's North American possessions. Perhaps the best way of correcting such a universal misapprehension would be by a summary of the rivers which flow through them, for we know that as a poor man cannot afford to live in a big house, so a small country cannot support a big river. Now to an Englishman or a Frenchman the Severn or the Thames, the Seine or the Rhone would appear considerable streams, but in the Ottawa, a mere affluent of the St. Lawrence, an affluent moreover which reaches the parent stream six hundred miles from its mouth, we have a river nearly five hundred and fifty miles long, and three or four times as big as any of them. (Applause.) But even after having ascended the St. Lawrence itself to Lake Ontario, and pursued it across Lake Huron, St. Clair, and Lake Superior to Thunder Bay, a distance of one thousand five hundred miles, where are we? In the estimation of the person who has made the journey, at the end of all things (great laughter); but to us, who know better, scarcely at the commencement of the great fluvial systems of the Dominion; for, from that spot, that is to say, from Thunder Bay, we are able at once to ship our astonished traveller on to the Kaministiquia, a river of some hundred miles long. Thence, almost in a straight line, we launch him on to Lake Shebandowan and Rainy Lake and River—a magnificent stream three hundred yards broad and a couple of hundred miles long, down whose tranquil bosom he floats into the Lake of the Woods, where he finds himself on a sheet of water which, though diminutive as compared with the inland seas he has left behind him, will probably be found sufficiently extensive to render him fearfully sea sick during his passage across it. (Laughter.) For the last eighty miles of his voyage, however, he will be consoled by sailing through a succession of land-locked channels, the beauty of whose scenery, while it resembles, certainly excels the far-famed Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence. (Loud cheering.) From this lacustrine paradise of sylvan beauty we are able at once to transfer

our friend to the Winnipeg, a river whose existence in the very heart and centre of the continent is in itself one of Nature's most delightful miracles, so beautiful and varied are its rocky banks, its tufted islands, so broad, so deep, so fervid is the volume of its waters, the extent of their lake-like expansions, and the tremendous power of their rapids. (Tremendous applause.) At last let us suppose we have landed our traveller at the town of Winnipeg, the half-way house of the continent, the capital of the Prairie province, and I trust the future 'umbilicus' of the Dominion. (Great cheering.) Having had so much of water, having now reached the home of the buffalo, like the extenuated Falstaff, he naturally 'babbles of green fields' (laughter and applause), and careers in imagination over the primeval grasses of the prairie. Not at all. Escorted by Mr. Mayor and the Town Council we take him down to your quay and ask him which he will ascend first—the Red River or the Assiniboine, two streams, the one five hundred miles long, the other four hundred and eighty, which so happily mingle their waters within your city limits. (Applause.) After having given him a preliminary canter up these respective rivers we take him off to Lake Winnipeg, an inland sea three hundred miles long and upwards of sixty broad, during the navigation of which for many a weary hour he will find himself out of sight of land, and probably a good deal more indisposed than ever he was on the Lake of the Woods, or even the Atlantic. (Laughter.) At the north-west angle of Lake Winnipeg he hits upon the mouth of the Saskatchewan, the gateway to the North West, and the starting point to another one thousand five hundred miles of navigable water, flowing nearly due east and west between its alluvial banks. Having now reached the foot of the Rocky Mountains our 'ancient mariner' (laughter), for by this time he will be quite entitled to such an appellation, knowing that water cannot run up hill, feels certain his aquatic experiences are concluded. (Laughter and applause.) He was never more mistaken. (Laughter.) We immediately launch him upon the Arthabaska and Mackenzie rivers, and start him on a longer trip than any he has yet undertaken (laughter)—the navigation of the Mackenzie river alone exceeding two thousand five hundred miles. If he survives this last experience we wind up his peregrinations by a concluding voyage of one thousand four hundred miles down the Fraser river, or, if he prefers it, the Thompson river to Victoria, in Vancouver, whence, having previously provided him with a first-class return ticket for that purpose, he will probably prefer getting home *via* the Canadian Pacific. (Roars of laughter.) Now, in this enumeration, those who are acquainted with the country are aware that, for the sake of brevity, I have omitted thousands of miles of other lakes and rivers, which water various regions of the North West the Qu'Appelle river, the Belly river, Lake Manitoba, Lake Winnipegosis, Shoal lake, &c., along whose interminable banks and shores I might have dragged and finally exterminated our way-worn guest (laughter), but the sketch I have given is more than sufficient for my purpose, and when it is further remembered that the most of these streams flow for their entire length through alluvial plains of the richest description (applause), where year after year wheat can be raised without manure, or any sensible diminution in its yield (hear, hear), and where the soil everywhere presents the appearance of a highly cultivated suburban kitchen garden in England, enough has been said to display the agricultural riches of the territories I



have referred to (great applause) and the capabilities they possess of affording happy and prosperous homes to millions of the human race. (Long continued applause.) But in contemplating the vistas thus opened to our imagination, we must not forget that there ensues a corresponding expansion of our obligations. For instance, unless great care is taken, we shall find, as we move westwards, that the exigencies of civilization may clash injuriously with the prejudices and traditional habits of our Indian fellow-subjects. As long as Canada was in the woods the Indian problem was comparatively easy, the progress of settlement was slow enough to give ample time and opportunity for arriving at an amicable and mutually convenient arrangement with each tribe with whom we successively came into contact ; but once 'out upon the plains, colonization will advance with far more rapid and ungovernable strides, and it cannot fail eventually to interfere with the by no means, inexhaustible supply of buffalo upon which so many of the Indian tribes are now dependent. Against this contingency it will be our most urgent and imperative duty to take timely precautions by enabling the red man, not by any undue pressure, or hasty, or ill-considered interference, but by precept, example, and suasion, by gifts of cattle and other encouragements, to exchange the precarious life of a hunter for that of a pastoral and eventually that of an agricultural people. (Applause.) Happily in no part of her Majesty's Dominions are the relations existing between the white settler and the original natives and masters of the land so well understood or so generously and humanely interpreted as in Canada, and, as a consequence, instead of being a cause of anxiety and disturbance, the Indian tribes of the Dominion are regarded as a valuable adjunct to our strength and industry. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Wherever I have gone in the Province, and since I have been here, I have travelled nearly a thousand miles within your borders, I have found the Indians upon their several reserves, pretermittting a few petty grievances of a local character they thought themselves justified in preferring, contented and satisfied, upon the most friendly terms with their white neighbors, and implicitly confiding in the good faith and paternal solicitude of the Government. (Applause.) In some districts I have learnt with pleasure that the Sioux, who a few years since entered our territory under such sinister circumstances—I do not of course refer to the recent visit of Sitting Bull and his people, who however, I believe, are remaining perfectly quiet—are not only peaceable and well-behaved, but have turned into useful and hardworking laborers and harvestmen, while in the more distant settlements, the less domesticated bands of natives, whether as hunters, voyageurs, guides, or purveyors of our furs and game, prove an appreciably advantageous element in the economical structure of the colony. (Applause.) There is no doubt that a great deal of the good feeling thus subsisting between the red men and ourselves is due to the influence and interposition of that invaluable class of men the Half-breed settlers and pioneers of Manitoba (loud applause), who, combining as they do the hardihood, the endurance, and love of enterprise generated by the strain of Indian blood within their veins, with the civilization, the instruction, and the intellectual power derived from their fathers, have preached the gospel of peace and good will and mutual respect, with equally beneficent results, to the Indian chieftain in his lodge, and the British settler in his shanty. (Great applause.) They have been the ambassadors between the East and the West, the interpreters

of civilization and its exigencies to the dwellers on the prairie, as well as the exponents to the white man of the consideration justly due to the susceptibilities, the sensitive self-respect, the prejudices, the innate craving for justice of the Indian race. (Applause.) In fact, they have done for the colony what otherwise would have been left unaccomplished, and have introduced between the white population and the red man a traditional feeling of amity and friendship, which, but for them, it might have been impossible to establish. (Cheers.) Nor can I pass by the humane, kindly, and considerate attention which has ever distinguished the Hudson Bay Company in its dealings with the native population. (Applause.) But, though giving due credit to these influences amongst the causes which are conducing to produce and preserve this fortunate result, the place of honor must be adjudged to that honorable and generous policy which has been pursued by successive Governments of Canada towards the Indian, and which at this moment is being superintended and carried out with so much tact, discretion, and ability by your present Lieutenant Governor (applause), under which the extinction of the Indian title upon liberal terms has invariably been recognized as a necessary preliminary to the occupation of a single square yard of native territory. (Cheering.) But our Indian friends and neighbors are by no means the only alien communities in Manitoba which demand the solicitude of the Government and excite our sympathies and curiosity. In close proximity to Winnipeg, two other communities, the Menonnites and Icelanders, starting from opposite ends of Europe, without either concert or communication, have sought fresh homes within our territory, the one of Russian extraction, though of German race, moved by a desire to escape from the obligations of a law which was repulsive to their conscience, the other bred amid the snows and ashes of an Arctic volcano, by the hope of bettering their material condition. (Applause.) Although I have witnessed many sights to cause me pleasure during my various progresses through the Dominion, seldom have I beheld any spectacle more pregnant with prophecy, more fraught with promise of a successful future than the Mennonite Settlement. (Applause.) When I visited these interesting people they had only been two years in the Province, and yet in a long ride I took across many miles of prairie, which but yesterday was absolutely bare, desolate, and untenanted, the home of the wolf, the badger, and the eagle, I passed village after village, homestead after homestead, furnished forth with all the conveniences and incidents of European comfort, and a scientific agriculture, while on either side the road, corn fields already ripe for harvest, and pastures populous with herds of cattle stretched away to the horizon. (Great applause.) Even on this continent—the peculiar theatre of rapid change and progress—there has nowhere, I imagine, taken place so marvellous a transformation (cheers), and yet when in your name, and in the name of the Queen of England, I bade these people welcome to their new homes, it was not the improvement in their material fortunes that pre-occupied my thoughts. Glad as I was to have the power of applotting them so ample a portion of our teeming soil—a soil which seems to blossom at a touch (cheering), and which they were cultivating to such manifest advantage, I felt infinitely prouder in being able to throw over them the ægis of the British Constitution (loud cheering), and in bidding them freely



share with us our unrivalled political institutions, our untrammelled personal liberty. (Great cheering.) We ourselves are so accustomed to breathe the atmosphere of freedom that it scarcely occurs to us to consider and appreciate our advantages in this respect. It is only when we are reminded by such incidents as that to which I refer, of the small extent of the world's surface over which the principles of Parliamentary Government can be said to work smoothly and harmoniously, that we are led to consider the exceptional happiness of our position. (Applause.) Nor was my visit to the Icelandic community less satisfactory than that to our Mennonite fellow subjects. From accidental circumstances I have been long since led to take an interest in the history and literature of the Scandinavian race, and the kindness I once received at the hands of the Icelandic people in their own island naturally induced me to take a deep interest in the welfare of this new emigration. (Applause.) When we take into account the secluded position of the Icelandic nation for the last thousand years, the unfavorable conditions of their climatic and geographical situation, it would be unreasonable to expect that a colony from thence should exhibit the same aptitudes for agricultural enterprise and settlement as would be possessed by a people fresh from intimate contact with the higher civilization of Europe. In Iceland there are neither trees, nor corn-fields, nor highways. You cannot, therefore, expect an Icelander to exhibit an inspired proficiency in felling timber, ploughing land, or making roads, yet unfortunately these are the three accomplishments most necessary to a colonist in Canada. But though starting at a disadvantage in these respects, you must not underrate the capacity of your new fellow countrymen. They are endowed with a great deal of intellectual ability and a quick intelligence. They are well educated. I scarcely entered a hovel at Gimli which did not possess a library. They are well conducted, religious, and peaceable. Above all they are docile and anxious to learn. (Applause.) Nor considering the difficulty which prevails in this country in procuring women servants, will the accession of some hundreds of bright, good-humored, though perhaps inexperienced, yet willing Icelandic girls, anxious for employment, be found a disadvantage by the resident ladies of the country. Should the dispersion of these young people lead in course of time to the formation of more intimate and tender ties than those of mere neighborhood between the Canadian population and the Icelandic colony, I am safe in predicting that it will not prove a matter of regret on the one side or the other. (Applause.) And, gentlemen, in reference to this point I cannot help remarking with satisfaction on the extent to which a community of interests, the sense of being engaged in a common undertaking, the obvious degree in which the prosperity of any one man is a gain to his neighbors, has amalgamated the various sections of the population of this Province originally so diverse in race, origin, and religion, into a patriotic, closely welded, and united whole. (Applause.) In no part of Canada have I found a better feeling prevailing between all classes and sections of the community. (Cheers.) It is in a great measure owing to this widespread sentiment of brotherhood, that on a recent occasion great troubles have been averted, while at the present moment it is finding its crowning and most triumphant expression in the establishment of a University under conditions which have been declared impossible of application in any other Province of Canada—I may say in any other country in the world

(great cheering); for nowhere else either in Europe or on this Continent, as far as I am aware, have the Bishops and heads of the various religious communities into which the Christian world is unhappily divided combined to erect an Alma Mater to which all the denominational colleges of the Province are to be affiliated, and whose statutes and degrees are to be regulated and dispensed under the joint auspices of a governing body in which all the Churches of the land will be represented. (Great applause.) An achievement of this kind speaks volumes in favor of the wisdom, liberality, and the Christian charity of those devoted men by whom in this distant land the consciences of the population are led and enlightened, and long may they be spared to see the effects of their exertions and magnanimous sacrifices in the good conduct and grateful devotion of their respective flocks. (Cheers.) Nor, I am happy to think, is this good fellowship upon which I have so much cause to congratulate you confined either within the limits of the Province, or even within those of the Dominion. Nothing struck me more on my way through St. Paul, in the United States, than the sympathetic manner in which the inhabitants of that flourishing city alluded to the progress and prospects of Canada and the North West (loud applause), and on arriving here I was equally struck by finding even a more exuberant counterpart of those friendly sentiments. (Great applause.) The reason is not far to seek. Quite independently of the genial intercourse promoted by neighborhood and the intergrowth of commercial relations, a bond of sympathy between the two populations is created by the consciousness that they are both engaged in an enterprise of world-wide importance; that they are both organized corps in the ranks of humanity, and the wings of a great army marching in line on a level front; that they are both engaged in advancing the standards of civilization westwards, and that for many a year to come they will be associated in the task of converting the breadths of prairie that stretch between them and the setting sun into one vast paradise of international peace, of domestic happiness, and material plenty. (Great cheering.) Between two communities thus occupied it is impossible but that amity and loving kindness should be begotten. (Applause.) But, perhaps, it will be asked, how can I, who am the natural and official guardian of Canada's virtue, mark with satisfaction such dangerously sentimental proclivities towards her seductive neighbor. I will reply by appealing to those experienced matrons and chaperones I see around me. They will tell you that when a young lady expresses her frank admiration for a man, when she welcomes his approach with unconstrained pleasure, crosses the room to sit beside him, presses him to join her picnic, praises him to her friends, there is not the slightest fear of her affections having been surreptitiously entrapped by the gay deceiver. (Loud laughter.) On the contrary it is when she can be scarcely brought to mention his name (great laughter), when she avoids his society, when she alludes to him with malice and disparagement, that real danger is to be apprehended. (Renewed laughter.) No, no! Canada both loves and admires the United States, but it is with the friendly, frank affection which a heart-whole stately maiden feels for some big, boisterous, hobbledehoy of a cousin, fresh from school, and elate with animal spirits and good nature. She knows he is stronger and more muscular than herself, has lots of pocket money (laughter), can smoke cigars, and 'loaf around' in public places in an ostentatious manner forbidden to the decorum of her own



situation. (Uproarious laughter.) She admires him for his bigness, strength, and prosperity. She likes to hear of his punching the heads of other boys. (Laughter.) She anticipates and will be proud of his future success in life, and both likes him and laughs at him for his affectionate, loyal, though somewhat patronizing friendship for herself. (Great laughter.) But of no nearer connection does she dream, nor does his bulky image for a moment disturb her virginal meditations. (Laughter.) In a world apart, secluded from all extraneous influences, nestling at the feet of her majestic Mother, Canada dreams her dream, and forebodes her destiny—a dream of ever-broadening harvests, multiplying towns and villages, and expanding pastures, of constitutional self-government, and a confederated Empire; of page after page of honorable history, added as her contribution to the annals of the Mother Country and to the glories of the British race; of a perpetuation for all time upon this continent of that temperate and well-balanced system of Government, which combines in one mighty whole, as the eternal possession of all Englishmen, the brilliant history and traditions of the past, with the freest and most untrammelled liberty of action in the future. (Tremendous cheering.) Ladies and gentlemen, I have now done. I have to thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me, and once again for the many kindnesses you have done Lady Dufferin and myself during our stay amongst you. Most heartily do I congratulate you upon all that you are doing, and upon the glorious prospect of prosperity which is opening out on every side of you. (Applause.) Though elsewhere in the Dominion stagnation of trade and commerce has checked for a year or two the general advance of Canada, here at least you have escaped the effects of such sinister incidents, for your welfare being based upon the most solid of all foundations, the cultivation of the soil, you are in a position to pursue the even tenor of your way untroubled by those alternations of fortune which disturb the world of trade and manufacture. You have been blessed with an abundant harvest, and soon I trust will a railway come to carry to those who need it the surplus of your produce, now—as my own eyes have witnessed—imprisoned in your storehouses for want of the means of transport. (Cheers.) May the expanding finances of the country soon place the Government in a position to gratify your just and natural expectations.” (Great cheering.)

His Excellency concluded by proposing the health of the Mayor and Corporation of Winnipeg and the prosperity of the capital of the Prairie Province.

The Mayor made a brief reply in acknowledgment, and then proposed the health of his Honor Lieutenant Governor Morris, who replied in the following terms:—

“MR. MAYOR, YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—For the first time since my experience of the community of Winnipeg I have to find fault with them. I find myself in a position of embarrassment and difficulty. I came here as the guest of the Mayor and Corporation of the City, which I have seen grow from a hamlet to its present goodly proportions, the harbinger of the future that I believe lies before it as the city of the British North West (applause); but I do

feel that it was not fair to me that I should find myself called upon in the presence of the chief representative of the Crown, of which I am one of the subordinate representatives, to respond without warning to the toast that has just been drunk. Until my health was proposed, I had no knowledge that you were to do me the honor that you have so kindly done me. I make this explanation, because I feel it is due that I should thank you, not only for the courtesy and kindness extended on this occasion, but for more,—for that respect, support and kindness which has strengthened me for the difficulties I have had to encounter during the past five years. (Applause.) I ask those around me to cast back their glances, to contrast the past with the present, and to rejoice that our difficulties are past, that peace, order and harmony dwell among, and exist between, the different nationalities that compose this our mixed community; and that they are all animated by an affection and loyalty deep in the hearts of our people towards Her Gracious Majesty, and her illustrious and noble representative, whom we have had the pleasure of meeting to-day. (Loud applause.)

Gentlemen, it would be unbecoming in me to trespass at any length on your time and attention, and it would be the more unbecoming that I should indulge in desultory remarks after the elaborate and eloquent eulogium of the Governor General of this great Dominion, that has been passed upon your position as an outlying Province; but, as I stand here, on it may be the last occasion that I shall have the opportunity of meeting such a large number of those who have been my fellow-citizens for five years, I cannot help saying that my residence, my position, in this Province has been a pride and satisfaction to me. Twenty-five years ago, when comparatively a young man, I directed my studies to the future of the North West of this Dominion. I gleaned every source of information I could obtain, and came to the conclusion that there was here the backbone of the future Dominion. In my visions I saw the Pacific Railway stretching across the continent, and I saw the Indian population in the Far West feeling the throb of the white man's heart, and learning the arts of civilization; and I saw the vast population of the old world peopling this land and making it the granary of the globe. I believed all this, and, therefore, it was with peculiar pride that, when ill-health drove me here as Chief Justice, renewed health enabled me to accept the position of Lieutenant Governor of this Province and the North West Territories, in which it had been my lot as a minister of the Crown, and as a private citizen, to take some interest.

Gentlemen, in all communities there are difficulties, in all communities disagreements; but I can say this, that I earnestly trust I leave this Province, carrying with me the good-will of its people. (Great applause.) If I do not it is not because I have not honestly and justly striven to do my duty as a servant of the Crown. There may be, there doubtless will be, little ripples on the surface of the water, but all that I can say is this, that, although I leave you I shall not carry with me a remembrance of any of the difficulties that have crossed my path in the past five years. I leave this Province as one who feels that five years of his life have been worked into its history, and that it is his good fortune to carry away with him the friendship of the community; and, whatever my lot may be in future,



I trust it will be found that the occasions will be suggested to me in which I may be of service to you. But be that as it may, when I mingle with the people of Ontario and Quebec, as I will do when occasions arise in which I can give advice, and direct the steps of those who may wish to seek a home in this Province of the Dominion, at all events, I am indulging in no vain boast when I say that you have a friend who will endeavor to do what he can to advance your interests. (Loud applause.) And now, ere I take my seat, asking your pardon for the manner in which I have addressed you, and offering an apology for the desultory manner in which I have spoken, I cannot help expressing the deep satisfaction with which I find beside me to-night His Excellency and Her Excellency. It is an era in the history of the Province. I know they have endeavored to master our position, and right glad I was when I stood at St. Peter's to hear His Excellency tell those red children of the Queen that Her Majesty had charged him to inquire specially into their condition and into the condition of the people of the country (applause); and glad I am that so intelligent, so faithful a servant of the Crown has been here amongst us, who will be able to carry home to the fountain and source of honor the knowledge of the fact that here in this Province there dwells a community of the most mixed character that can be found in any country under the sun, and that here, thanks to Providence, thanks to the good sense of the community, to the spirit of conciliation and adaptation to each other which has been developed amongst us, there is peace, harmony and concord. (Loud cheers.)

Gentlemen, I recollect that some twenty years ago, while residing in the city of Montreal, at a *dejeuner* given to a celebrated English author, a clergyman who now holds a very prominent position in the city of London was called on to speak. I recollect his declining. He was a Canadian like myself, though he is now in London, and I recollect that, after I had spoken, he rose to his feet, and said: "I had not intended to speak till I heard my friend's address, and I find he has Canada on the brain. Well, gentlemen, I have had Manitoba on the brain for the last five years, and I have only to say that my thoughts and intellect have been given, in duty to my Sovereign and to my superior officer the Governor General, to the interests of this Province, and I can only say that, next to my duty to my Queen, let my hereafter be short or long, will be found devotion to the interests of Manitoba and the North West." (Applause.)

It may here be mentioned that Mr. Morris' term of office, having expired on the 2nd December, 1877, he retired from the rule of Manitoba, carrying with him the respect and love of all classes, all nationalities and all creeds. He was succeeded by the Hon. Joseph Cauchon, who is now Lieutenant Governor of the Province.

When, on the 2nd of December, 1873, Chief Justice Morris accepted the responsible position of Lieutenant Governor, he found it surrounded by difficulties. The Indians were uneasy. They saw their lands were being encroached upon; they feared that, possibly, the ruinous policy of the United States Government might be adopted

by the Dominion, and, though they had great confidence in their Great Mother across the ocean, they were not certain that her white children of Canada were as good as herself. The troubles of 1869-70 had been settled, it is true, but the Province was yet in a transition state. The principles of Constitutional Government were with difficulty applied to a population so mixed as was that of Manitoba, and the sudden change from the patriarchal rule of the Assiniboine Council to the elaborate and dignified system involved by the installation of a Governor, with his responsible Ministers, and representatives of the people assembled in Parliament, was a strain upon the intelligence and self-restraint of the almost semi-civilized people who were called upon, without previous training, to exercise the rights and privileges of independent voters. The population, though quite willing to learn, were still as ignorant of the duties and rights of the Governor, as they were of their own. Mr. Morris was therefore called upon continually to correct the errors occasioned by this want of knowledge; and that in performing this ungracious task he avoided giving offence to the pride of the people, and secured their love as well as their respect, speaks highly of his tact, unflinching good temper, and administrative ability. His invaluable services in treating with the Indians have been seen, but his great services in establishing a Constitutional Government will be more felt than seen.

His social policy was similar to that adopted with so marked success by His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, and in the young country of the North West it was doubtless of comparatively greater importance. Mr. Morris was exceptionally fortunate in having a brilliant wife and most attractive daughters. To the admirable social qualities of these ladies, and particularly to the fascinating bearing of Mrs. Morris, he is indebted for much of his well-deserved popularity. These ladies were as conspicuous for their grace in the drawing-room and the abodes of wealth, as they were for their gentleness and kindness in the hut, and in the dwellings of the poor. Like Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin, they cultivated with an unselfish solicitude the good wishes, and secured the good-will of all classes. The poor Indian was always received with a smile, and the suffering Half-breed with kindness. They listened with patience to the tales of distress, which were not few, and relieved with assiduity all within their power. They, by a delicate tact and genuine warmth of heart, brought together the somewhat discordant elements of their little social kingdom, and taught each



race and every religion that there existed at least one place—Government House—in Manitoba where they were all welcome, at all times, and under all circumstances. The possession by Mrs. Morris of an exceptionally fine person and presence went far to enhance the value of these beautiful traits of her character in the eyes of the chivalrous Metis, and the poetic red man. The first saw in her handsome face and winning smile the idol—beauty—which every man, and particularly every man of Gaulic blood, loves to worship, and the Indian saw in the noble bearing of the Governor's wife the counterpart of the Great Lady, whom, in the beautiful imagery of their poetic tongue, they loved to speak of as their "Great Mother" across the sea. The English and Scotch Half-breeds and the foreign British whites saw in her a descendant of parents whose first breath had been drawn in the healthy air of their beautiful islands, while the Canadians delighted to boast that she was one of themselves. When Mrs. Morris and her daughters left the North West, all felt that a light had gone out of their lives.

His Honor Lieutenant Governor Cauchon had a partner who would, have well filled the position which Mrs. Morris had vacated, but the beating of the wings of the Angel of Death was heard in the air, even at the moment of her entry into the seat of honor prepared for her at Government House, and the brilliant lady was never permitted to exhibit in her Western home the graces for which she had been distinguished in her Eastern one. It may possibly be some consolation to the Lieutenant Governor to know that he has, in his sorrow, the warm sympathy of all those who knew Mrs. Cauchon, either personally or by repute.

One cannot rise from the study of the labors of those most valuable public servants, the Lieutenant Governors of the Provinces, without a feeling of deep regret that, after their terms of office have expired, they are relegated to private life. Just at the moment when their ripe experience has fitted them, above all other men, for the public service,—when they have reached the highest honors in the school of Governmental teaching,—just when their powers have received the last touch of the skilful training of experience,—just when they are most fitted to advise, and mould, and carry on with success the administration of the country, just at that moment are they deprived of their positions, and, if they desire still to give to the Crown the benefit of their experience, they are compelled to seek an entrance into the House of Commons, after they have broken the ties which had bound the Constituents to

them by their acceptance of office ; or they are made to depend on the accident of a death, and the whim of a Premier, if they desire a seat in the Senate. It is to be regretted that such men as Mr. Morris, of Manitoba ; Mr. Archibald, of Manitoba and Nova Scotia ; Mr. Tilley, of New Brunswick ; Mr. Howland, of Ontario ; Mr. Trutch, of British Columbia, should not be made *ex-officio* members of the Senate, until a change in our Imperial relations may possibly find a more extensive field for the exceptional usefulness of this class of public servants. The highest type of a Senator is he who possesses a judicial mind. The theory of an Upper House requires a body of highly educated, well-informed and independent men, free from partisanship, who will go to the discussion of public measures unbiassed by party predilections. The general character of a Senator should be judicial, and the nearer such a body reaches to this character the higher does it rise to the perfect realization of the theory of the British Constitution. The introduction of the Lieutenant Governors would greatly assist in the development of this valuable feature of our system. A gentleman who has for five years held the balances between striving parties must have trained his mind to run in that judicial groove which is so much needed in our Senate. The dignity of his position as Governor of a Province,—the great respect shown to him personally, as well as officially,—the great power wielded by him even under our constitutional system,—the absence of temptations to show undue favor or be party to unworthy schemes,—the well-understood weight of his utterances, all combine to form the lofty, independent, and judicial temper, which is the essence and life-blood of a properly constituted Senate. A system which would secure for the public service men of this elevated character, would be a boon of inestimable value to the country.

The Vice-regal party embarked on board the steamer *Minnesota* shortly after the delivery of His Excellency's speech on their return to Ottawa, where they arrived on the 7th October.

This speech of His Excellency was a surprise to the people of Canada, a wonder to the people of Britain. One characteristic of Lord Dufferin is that his views are never local ; he is able to see with a statesman's vision not only the actual but the probable, and the possible ; he stretches forth his arms and they embrace a continent ; his eloquent tongue describes, not a small Province, but a collection of immense territories, cheered with all the prospects of wealth and



happiness. He sees with his eyes the budding of the young Dominion, but he paints with almost the warmth and beauty of inspiration the probable future of a country destined to be one of the most powerful in the world. Until he took Canada by the hand, and led her to the top of the mountains of British Columbia, and bade her open her eyes upon one of the richest portions of the globe, she had no conception of the extent or the resources of that splendid Province. The view astonished her, and his description made the world listen with surprise at the most wonderful tale. After he had led her over a highway of water fit to float great ships from the Atlantic to the head of Lake Superior, a distance of nearly two thousand miles, and bade her view the setting sun sinking behind the crests of the Rocky Mountains, a thousand miles away, or descending into the valleys of British Columbia, she required his vivid imagination to convey to her mind the illimitable vastness of her domains, for figures were too feeble, and measurements too weak to grasp the immensity of their extent. Providence had for a good purpose hidden from the world the treasures of the West, until the comparatively sterile regions of the East were filled with a fixed population—for the emigrant from Europe would have passed the East with contempt had he known of the splendid home awaiting him on the western side of the continent. The brilliant language of Lord Dufferin will seem overstrained until a careful examination proves that the rich poetry of his imagination falls short of the reality. Even he could not have painted an exaggerated picture of a country which, after relieving 325,000 square miles of land, unsurpassed for productiveness, from Indian control, has many hundred thousands of square miles yet to be brought into the fold of civilization. A people little known, and less cared for in their own country are welcomed to Canada, are guaranteed freedom from military duty, and are given 600,000 acres of choice land, and their reserves which are but specks on the great map of the Dominion. Another people, driven from their icy homes by want of food, to whom a tree or a plough, or a road was a curiosity, find an "elysium" in the 273,000 acres of land teeming with productiveness, which a wise and liberal Government carves out of its great possessions, and the excision is hardly perceptible. Lord Dufferin's map of the great water stretches of the North West was as instructive to the Canadian, accustomed to float on the bosom of the mighty St. Lawrence as it was perplexing to the Englishman whose

idea of a great river is formed by the contemplation of the Thames which washes the walls of his Houses of Parliament, or the European whose imagination can picture nothing grander than the placid waters of the gentle Rhine. One of the most valuable effects of this addition to Lord Dufferin's descriptive speeches, was the elevation of Canada in the eyes of Canadians. They had been so long accustomed to hear the United States eulogized, and their own country depreciated by the writers, orators and politicians across the line, that constant repetition had at last brought them almost to believe the statements. But Lord Dufferin knew more of Canada than the Canadians. His tour through the Eastern and Maritime Provinces in 1873, through Western Ontario in 1874, through British Columbia in 1876, and through Manitoba and the North West in 1877, had given him a knowledge of the Dominion unequalled by that of any one of its citizens. This knowledge he, with an unswerving loyalty to the noble country he was so wisely governing, disseminated on all proper occasions. He never missed an opportunity of bringing Canada to the front, of lifting her up to the gaze of the nations, for he sincerely felt that she was comely in person, and worthy of all admiration. His words fell forcibly on the ear of the world, and where they fell they made a deep impression. He spoke with knowledge and truth, and Canada listened with astonishment and rapt attention, but yet with unflinching confidence. She was first surprised, then delighted; surprised to find herself in possession of so glorious a country, delighted in the possession of such a master-hand to paint its beauties. A noble pride took the place of the humble contentment which had distinguished Canadians, and they quickly discovered that, placed by the side of the great people south of them, self-assertion was not only a necessity but a virtue. In the eyes of foreigners Lord Dufferin's utterances at Winnipeg were of infinite importance. His kindly recognition of and his words of warm welcome to the Mennonites to a land where British freedom would be found in its utmost purity, were wafted through thousands of German and Russian cottages, his tender kindness to the suffering Icelanders, and his cheerful embrace, drawing them to a country where life could be enjoyed without drudgery, where plenty and peace were the rule, and want and strife the exception, were soon sounded throughout the length and breadth of Europe. His frank and thoughtful recognition of the loyalty and services of the French Half-breeds went deep into the hearts of



thousands of Frenchmen who, though they find much happiness in the contemplation of the glories of the Empire, are still, as they have always proved to be, steadfastly loyal to the British Crown. The Anglo-Saxon and the Celt though separated from him by thousands of miles of ocean, yet heard his thrilling words even in the distant islands of Great Britain and gloried in the knowledge that another of Britain's great sons was building up a Dominion in the west, worthy of the greatest empire the world had yet been permitted to see. To the thoughtful public men of England this speech contained lessons of great value. If there remained in the Mother Country any leaven of the feeling which largely existed there when Lord Dufferin took up the rule of Canada in 1872, these utterances must have destroyed it. An Imperial policy which could look with coldness on the affection of the people of Canada, or with indifference upon the richness of its productions, the vastness of its capabilities, the extent of its resources, or on the greatness of its power to contribute to the splendor of the Empire, can scarcely be imagined, and yet that such a policy found not a few supporters in 1872 cannot be denied. That any now exist it is hard to conceive, and if this great change in English public opinion has been effected, the change may greatly be ascribed to Lord Dufferin.

To the American people the speech was full of instruction. If the hope of annexation still found place in their hearts, the independence of the Canadians, as interpreted by the lofty language of Lord Dufferin, crushed it out forever. A people possessing an area of country equal, or very nearly so, to the whole United States; a country whose mineral wealth is unlimited and inexhaustible, whose rich lands, numbered not by thousands of acres but by hundreds of thousands of square miles, are inviting the millions of Europe to come and occupy, and live and thrive; whose constitution is the best yet known; whose laws are admirable,—a country which luxuriates in the freedom of Great Britain, and lies safe under the protection of her Imperial strength; the administration of whose Government is more democratic than that of the United States itself, and as well shielded from the evils of democratic institutions as monarchical Britain herself,—a country whose revenues are large, whose debt is small, whose taxes are small, where indigent poverty and absolute want are scarcely known,—a country which, when pitted against the nations in the friendly contest of international exhibition, finds itself unsurpassed by any in its productions: such a country, whose love of its Gracious Queen is a passion and

whose loyalty a proverb, sees no charms in the American wooer, and desires no closer relationship than that of a friendly cousinship. Canada is beginning to see her strength and understand her influence, and feels confident that the Imperial policy will protect her youth until she desires, if she ever does, which is very questionable, to leave the paternal roof and seek her own fortunes. At present she has no desire to sink herself to the level of one of the United States of the American Union. Lord Dufferin has taken frequent occasion to impress this fact on the American people, and when he spoke of them in the jocular strain he did at Winnipeg, he, under cover of a graceful pleasantry, gave expression to a grand and most important truth,—an expression for which every Canadian thanks him, and over which every American will do well to ponder.



## CHAPTER X.

Fishery question—Commission and award—Hon. Mr. Richards and Hon. Mr. Dorion knighted—Canada at the Exhibition at Sydney, New South Wales—Dinner to Hon. John Young, the Canadian Commissioner—His report—Comparison between the Canadian and American routes from England to the Pacific—Visit of His Excellency to Washington and New York—Dinner given by the American Geographical Society in New York—Speech of His Excellency—Political movements during recess—Opening of Parliament, 7th February, 1878—Speech from the Throne—Visit of their Excellencies to Montreal, 11th February—Mackay Institute—Ball at Windsor hotel—Visit to McGill University—Degree conferred on His Excellency—His Greek speech—Speech of Dr. Dawson—Speech of Chief Justice Moss—Dinner at Windsor hotel—His Excellency's speech on proposing the health of the President of the United States—His speech in reply to the toast, "The Governor General of Canada"—Return to Ottawa—Proceedings in Parliament—Sir John Macdonald's resolution on the necessity of adopting a National Policy—Other resolutions on the subject of Free Trade and Protection—All defeated—The "Quebec Crisis"—Dismissal of the De Boucherville ministry by the Lieutenant Governor, Mons. Letellier de St. Just—Resolution of Sir John Macdonald respecting Mr. Todd's views on Constitutional Government—Mr. Mackenzie's explanations respecting the Pacific Railway—Mr. Fleming's report—Mr. Marcus Smith's report—Defeat of the British Columbia ministry—Pointed language of the Lieutenant Governor on the Pacific Railway difficulty—Farewell ball at Ottawa, 27th February, 1878—Joint farewell address of the Senate and Commons to His Excellency—His reply—Its illumination—Children's bazaar—Her Excellency's charity—Miss Patrick and Miss Macpherson—Visit of His Excellency to the Exhibition in Toronto of the Ontario Society of Arts—Address of Mr. Howland—His Excellency's reply—Visit to Montreal on the Queen's Birthday—His Excellency's address to the American Volunteers—Dinner given by the officers of the Montreal Brigade at the Windsor hotel—His Excellency's speech—Farewell address by the citizens of Ottawa to their Excellencies—His Excellency's reply—Final departure from Ottawa.

THE relations existing between Great Britain and the United States had, up to 1871, for a number of years, on some few points, been unsatisfactory. The right of American subjects to fish on the coasts of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the other British possessions of that region, had long been a subject of controversy.

The depredations of the *Alabama* during the American rebellion, the claims of Canada on the United States Government incident to the Fenian raids, with other matters, had kept up an unpleasant feeling which had found its culminating expression in the strong language used by President Grant in his message of 1870. Referring to the fishery dispute he said :—

“ The course pursued by the Canadian authorities towards the fishermen of the United States during the past season, has not been marked by a friendly feeling.” He also stated : “ It has been the custom for many years to give intending fishermen of the United States a reasonable warning of their violation of the technical rights of Great Britain,” and he added : “ The Imperial Government is understood to have delegated the whole, or a share of its jurisdiction or control of its inshore fisheries to the Colonial authority, known as the Dominion of Canada, and that this semi-independent, but irresponsible agent has exercised its delegated powers in an unfriendly way ; vessels have been seized without notice or warning, in violation of the custom previously prevailing, and have been taken into the Colonial ports—their voyages broken up, and the vessels condemned.” He proceeds to say that “ there is reason to believe, that this unfriendly and vexatious treatment was designed to bear harshly upon the hardy fishermen of the United States, with a view to political effect upon this Government.”

And he intimates that should the authorities of Canada attempt to enforce a certain Act of the Dominion, passed to prevent the Americans from hovering within three miles of the coast, it would become his duty to take such steps as might be necessary to protect the rights of the citizens of the United States.

It would be out of place here to shew the inaccuracy of these statements, and they are inserted merely for the purpose of exhibiting the tone of feeling which pervaded the American mind, so far as the declaration of its highest official interpreter may be considered as faithful exponents.

The British Government wisely determined to settle, if possible, forever, all the matters in dispute between the two countries, and it was after much negotiation agreed to refer them to a body of arbitration subsequently known as the Joint High Commission. The Commissioners appointed by Great Britain were Earl de Grey and Ripon ; Sir Stafford Henry Northcote ; Sir Edward Thornton ; Sir John A. Macdonald ; and Montague Bernard, Chichele Professor of International Law in the University of Oxford. The American Commissioners were the Hon. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State ; the Hon. Robert C. Schenck, Minister to London ; the Hon. Samuel Nelson, one of the



Judges of the Supreme Court; the Hon. Ebenezer R. Hoar of Massachusetts; and the Hon. George H. Williams of Oregon.

On the 9th February, 1871, full instructions were given by Earl Granville, then Secretary of State, to the British Commissioners. The subjects to be discussed were settled upon by the two Governments, as :

“The questions which have lately arisen relative to the Canadian Fisheries, and any others which affect the relations of the United States towards Her Majesty’s possessions in North America, the so-called “Alabama” claims, and any other claims of British subjects or citizens of the United States arising out of acts committed during the late civil war in this country.”

In the instructions from Earl Granville it was intended that the principal subjects of discussion and settlement would probably be :

“1. The Fisheries. 2. The free navigation of the River St. Lawrence; and privilege of passage through the Canadian Canals. 3. The transit of goods through Maine, and lumber trade down the River St. John. 4. The Manitoba boundary. 5. The claims on account of the “Alabama,” “Shenandoah” and certain other cruisers of the so-styled Confederate States. 6. The San Juan water boundary. 7. The claims of British subjects arising out of the Civil War. 8. The claims of the people of Canada on account of the Fenian raids. 9. The revision of the rules of Marine Neutrality.”

The Commissioners met in Washington on the 27th February, 1871. The result of their labors is known as “The Treaty of Washington,” and was signed on the 8th May, 1871. Article XVIII gave the Americans the liberty to fish for twelve years in the British grounds, and by Article XIX the British were permitted to fish in American waters north of 39° of north latitude; but, as the Canadian were alleged to be far more valuable than the American rights—an allegation not admitted by the United States Government—it was agreed by Article XXII that the difference, if any, should be ascertained by a commission, to be appointed in a manner pointed out.

From various causes this commission was not organized until the early part of 1877, when it met in Halifax. The Commissioners were Sir Alexander Galt, representing the Imperial Government; the Hon. Judge Kellogg, representing the Government of the United States; and Monsieur Maurice Delfosse, Belgian Minister to Washington, appointed by the two Governments conjointly.

On the 23rd November, an award was made in favor of Great Britain for \$5,500,000. It was signed by Mr. Galt and Mr. Delfosse, but the American representative, Mr. Kellogg, declined to be a party to it, and protested against it.

Canada sought a much larger sum, but she had based her claims on the value to the Americans of the right to buy bait and ice, and to tranship their catches in the Dominion ports. The Commissioners decided that these matters were not included in the submission, and they were accordingly thrown out of consideration. The award represents the value of the fisheries to the Americans for twelve years, six of which have elapsed, beyond the value to the Canadians of the American fisheries. It gave great dissatisfaction to the American people. It was vehemently attacked both in and out of the Senate and House of Representatives, and not a few influential men of the Republic so far forgot what was due to a great state and to their own characters as plainly to advocate repudiation. England paid the Geneva award of \$15,500,000 without a murmur, though its extravagance has been fully proven by the fact that, at this moment, about \$8,000,000 of it lie unappropriated for want of proper claimants. It was, however, finally resolved that the money should be offered to England, accompanied with a statement of the American objections, and with a declaration that if, after considering these objections, she felt at liberty to take the amount, it would be paid her. This ungracious proposition is one which no high-minded man would for a moment think of making to a creditor, whose claims had been ascertained by a tribunal mutually agreed upon, and upon whose honesty or ability no suspicion had been cast. Judging from this standpoint it seems almost impossible for the American Government to rise to the dignity of noble ideas, or to the practice of high-minded men.

In 1877, Her Majesty was pleased to confer the title and dignity of Knighthood on Chief Justice Richards of the Supreme Court, and on Chief Justice Dorion of the Court of Queen's Bench, Quebec. These appointments received the warm approbation of the Bar and people of the Dominion. Sir William Richards is known better as a Judge than as a Statesman, for his early elevation to the bench deprived him of the opportunity of making himself very conspicuous in the political world. For his great reputation as a judge he is indebted chiefly to a massive understanding, unswerving integrity, and placidity of temper. Unlike several distinguished men who have ornamented the Judicial Bench of Canada, his mind is pre-eminently broad; contemning niceties, he adjudicates upon the broadest principles, and is therefore the *beau ideal* of what a judge of the highest Court of Appeal should be. He always led the Court in which he



sat, and now that he occupies the highest judicial position in the Dominion, the peculiar and great qualities which secured for him the respect and admiration of the public in the Court below, shine with increased splendor upon him when dealing with the great and important questions which occupy the attention of the Supreme Court. The elevation of Mr. Dorion was also popular, and though his early connection with Politics exposed him to criticism, yet his amiability of temper, and his moderation caused the expression of Her Majesty's favor to be received with satisfaction.

At the close of the American Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, in November, 1876, a desire was expressed by the Commissioners from Australia, that a part of the Canadian exhibits should be sent to the Exhibition to be held at Sydney on the 10th April, 1877. This desire of the Australian Commissioners was concurred in by the manufacturers and owners of the Canadian exhibits, who, having brought the subject under the consideration of the Dominion Government, an offer was made by the Government to pay freight to Sydney on all or any articles which the manufacturers or others might choose to send to the Sydney Exhibition.

The Government of Canada embraced the opportunity thus presented of ascertaining whether commercial relations between the Australian Colonies and Canada could not be extended; and the Hon. John Young of Montreal was chosen for this duty, by an order of a Committee of the Privy Council of the 19th December, 1876.

In accordance with representations made to the Government during the Philadelphia Exhibition, an advertisement and circular were issued by the Department of Agriculture on 11th October, 1876, in which circular an offer was made to pay the freight from Montreal and New York respectively of such samples of Canadian products and manufactures as might be considered suitable for the Australian markets. Under this order, 134½ cubic tons of freight, chiefly from the Province of Ontario and District of Montreal, left by the *Ocean Gem* from Montreal, on 5th November; and 341 cubic tons from the Province of Ontario and the Exhibition at Philadelphia, left New York by the *Escort*, on 23rd December, for Australia. Two or three cases of exhibits, which it was found impossible to put on the *Escort*, were sent forward by the ship *Boynton*, but arrived too late for the Exhibition. The exhibits shipped at New York and Montreal consisted of lumber, doors, window-sashes, carriages,

buggies, waggons, edge tools of all kinds, musical instruments, agricultural implements, slates, and various other goods.

A principal object of the Canadian participation in the Exhibition was to ascertain, by the practical fact of the sale of the exhibits sent, the possibility of finding a profitable market in the Australian Provinces for their products and manufactures. Mr. Young was, therefore, charged with the duty of ascertaining this fact. He was also desired to furnish a careful report of the prices and charges, and all other such practical information with respect to the class of articles sold as might be necessary for carrying on trade with Australia. He was further directed to obtain trade statistics of all the Australian Colonies, and report on their bearings on possible trade with Canada.

Mr. Young discharged his duties with exceptional ability, and his report should be in the hands of every manufacturer of the Dominion. He made a tour among the Islands, met and addressed a number of boards of trade, supplied valuable information to the public journals, held public meetings, where he gave full and accurate accounts of the industries of Canada, and, by his high personal reputation and great knowledge of the subject, produced an important effect in favor of the Dominion. He visited New Zealand, and he secured the appointment of commissioners from that Colony, as well as from Tasmania, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia, to attend the Exhibition at Sydney, and examine and report on the Canadian exhibits to their different Governments. By this mode he secured for Canada a great benefit by the full examination of her products by official representatives from the whole group of the Southern Colonies.

The success of Canada in the Exhibition at Sydney was very great, and the result fully justified the enterprise of the exhibitors and the Government of the Dominion in having her fairly represented. On the 29th May, 1877, a complimentary dinner was given at the Sydney Exchange to Mr. Young. There was a very large attendance, about one hundred gentlemen having sat down to the banquet.

Sir James Martin, C.J., occupied the chair; the Hon. Alexander Campbell, M.L.C., and Mr. T. S. Mort occupied the vice-chairs. Among the guests were the Hon. John Young, who sat on the right hand of the chairman; Sir Alfred Stephen, C.B., K.C.M.G., Lieutenant Governor; Hon. John Hay, President of the Legislative Council; Hon. Saul Samuel, (Postmaster General); J. Docker, M.L.C.; J. Ro-



bertson, M.L.A.; T. Holt, M.L.C.; S. D. Gordon, M.L.C.; W. C. Windeyer, Attorney General; G. A. Lloyd, Minister for Mines; F. B. Suttor, Minister for Justice;— Chisholm, M.L.C.; Messrs. A. Stuart, M.L.A.; H. C. Dangar, M.L.A.; W. H. Suttor, M.L.A.; H. Price, A. Morris, W. Wallis, P. M. Trebeck, S. A. Joseph, T. Robertson, W. A. Broadribb, Captain Eldred, Captain Smith, Messrs. J. Joubert, D. Dixon, J. Fleming, W. Bradley, J. Alger, and other gentlemen.

Excuses for non-attendance from unavoidable causes were received from Mr. J. H. Williams, American Consul; Mr. E. W. Lamb, Commissioner for Queensland; Hon. J. White, M.L.C.; Hon. J. Hoskins, Minister for Lands; Mr. G. R. Dibbs, M.L.A.; Mr. J. J. Calvart, Mr. E. L. Montefiore, Dr. M'Laurin, and Dr. Cox.

The Chairman, who, in proposing the toast of "The Hon. John Young and the Dominion of Canada," was received with prolonged cheering, said:

"There was no event, however important, that did not require a number of circumstances to bring it about, and generally speaking it was exceedingly difficult to pick out the exact cause most important in creating an event. They had all heard of a general who lost a country because his horse lost a nail from its shoe; the nail was lost, the shoe came off, the horse became lame and threw the general, and thus all was lost. The logic, perhaps, was not very good, because the country might have been lost from a variety of causes. But, on the present particular occasion, whatever might have been the causes leading to their gathering, there was one prominent, and it was that from the 4th of July, 1776, a number of persons, year by year, declare their independence; to that declaration, perhaps as much as anything else, they owed their present gathering. Year by year that people had celebrated their great occasion, and for more than half a century at their gatherings it was the custom of orators to indulge in expressions in no wise favorable to the Mother Country; while strong language was used towards George the III. and his Ministers and to the British people. It was somewhat singular, however, that the hundredth anniversary of the independence of the American people should be celebrated by a gathering at which the most numerous, most important, and most enthusiastic strangers were Ministers and people of the British Empire. (Cheers.) The people of the Mother Country and the people of the Colonies attended at the invitation of no less a person than a Minister of the Crown, while the official at the head of the British section on that occasion was no less a person than Her Majesty's Minister at Washington. Under these auspices and circumstances did the great gathering take place, and, but for the great Declaration, they should not be now entertaining the Hon. John Young, the Commissioner of Canada. It was on the occasion of that great gathering that they heard of Canada, and became personally acquainted with her for the first time. The acquaintance was made under very favorable circumstances, and he might say that, on that occasion, almost all the

animosity which originated more than a century ago between the old thirteen Colonies and the Mother Country had disappeared. Those Colonies of three millions of people had become forty millions; in every work of art they showed they were worthy descendants of the people from which they sprung, and their inventions were at least equal to those of the Old Country. Their enterprise, their wealth, their industry, and ability to develop resources of all kinds, he would not say had not been equalled, but he would say had seldom been surpassed. They now had an opportunity of witnessing the marvellous advances the American people had made in the course of a century. They were, however, on the present occasion not called upon to laud the people of the United States, for they did not require it, but to do as much honor as they could to the greatest of the British Colonies in the person of its representative, who had honored them with his presence that evening. They were called upon to recognize the favor extended to them by that great Colony in sending a representative such a long distance to their small Exhibition. It was little more than a century since the cession of Quebec to the British arms. From that time it had been a British Colony. No doubt there was a time when the Canadians—he meant the Lower Canadians—were not so strong as they ought to be, or as they were at present; but, taken on the whole as a British Colony, there had been no more loyal portion of the empire, and there had been none more energetic. No doubt, the Canadians had colonized under very favorable circumstances. They had a system of water-carriage unequalled beyond anything in the world; in no place in the world but Canada could ocean vessels go for two thousand miles into its interior. They had lakes like seas, but, not content with those very great advantages, they had made them still greater by works of the most gigantic magnitude, and for years they have had the Canals to take vessels throughout the rivers. Vessels of three thousand or four thousand tons would before long be able to go from the sea into the centre of Canada without landing any portion of their cargo. They had also constructed the greatest railway bridge in the world, and he believed he was justified in saying that that great work—he meant the Victoria bridge—was devised by the Hon. gentleman who sat on his right. (Cheers.) He was not perhaps the engineer, but he projected the work, and in works of that kind the projector was as important as the man who carried them out. Canadians, however, were not celebrated alone for their great public works; they were celebrated otherwise; they had shown that in courage and pluck they had been worthy scions of the old stock. (Hear, hear.) Although their population did not yet number four million people, some eight or ten years ago they organized, although perhaps imperfectly, a volunteer force of 650,000 persons, and in a more compact form a militia force of 50,000 or 60,000 men; so that when there was danger to the British Empire being brought into collision with the neighbors of Canada, they were prepared to take their chance with the rest of the Empire, and throw in their lot with it. (Cheers.) There was a good deal of talk at the time that it would be a wise thing to separate, and so not be drawn into the wars of the Mother Country; but in the most manly manner they declined to take that course, and, although confronted with a nation ten times their number, they were prepared to stand by the old banner and take the consequences. (Loud cheers.) Much of the indomitable spirit they displayed was due to the race from



which they sprung—the hardy northern people who had colonized that part of the world—the hardy Scottish race. (Hear, hear.) They had showed their ability to endure the roughness of climate there, and, with their perseverance and pluck, and he might say doggedness, which made them remarkable, made Canada what it was. They had a grand physique, and endured the winter that lasted five months, and surpassed in coldness anything an Australian could conceive, and they had the Indians in the early days ; but they had a good soil, and in the summer season a fertile one, and with all these advantages and disadvantages made the Canadian Colony one of the most prosperous places in the world. It was surely a pleasure and an advantage to be brought in contact with a representative of a Colony like that. Life in Australia had been too easy ; it had no difficulties of climate to contend with nor any hostile nations ; everything was quite easy, and opportunities had not arisen to evoke that spirit which, perhaps, they possessed, to bring them to the front. Canada was a dominion ; that was another term for a confederation, he was not going to address them as to whether confederation was good or not. The confederation of Canada, however, was to guard against external enemies, and from the very earliest history such confederations were allowed to exist. The value of the confederation of the Dominion arose from it being locked side by side with the United States of America, and having three thousand miles of border line along which there were interests at conflict—interests arising from tariffs, jealousies, and heart-burnings. One danger that threatened the union of the different portions of the empire into one body was the injury some of its parts might sustain from treaties made at home without due regard to its interests. The Canadians had seen that another loyalty had been tried by the unwise action of statesmen in the Mother Country. The same thing had occurred with regard to the influx of Chinese in Queensland. Because a treaty was made by which a few curious Englishmen might travel through China, the Chinese thought themselves justified in pouring into an English Colony in thousands, and going where they liked. The question was of national importance, and he might, he thought, be pardoned for bringing it forward, for Queensland had tried to stop the influx of Chinese, but was told that to do so would be contrary to treaty. Those were the things that would test the loyalty of the Colonies, and would unite the Colonies, if not bring about estrangement with the Mother Country. Every community had a right to protect itself against invasion of any kind, Chinese or any other, and they also had a right to protect themselves from people who came to them without arms. The Canadians were fortunate in having a Governor who was one of the leading statesmen of the Empire, of great political power, and large experience, and he was the sort of man to be sent where there was responsible government, and not a man who had been a clerk and shifted from one small independence to another, until he had attained the high position of a governor. New South Wales was a member of a federation that comprised in the British Empire a quarter of the whole habitable globe ; go where a person might he could not get out of it ; the thin red line so well known in the Crimea was nearly everywhere to be seen, except perhaps in South America. The old Roman Empire was nothing to it, and what federation was equal to it. They should do nothing to disunite themselves from the British Empire. If there was a confederation he hoped it would include the American and

all Anglo-Saxon people. A gentlemen once told him that at a dinner given by President Grant, at Washington, when there was a good deal of talk about inviting Queen Victoria to America, it was said that if Her Majesty went she would be regarded as the head of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the President as nobody. The day would come when the Anglo-Saxon race would be very closely united ; already the great names of England and America in literature and art belonged to both, the great men of both countries were in measure looked upon as the property of each, and he hoped the feeling would increase, and that a gathering like the present one would foster it. He hoped they would appreciate the glories of the great Empire, and, if need be, shed their last drop of blood to maintain its old renown." (Cheers.)

The Hon. JOHN YOUNG said, in reply :—

" I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for all the kind words you have said regarding myself ; but I thank you still more for your eloquent remarks in reference to Canada, and to all of the gentlemen present who gave your toast so warm a reception. As most of you are aware, my mission to Australia from the Government of Canada, was not only to be its representative at your Exhibition of your industry, but to ascertain and report whether, in my opinion, trade relations between the two countries could be increased and promoted. Canada has now a population of four and a-half millions. Their industries are various, but their nearest neighbor is the United States, who, by a miserable policy of protection, shut out the products and manufactures of Canada from their markets. Under these circumstances Canada has to find a market for her surplus manufactures. At the Exhibition in Philadelphia last year Canada was an exhibitor. New South Wales and other Australian Colonies were also exhibitors, and from the good show Canada made your commissioners there, and principally through my friend and your energetic citizen, Mr. Morris (cheers), Canada was asked through her Government to send part of her exhibits here. This the Government of Canada assented to, and I was chosen to be Canada's representative, not only at the Exhibition, but to visit all the Australian Colonies, and to report whether, in my opinion, as an old merchant, trade can be increased between Canada and Australia. After visiting New Zealand, Tasmania, Queensland, Victoria, and New South Wales, I have come to the conclusion that our trade relations can be increased. (Applause.) I am well aware that in this and all other markets, Canada has a powerful competitor in her brother colonist Jonathan,—I mean the United States. Jonathan, as you are aware, is England's eldest boy. She settled him in America, and I think the mother ought to be proud of such a son. (Cheers.) I believe, from my knowledge of the Americans, they are equally proud of their mother, and if the old Mother Country was ever getting into trouble, it would be found that blood was thicker than water. (Cheers.) It is true that Jonathan quarreled with his mother, but I believe that there are few who will not now admit that in the quarrel Jonathan was right, and that the world has been benefited by his defence of the principle that there must not be taxation without representation. (Applause.) In Canada Jean Baptiste and the Blue Noses of the Maritime Provinces hold on to mother England, and the great problem has yet to be solved,



which government is best calculated to advance the interests of the people. I hold that under our and your system we have a more democratic form of government under responsible government, and one more subject to the will of the people. (Applause.) Time will decide this. But Jonathan in trade with Canada and the outer world has pursued, and is now acting, on the principle of protection to home industry. Canada had a reciprocity treaty with Jonathan in all natural products. This treaty expired by limitation, but, while Canada continued and now admits the products of the United States duty free, Jonathan charges twenty per cent. duty on Canadian products, and in some instances much more. We in Canada are, therefore, compelled to find other markets for our industry—hence my appearance among you. (Applause.) We ask for no special protection—we believe we can furnish as good and as cheap an article as Jonathan can give you; and of this you must be the judge. In numbers Canada is far inferior to the United States; but, as we have no duty on raw materials entering into our manufactures, and as we think ourselves in Canada equal in every respect to the Americans, I have no doubt that the northern people of that Continent will ultimately prove superior to their southern brethren. (Applause.) I am glad, Mr. Chairman, of this public opportunity to thank the members of the Agricultural Association of New South Wales for their kindness to myself and to my assistants during the Exhibition. From experience in such matters, I know what a difficult task it is to carry out such an enterprise; and I feel it a pleasure here to-night to bear testimony, from almost a residence in the Exhibition building for some days, to the admirable exertions of the Secretary of the Association, Mr. Joubert, and of Mr. Wallis, their Chairman. Mr. Joubert may have been found fault with by some, but, from what I saw, the wonder to me is how he did so much. (Cheers.) I am glad also of this public opportunity of thanking the citizens of Sydney for their open-hearted, kind hospitality—and, indeed, wherever I have been in New South Wales and the other Colonies. I shall not fail to make this known to the people of Canada through the Government; and when Canada has an exhibition of her industry, I know you, and all the Australasian Colonies will be asked to join; and when you come you may rely that all your kindness to me, as their representative, will be returned with compound interest. (Applause.) The late lamented Prince Albert did a great work when he inaugurated the Industrial Exhibition of 1851; and I think New South Wales, in asking Canada to be present here at your Exhibition, has done a work which will prove advantageous to both countries. (Applause.) I again beg to thank you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, for your attention and kindness." (Continued applause.)

Mr. Young refers in his excellent and exhaustive report to our Pacific Railway. He took with him a number of Mr. Fleming's report of his survey and map of the railway, passing for its whole length through Canadian territory as the shortest and best route, from England and Europe, to Japan, China, and the Australian Colonies, which excited great interest, and much surprise was expressed at the facts disclosed by these papers. As there are thousands of people in Canada as ignorant of the superior claims of the route through their

own country as the people of Australia were, a comparison between Canadian and American routes from England to the Pacific is appended.\*

	<i>Miles.</i>	
	<i>Steam.</i>	<i>Railway.</i>
* <i>In Summer Months.</i> —From Merville to Rimouski.....	2,300	....
“ Rimouski to Montreal.....	....	300
“ Montreal to Ottawa.....	....	110
“ Ottawa to Bute Inlet.....	....	2,774
“ Bute Inlet to Sydney.....	6,800	....
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9,100	3,184
<i>In Winter Months.</i> —From Merville to Halifax.....	2,240	....
“ Halifax to Montreal.....	....	840
“ Montreal to Ottawa.....	....	110
“ Ottawa to Bute Inlet.....	....	2,774
“ Bute Inlet to Sydney.....	6,800	....
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	8,040	3,724
<i>Via New York.</i> —From Queenstown to New York.....	2,773	....
“ New York to Chicago.....	....	910
“ Chicago to San Francisco.....	....	2,410
“ San Francisco to Sydney.....	6,650	....
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9,423	3,320
<i>Canadian route in Summer.</i> —9,100 miles by Steamer, at	Hours.	
13 miles per hour.....	700	
3,184 miles by rail, at 25		
miles per hour.....	128	
		<hr/>
		828
<i>Canadian route in Winter.</i> —9,040 miles by steam, 13 miles per hour.	696	
3,724 miles by rail, 25 miles per hour ...	149	
		<hr/>
		845
<i>Via New York.</i> —9,423 miles by steam at 13 miles per hour.....	725	
3,320 miles by rail, at 25 miles per hour.....	133	
		<hr/>
		858
Or a difference in favor of Canadian Summer Route of.....	30 hours.	
And by Canadian Winter Route of.....	13 “	
<i>Highest altitude over Rocky Mountains</i> —From Chicago to San Fran-		
cisco.....	8,241 feet.	
Through Canadian Route to		
the Pacific.....	3,700	
	<hr/>	
Difference.....	4,541	

This difference in time by the Canadian Route, and the difference in altitude, becomes more apparent when we compare the routes from England and Europe to Japan and China, and the surrounding islands.



Mr. Young concludes his admirable report with the following observations :

“These differences in favor of the route through Canada from England and Europe to Australia, Japan and China, both for mails and passengers, as well as for such express freight of valuable commodities as can bear the cost of transport, are, I think, important, as showing the natural position of Canada, geographically—both by land and water—and as being the best link between Europe, the Pacific and Asia. This difference, too, in favor of Canada will also be found to apply to Bombay and other Ports in our East India Possessions.

The United States have, with great forethought, seen the advantage of thus connecting the Pacific and Atlantic by railway, and deserve the highest credit for the aid given to carry it through. The effect has been to make California what it is, and to produce along that line of the railway all those magnificent agricultural settlements and cities which have added so much to the national wealth of the Republic. England, with the Government of Canada, has the means of rivalling this great highway through the United States by a route more direct over British Territory—passing through the great valley of the Saskatchewan, and bringing into settlement that vast agricultural country, developing its mineral wealth, and

	<i>Rail.</i>	<i>Water.</i>
From Queenstown to New York .....	....	2,773
“ New York to San Francisco .....	3,310	....
“ San Francisco to Yokahama (Japan) .....	....	4,470
“ San Francisco to Shanghai (China) .....	....	5,505
<i>Canadian route.</i> —From Moville to Ottawa .....	410	2,306
“ Ottawa to Bute Inlet (Pacific) .....	2,774	....
“ Bute Inlet to Yokahama (Japan) .....	....	4,450
“ Bute Inlet to Shanghai (China) .....	....	5,425
<i>Result.</i> —Queenstown to Yokahama (Japan) via New York .....	3,310	7,243
Moville to Yokahama, via Canada .....	3,184	6,750
3,310 miles by railway, via New York, at 25 miles per hour. 132 hours.		
7,243 miles by steam at 13 miles per hour .....	557	“
	—	689 hours.
3,184 miles by railway, through Canada, at 25 miles per hour. 127		“
6,750 by steamer, at 13 miles per hour .....	519	“
	—	646 “
For Yokahama, in favor of Canada, 43 hours.		
	<i>Rail.</i>	<i>Water.</i>
<i>To Shanghai.</i> —Via New York, from England .....	3,310	8,278
Via Canada from Ireland .....	3,184	7,725
3,310 miles at 25 miles per hour .....	132	hours.
8,278 miles at 13 miles per hour .....	637	“
	—	769 hours.
3,184 miles at 25 miles per hour .....	127	“
7,725 miles at 13 miles per hour .....	584	“
	—	711 “
Difference in favor of Canadian route to Shanghai, 58		“

giving a value to millions of acres of land, the property of the Dominion, which at present have no value whatever. \* \* \* \* \*

I must now close this report ; and, in doing so, I have to express the opinion that an immediate and continually growing trade can be carried on between Canada and Australia. It has been my duty to enquire who the agents in Australia for the establishment of this trade should be, and I have no hesitation in repeating that Messrs. Gemmell, Targett & Co., of Melbourne ; Bradley, Newton & Lamb, of Sydney ; Dalgetty, Moore & Co., of Launceston, Ta. ; Dalgetty, Nicholls & Co., Dunedin, and J. E. Risby, of Hobart Town, Tasmania ; Brown, Campbell & Co., of Auckland, New Zealand ; Elder, Smith & Co., of Adelaide ; and Messrs. Fenwick & Scott, Brisbane, Queensland, should be such Canadian agents.

Any of those firms will give every information as regards trade ; and parties in Canada can rely with confidence on whatever report they may make.

All of the places above named are loading ports for London ; and ships, no doubt, can be easily obtained on charter to come here with cargo, then to load for Australia and again from Australia to London. Direct cargoes to Canada, in wool and other productions, will increase in proportion to our use of wool, which is the principal article of export.

I have been prevented by the state of my health from treating this important subject as thoroughly as I would otherwise have attempted ; but I trust that I have said enough to show that commercial intercourse between the Dominion of Canada and the Australian colonies is possible and desirable, both as regards the present and the future. The progress already made by these Pacific provinces is among the wonders of the age, and it is difficult to set limits to the greatness they must attain at no very distant day. Everything is in their favor : position, climate, soil, vast mineral wealth and an enterprising and energetic population. The people themselves are convinced that they are destined to become the ruling power of the Pacific and the countries that border on it ; and there is little reason to suppose that their aspirations are not well founded. As civilization advances in India, China, Japan and the other Asiatic countries, the natives will cast aside their old habits and prejudices and will feel the wants which invariably accompany civilization. One result of this must be a vast demand for the food-stuffs and various products of Australia, and which she can supply in boundless profusion. As I have before explained, the wealthier Australia becomes, the better customer will she be for the products of Canada. Each country produces articles that can be profitably and increasingly exchanged ; and I trust that every effort will be made by the people of Canada to establish commercial relations with Australia, and I am confident in asserting that every facility will be given to carry out that object." \*

On the 17th January, 1878, His Excellency left Ottawa *en route* for Washington, and returning, he took New York on his way. He

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\* Report of the Canadian Commissioner at the Exhibition of Industry, held at Sydney, New South Wales, 1877. Ottawa : published by authority of the Department of Agriculture.



was there given a reception by the American Geographical Society, at Chickering Hall, on the 31st January,—the occasion being the discussion of Captain Howgate's plan for the exploration of the Arctic Ocean.\* Among the persons of distinction present, besides His Excellency, were, the President of the Society, Chief Justice Daly, Professor T. Sterry Hunt, Messrs. Bayard Taylor and W. Cullen Bryant, Colonel Long (Bey), Chief Justice Curtis, Lieutenant Colonel Ludlow, U.S.A., Lieutenant Greeley, U.S.A., Professor Paul du Chaillu, and Albert Bierstadt.

The President, in announcing the purpose for which the meeting had been convened, said it was most appropriate that they had invited with them, on that "polar" evening, the presence of His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, the Governor General of Canada, himself an arctic traveller, and the author of one of the most sprightly and pleasant books that has ever been written upon travelling in high latitudes. In the unavoidable absence of Captain Howgate, an abstract of his plan was read by Lieutenant Greeley. After short addresses by Mr. Bryant and Mr. Bayard Taylor, in which His Excellency was proposed for election as honorary member of the American Geographical Society, President Daly put the question to a vote, and the Governor General was unanimously elected. The President then said he would take the liberty of asking their guest to address the Society, when Lord Dufferin responded as follows :

"MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In rising to respond to the kind observations which have been made in my regard by your President and the other gentlemen who have addressed you, I am disturbed by contending considerations. On the one hand, I feel that I have no right whatever to intervene in the present discussion ; on the other, I am naturally desirous to express my deep sense of the honor conferred upon me by so friendly a reception. (Applause.) It is true I once sailed towards the north, and got as near the pole as Washington is to Ottawa ; but the voyage was as fruitless as that of the Peri to the gate of Paradise,

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\* This plan was the establishment of a small colony of hardy and enterprising men in the far North. This would be a base of supplies whence explorers could push on their discoveries from time to time, as the weather or the seasons would permit. The scheme was founded on suggestions made by Dr. Hayes, and was favorably received by such men as the Earl of Dufferin, Chief Justice Daly, Mr. Bryant, and Mr. Bayard Taylor. The presentation of the project afforded the authorities of the Geographical Society an opportunity, of which they gladly availed themselves, of extending to the accomplished Viceroy of Canada the cordial welcome which he had earned from all Americans by the spirit of good neighborhood and courtesy in which he had administered the British rule in North America.

and possessed but one feature in common with the expeditions of more serious explorers, namely, that I had to turn back again. (Laughter.) With the exception of establishing the temperature through an unfrequented section of the Arctic Ocean, it was barren both of scientific results and personal adventure. I am therefore really no more qualified to pronounce an opinion upon any of the interesting topics which have been discussed to-night than a life-long inhabitant of the tropics, and consequently I shall abstain from doing so. There is, indeed, one character in which I can claim admission to your halls, namely, that of a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of England, and we well know that geographers are brothers all the world over. For the geographer, the political and the ethnological lines of demarcation by which nationalities are divided do not exist. All countries are to him what Italy in former days was once pronounced to be: 'geographical expressions.' The only heroes or potentates on his roll of fame, the only sacred names admitted to his calendar, are those gallant mariners and noble explorers who generation after generation have faced danger, privation and death in the cause of science, and in the hope of bringing to the knowledge of mankind those secret regions of the earth which God has prepared from everlasting for the habitation or advantage of the human race. (Loud applause.) And in no part of the world ought maritime adventure to be held in higher honor than on that continent which is indebted for its original birth and present glorious existence to the heroic daring of the greatest navigator that ever trimmed a sail or took a bearing. As a fellow-geographer, therefore, I beg to express to you my warmest sympathies and most respectful admiration. And proud am I to think that the two great Anglo-Saxon powers of the world should have been so intimately associated in these Arctic expeditions, which by common consent are justly regarded as the most heroic, if not the most successful, of any which have been undertaken. (Applause.) I can assure you that in Great Britain the names of Kane and Hayes and Hall are as familiar and honored household words as are those of Franklin and Belcher and McClure in this country (applause), and never will either the navy or the people, or the Queen of England, forget how the United States recovered, refitted, and returned across the ocean the poor old battered *Resolute* to the port from whence she sailed. Many and strong as are the bonds of sympathy which unite Great Britain to America, none, perhaps, have engendered more affectionate sentiments between the two countries than those derived from our united efforts to penetrate the Arctic regions, and, as I may now add, the recesses of Central Africa. (Applause.) But after all I feel I am really here in quite another capacity. You are aware that when the great sea captain, Christopher Columbus, to whom I have made allusion, returned to the Court of Ferdinand, he brought with him in chains several captive Indian chiefs as proofs of the reality of his achievements and as specimens of the strange nationalities he had discovered. To-night your discussion has been concerned with those icy regions which lie beneath Arcturus, and reflect the rosy radiance of the Aurora, and if Chief Justice Daly has now led me captive to your presence, it is only because he wished to parade before your eyes a potentate whose sceptre touches the pole, and who rules over a larger area of snow than any monarch. (Loud laughter.) In one respect alone does my condition differ from that of the prisoners of Columbus. When presented to the Court of Spain the gentle Isabella commanded their



manacles to be struck from off their limbs, but the chains I wear are those which have been forged around my heart by the courtesy, kindness and consideration I have received at the hands of the people of the United States, and such fetters even your imperial mandate would be powerless to loose." (Great applause.)

At the same meeting Mr. Henry John Morgan, of Ottawa, was elected a corresponding member of the Society.

The Parliamentary recess had not been marked by any political event of consequence. The Provinces were all suffering under the general depression of trade, but politically they were contented. Increased activity in partisan warfare was to be expected, since the coming Session would be the last of the Third Parliament, when it would be dissolved and a general election called. The summer and autumn were therefore distinguished by a system of monster political pic-nics, where thousands of people were gathered to listen to the harangues of the leading men of the two great parties. The chief question which divided them was that of Free Trade and Protection. If this had been eliminated from the programme of proceedings, little would have been left, so far as principles were concerned, to distinguish one party from the other. The Ministerialists clung to the Free trade theory, the Opposition vehemently denounced it, and attributed much of the difficulty under which the country was laboring to the fiscal policy of the Government. Sir John Macdonald had no hopes of defeating the Ministry, as the House was constituted, and all the efforts of his party were directed to the alleged ruinous Free-trade policy of the Government, and the unearthing of a number of transactions which were pointed out as proofs of the imputed hypocrisy and impurity of the Liberal party.

The Fifth Session of the Third Parliament of the Dominion was opened, by His Excellency the Governor General, on the 7th January.

The first sentence of the Speech from the Throne gave a fair indication of the general state of the country:

"In again summoning you, for the despatch of business, I am glad to be able to say that nothing beyond the ordinary business of the country requires your attendance."

Allusion is made to His Excellency's visit to Manitoba and the North West. The \$5,500,000 Fishery Award is spoken of as being much under the amount claimed by his Government as the value of our fisheries, but it is added, and the remark is in striking contrast with the tortuous dealing of the American Government with the award: "having assented to the creation of the tribunal for the determination of their value, we are bound loyally to assent to the decision given."

His Excellency congratulated the country on the success of Canada at the Sydney Exhibition, and said :

“ I trust that the result will be the opening up of a new market for Canadian goods, even in so remote a region as the Australian Colonies, to which shipments of Canadian productions have already been made.”

He alluded to the Indian treaties, which have already been noticed in reviewing the work of Mr. Morris and Mr. Laird. With respect to the important subject of the Pacific Railway, he informed the Houses that at last the surveys had been pressed to completion ; that a complete instrumental survey of the route by the valleys of the North Thompson and Lower Fraser rivers had been made, with a view to ascertain definitely whether that route presented more favorable features than the routes already surveyed to Dean Inlet and Bute Inlet respectively. He added :

“ It is believed that the additional information now obtained will enable my government to determine which route is the most advantageous from Tête Jaune Cache to the sea.”

Legislation was promised on the system of auditing the public accounts, the registration of titles, and a homestead law in Manitoba and the North West Territories, and the formation of railway accommodation in the parts of that country not reached by the Canadian Pacific. A measure was suggested for the better securing the independence of Parliament, and one on temperance was to be submitted.

The debate on the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was not completed until the 15th February, and the Opposition did not find itself sufficiently strong to move an amendment.

His Excellency had been invited by the citizens of Montreal to visit their city, and on the 11th February, he, with the Countess of Dufferin and *suite*, arrived at the Commercial Capital of Canada. Extensive preparations had been made to render due honor to their Excellencies, and no expense was spared by the wealthy city to uphold her well-deserved reputation for splendid hospitality. No city of the Dominion is more loyal to the Crown than Montreal, and each visit of their Excellencies had intensified the love of her citizens for the persons of their distinguished guests. They were received by Mr. Mayor Beaudry, the Aldermen and officials of the city, with whom were Sir Francis Hincks, Mr. Joseph Hickson, Mr. C. J. Brydges, Mr. A. W. Ogilvie, Col. Stevenson, Mr. Andrew Robertson, Mr. M. H. Gault, Mr. W. J. Spicer, and many others. The



crowd of citizens numbered thousands, and when the train entered the Bonaventure Station, the cheering was enthusiastic. On reaching the reception room, his Worship the Mayor read an address of welcome from the Mayor and Aldermen of the city, to which His Excellency replied. After a number of presentations, the Vice-regal party were escorted to the magnificent new Windsor hotel, where a great ball was to be given the next evening.

On the 12th February, His Excellency met the Life Governors of Mackay Institute for Protestant Deaf Mutes, at the residence of Mr. Joseph Mackay, Sherbrooke street, where he was received by the host and Miss Gordon, and entertained at lunch. The ladies and gentlemen present were their Excellencies, the Hon. Col. Littleton, Hon. Mrs. Littleton, Major Hamilton, Captain Hamilton, A.D.C., Miss Hamilton, Mr. W. Hayes, son of the President of the United States ; General Sir Selby Smyth ; Captain Smyth, A.D.C. ; Hon. Mr. Letellier de St. Just, Lieutenant Governor of Quebec ; Rev. A. Mackay, Mr. Brydges, Mr. Cramp, Mr. J. Redpath, Mr. Claxton, Mr. Buntin, Mr. T. Workman, M.P., Mr. W. Thomas, Mr. G. Scott, Mr. J. Mackenzie, Mr. C. Alexander, Mr. G. Mackay, Miss Gordon, Mrs. Macdonell and Miss Gordon of Toronto ; and Dr. Palmer of the Belleville Deaf and Dumb Institute. After luncheon the party proceeded to the building of the Institute, where with very imposing ceremonies it was formally opened by His Excellency. Mr. Joseph Mackay, having handed to him the deed of gift of the property by which he had secured the valuable property to the Institute for ever, addressed His Excellency in terms which drew forth frequent applause. Mr. Charles Alexander then read an address from the Governors and Managers of the Institution to which His Excellency replied.

The party then visited the Villa Maria Convent, where they were enthusiastically received.

In the evening, a grand ball was given in the Windsor hotel, which was one of the finest entertainments ever given in Montreal. The Vice-regal set consisted of His Excellency and Mrs. Ryan ; Her Excellency and Sir Francis Hincks ; Sir Selby Smyth and Miss McDonald, daughter of the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario ; Mr. C. J. Brydges and Mrs. Moss, wife of Chief Justice Moss ; Hon. Mr. Ryan and Hon. Mrs. Littleton ; Mr. Hayes, son of the President of the United States, and Hon. Miss Hamilton, sister of Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin. His Excellency during the evening danced with Miss Wurtele, Miss McDonald of Toronto, Miss Johnson, Miss

Hamilton, Miss Henrietta Gordon, Miss de Salaberry, Miss Abbott, Miss Cameron, Miss Gault, Miss Brydges, Miss Young, Miss Pinsonneault, Miss Angus, Miss Rae, Miss Scott, Miss Dow, Mrs. R. Stephenson, Miss Victoria Campbell, and Miss Carrie Campbell. Her Excellency's partners were Sir Francis Hincks, Hon. Chief Justice Dorion, Mr. Brydges, Dr. Hingston, Hector Mackenzie, and Mr. Loranger, Q. C.

On the next day McGill College was visited, when the following address from the Governors, Principal and Fellows of the University was read by the Chancellor, the Hon. C. D. Day, in Greek:—

Τῷ ἐντιμοτάτῳ Κυρίῳ, τῷ Ἐαρλ Δύφφεριν, Ἀρχηγεμόνι τῆς Κανάνδης.

Ἡμεῖς, οἱ Ἀρχοντες, ὁ Ἐπιστάτης τε καὶ οἱ Ἐταῖροι ταύτης τῆς Ἀκαδημίας εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Κύριε ἐπιφανέστατε, ἀνθ' ὧν σήμερον παρεῖναι ἕλωσ ἡξιώσας.

Ἡ εὐνοία ἀνδρῶν ἦτοι ἐν τῇ μουσικῇ διαπρεπόντων, ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι ἐπιφανῶν τοὺς ἐν τῷ τῆς παιδευσεως σπουδαίῳ ἔργῳ διατρίβοντας θαρσύνει. Τῷ δὲ παρόντι, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μακαρίους ἡγούμεθα προσαγορευόντές σε τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἕλωσ βασιλίσσης, ὃς δι' ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα τῆς ἡμῶν αἰδοῦς εἰς ἄξιος.

Ἡ δὲ Ἀκαδήμεια αὕτη τὴν ἐπίσημον δνησιν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου ἀπολαβεῖ, καὶ περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖται τὴν πρόνοιάν τε καὶ τὰς ἐνεργεσίας ὑπὸ σου παρὰ τὴν σὴν σοφὴν καὶ εὐμενῆ διοίκησιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιδοθείσας.

Καίπερ εἰδότες ὅτι καιρῶν ἐπιτηδειοτέρων τεύξη τοῦ τὴν σου περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα σοφίαν ἀποδεικνύειν, ὁμῶς δὲ τὴν σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀποχώρησιν προσβλέπομεν ἐν σοι γὰρ ἀναμίγνυται ἢ φιλοφροσύνη ἢ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ χάριν ὑπάξει ταῖς σπανιωτέραις ἀρεταῖς αἱ σεμνότητα τοῖς ἐν τέλει διδόσασιν.

Μάλιστα δὴ χάριν σοι, Κύριε κράτιστε, οἶδαμεν διότι παραδεξάμενος βαθμῶν ἀκαδημικῶν ἐγγραφεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταύτης Ἀκαδημίας ἡθέλησας· ἐλπίδα δ' ἔχομέν σε ταύτης πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐταιρείας ἡδέως ἂν ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὅταν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς σου χρόνος παρέλθῃ.

Πάνν σπουδῇ εὐχόμεθα πάσαν εὐδαιμονίαν σοί τε καὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ἀναδοθῆναι ἂν.

Ἀρέσειε τῇ Κυρίᾳ ἐπιφανεστάτῃ, τῇ Κομητῆσᾳ Δύφφεριν, ἀποδέχεσθαι ἡμῶν λεγόντων, ὡς ἐαντῇ αἰδῶ κέκτηται παρὰ πάντων οὐστυνας τῆς εὐνοίας ἐνόμισεν ἀξιούς, καὶ πολλοὺς τῆς χάριτος μνήμονας καταλείψει.

Τοῖς δὲ παισιν ὑμετέροις οὐδέν τι μείζον ἀγαθὸν εὐχόμεσθ ἂν ἢ ἐπιμνημόνοιας τῶν τῇ ἐξόχῳ στάσει εἰς ἡν ἐγενήθησαν προσηκόντων, αὐτοὺς βίον τοιοῦτον ἂν διαγεῖν, ὥστε ἐπαινοῦ παρὰ τῶν σφῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων γονέων τυγχάνειν.

CAROLUS DAY, LL.D., D.C.L.,

Cellarius.



The following is the address as originally prepared in English :

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF DUFFERIN,  
GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA.

We, the Governors, Principal and Fellows of this University, approach your Excellency with sincere thanks for the honour of your presence among us to-day. The favorable consideration of men who have distinguished themselves in the world of letters, or are illustrious from their high station, is always an encouragement to those engaged in the arduous work of education. In the present instance we are doubly fortunate in addressing a Representative of our Gracious Sovereign, who in his person unites both these claims to our gratitude and respect.

This Institution enjoys the signal advantage of being under your Excellency's visatorial jurisdiction, and it fully appreciates the kindly interest it has received from your Excellency during the whole period of your wise and beneficent administration.

We are unwilling to contemplate the termination of your Excellency's abode amongst us, and, while knowing that you will enter upon that wider field of statesmanship for which you are so eminently fitted, we cannot refrain from the expression of our regret at the prospect of parting with one who combines so happily the genial qualities which adorn social life, with the rarer qualities which give dignity to exalted office.

We desire especially to thank your Excellency for consenting, by your gracious acceptance of an Academical Degree, to become a member of Convocation of this University, and we venture to hope that your relation to it may not altogether cease to hold a place among the pleasant remembrances which we trust your Excellency will bear with you after the severance of your official connection with Canada.

Accept, my Lord, our earnest wishes for the continued prosperity and happiness of yourself and your family.

Her Excellency, your Countess, will permit us to say that she has secured the esteem of all who have had the privilege of approaching her, and will leave behind very many grateful friends. For the younger members of your house we can have no better wish than that, feeling the responsibilities of the high position in which Providence has placed them, their career in life may be such as will secure the approbation of their distinguished parents.

Signed on behalf of the University.

CHARLES DEWEY DAY, LL.D., D.C.L.,

*Chancellor.*

Lord Dufferin, in reply, addressed the Chancellor and assemblage, in Greek, with a clear voice, as follows :—

Τῷ Ἐπιστάτῃ, τοῖς Ἀρχουσι, καὶ τοῖς Συνέδροις ταύτης τῆς Ἀκαδημίας.

Ἀσμένως μὲν, Ὡ ἐπιστάτα καὶ ἄνδρες λόγιοι, πάντα ἀκήκοα τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ οὕτως χαριέντως λεχθέντα, μάλιστα δὲ χαίρω ἀκροασάμενος μὲν τὰ φθέγματα τῆς Ἀττικῆς

γλώττης, ἐνθυμούμενος δὲ τοὺς ἔμοιους ἐπείνουσ τοῖς Πλάτωνος καὶ Δημοσθένους ῥήμασι λελέχθαι. Τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ βουλομένῳ νῦν ἂν εἶη μὴ ὅτι δὲ ὀλίγων ἡμῖν ἐνχαριστεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεῖπεν τι τῶν ἐν τοῖσι τῷ καιρῷ προσηκόντων ἀκοῦσαι. Ἡδὴ γὰρ τοῖς δὴ ὡσπερ ἔμοιγε, περὶ τὰ πολιτικά πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας πραγματευομένους καὶ τευτάζουσι, ἀνάπανσις ἐστὶν οὐδεμία τῶν συνεχῶν λυπῶν καὶ φροντίδων, ἢ τὸν δοῦπον ἔαν ἐν τῇ λήθῃ τὸν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὴν κλαγγὴν τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων, ἀλλοτε μὲν ἐκτρεπόμενοι εἰς τὰ ἄλση τὰ Ἀκαδημαϊκά, ἀλλοτε δ' ἐν τῷ μαρμαρίνῳ δαπέδῳ τῆς στοᾶς περίπατον ποιοῦμενοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τὰς παλαιὰς ἐκεῖ φιλότιτας ἐνανθεύμενοι. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ τίς οὐκ ἂν τερφθῆι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐστίαν τῆς μουσικῆς καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὄρων καὶ σκοπῶν; Οὐ μὲν οὖν—ὥστε πᾶσαν λέγειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν—τίς οὐκ ἂν βουλευθῆι δεῦρο στρωφᾶσθαι, καὶ σὺν τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἐνθάδε μῆναι τῶν μαθημάτων πασῶν τῶν ἀυξήσεων ἀεὶ συναπολαύσων;

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ νοήματα νῦν δὴ διατρίβειν ἔμοιγε πρέπει, ὡς τῷ ἐφεστῶτι ἐπὶ λέω νεανίῳ ἤδη μὲν νῦν προλαμβάνοντος τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὴν τε δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν φεροῦσης, ὅς δέ, ὡς οὐκέτι τέλεος ὢν, πολλῶν προσδεῖ τῶν ὑπηρετημάτων οἷων τοῦτο τὸ πανεπιστήμιον ἀξιοῦμεν παρασχεῖν. Οὕτως νῦν δὴ τῶν παραγμάτων καθεστώτων, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ διδασκαλεῖον οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ πᾶσιν μὲν τὸν θυμὸν ἐγείρει, ὥστε καλὰς ἐλπίδας λαμβάνειν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέντοι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις μνημονεύειν, ὅτι τὸ κράτος τῆς Κανάρης τὸ μελλόν οὗτοι οἱ νέοι εἰσὶν, καὶ ὅτι τούτους, χρόνον γενομένου, δεήσει, ὡν ἔργων ἡμεῖς νῦν τυγχάνομεν ὑπάρχοντες, ταῦτα μεγαλειότερως ἐξεργάζεσθαι καὶ τελεῖν. Τούτοις δὴ, κατειδότες ἂν ἐνθάδε τὴν σπουδὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν εὐπραγίαν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων πάντων χαλεπῇ εἰσόδῳ, δυνησόμεθα πιστένειν καὶ θαρσαλέως τὸ κοινὸν καταλείπειν.

Οὐκοῦν ταῦτα νομίζων, ὦ ἄνδρες τιμώτατοι, πολλὴν χάριν ἐγωγε ἡμῖν οἶδα καὶ ὀφείλω ὅτι ἔταIRON τῆς ἡμῶν συνουσίας ἐμὲ κειροτονήκατε. Ὡν μὲν γὰρ ἐτῶν ἐν Ὁξονίῳ διήγαγον ἡβῶν ἀεὶ μνήμων γεγέννημαι, ὡς ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῶν ὀλβιωτάτων, οὐδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ὄνομα τὰ ὦτα ταῦτα μᾶλλον πρὸς ἠδονὴν ἀσπάζεται ἢ τὸ τῆς τροφίμου μητρὸς. Ταύτην ἄρα τὴν τιμὴν ὡς ἐγωγε περὶ πλείστον ποιησόμενος ὑποσχέσθαι περιττὸν ἦν ἂν.

Ἐν δὲ ἔπος λοιπὸν μοι εἶπεν, ὑπὲρ τῆς τε εὐγενούς ἀνάσσης καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ δόμου παντὸς ὅτι χάριν ἔχουσιν ἡμῖν πολλὴν ὡν πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ὡς αὐτοὺς εὐχῶν ἐφθέγγασθε, ἅς ἐν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ὁμοίως ἐν ἡμῖν εἶθ' ὁ Θεὸς τελέσειεν.

Δυοφερῖν.

Τρισκαιδεκάτῃ μηνὸς Φεβρουρίου, }  
ἔτει α' ω' ο' η'.

The following is a translation of this address.\*

\* The following remarks, by the deservedly popular *New England Journal of Education*, were drawn out on the occasion of this classic exhibition:

“It is acknowledged by men of all parties and opinions in Canada that the



I have listened with great pleasure, Mr. President, and learned gentlemen of the Faculty, to all the courteous things you have said of me. It has given me peculiar satisfaction to hear the accents of the Attic tongue; and I can never think without emotion of the commendation which has been bestowed upon me in the language of Plato and Demosthenes. You will allow me to couple with this

course pursued by the Governor General of British North America, during the six years' term of office, which is now drawing near its close, has been able, statesmanlike, impartial, and marked by an earnest devotion to the interests of the great country entrusted to his charge. The people of these States have also had many opportunities of observing the frank and friendly spirit entertained by the Earl toward this country, one of the latest evidences of which was illustrated by His Lordship's late letter in regard to the Educational Conference in London, in which he stated that 'he was always anxious to promote, by every means in his power, any project that might tend to increase the friendly relations between the United States and Great Britain,' and that 'he agreed with the proposer of the Conference in thinking that the more the exponents and leaders of public opinion can be brought together the better.' The lively interest and active personal part which the Governor General has taken in public education of every grade, from the district school up to the normal colleges and the universities, three of which are in a highly efficient state, is not so widely known here as it ought to be; and it seems an act of duty, no less than of well-deserved gratitude, to draw the attention of American teachers to it. Our own interest has been refreshed by the recent receipt from a friend in Canada of a copy of an address in Greek, delivered last February, by Lord Dufferin, before the officers and senior classes of McGill University, an institution which is gaining a very high reputation. The address fully bears out the encomiums that were bestowed upon it by able classical scholars at the time; and its neat, terse style, and pure Attic composition, show that the speaker—as is the case with so many of the public men of England—has kept up his classical reading, while cherishing, as is stated in the address, his love for his old university. 'I have ever continued to cherish the memory of the years, which in my youth I spent at Oxford, as the happiest in my life; nor, even to this day, does any name more gratefully greet my ears than that of my foster-mother;'—a graceful, noble utterance, which must arouse the sympathy of every scholar and educator who reads it now, as it sent a thrill of enthusiastic pleasure through the hearts of those of the hearers then. Lord Dufferin has set an example well worthy of imitation by those in high position in all countries, alike by his own continued cultivation of learning, and still more by the great personal interest shown by him in even the humblest education of the Provinces; this representative of the Queen having often applied himself to giving very sound, practical advice to both teachers and pupils of the public schools. Canada may well look with pain to the prospect of soon losing a Governor who has devoted himself so earnestly and fairly to the advancement of *all* her welfare, but whose memory will deserve especially to be cherished in the hearts of all British Americans, as the protector and promoter of sound popular education; nor will that memory fail to retain a place of warm respect among the teachers and scholars of these States."

expression of my thanks a few words not perhaps unfitting to be spoken here and now.

For those who, like myself, are incessantly occupied with public affairs, there can be no such relief from the cares and anxieties of political life as is to be found in shutting out the din of the passing hour and the noises of the world, at one time by turning aside into the groves of the academy, at another by pacing the marble pavements of the porch, to renew in the one or the other ancient ties of friendship and of interest. Certainly no one can fail to rejoice when he beholds this quiet abode of letters and of peace. Nay, if the whole truth must be told, who would not be glad to tarry here—here in sweet converse with valued friends to share in and to enjoy the progress of all useful knowledge and of true science. Nevertheless, I must not dally too long with such reflections, remembering that I administer the government of a young nation which is just entering resolutely on the paths which lead to glory and to prosperity, and which, not yet having attained its full stature, has need of many services such as we believe this University fitted to render it. In the actual condition of our affairs everyone must deeply feel how close the connection is between this great institution of learning and the fairest hopes of the country—and I most of all am conscious that in these youths I see the future strength of Canada. Upon them, in the due course of time, it will devolve to take up and to carry forward to grander results the work now entrusted to our hands. As we now behold their zealous industry, and their success in pressing up the steep and narrow way which leads to all sound learning, we must feel that we may implicitly rely upon them, and that we may confidently leave the commonwealth to such inheritors. It is with considerations such as these, most honorable gentlemen, that I tender you the thanks I owe you for admitting me into your fellowship. I recall the years which, when a youth, I passed at Oxford as the happiest of my life, nor can any name fall more sweetly upon our ears than that of Alma Mater. It is but natural then that I should prize and promise to hold in the highest esteem the honor you have conferred upon me. One word more let me add on behalf of my wife, the Countess of Dufferin, and of my family, and in acknowledgment of the good wishes you have so cordially lavished upon us: may God grant you all the happiness you have asked of Him for us.

The degree to be conferred upon His Excellency was then announced by the Vice-Chancellor, Principal Dawson, who spoke as follows:—

“MR. CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN OF CONVOCATION,—The agreeable duty devolves on me of announcing that the Corporation of this University has granted to our distinguished guest of to-day the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws. The granting of such degrees is with us a rare event, and we have always felt that, in exercising this power, we are discharging a highly responsible public function committed to us for the advancement of learning, and which should always reflect honor on the University itself as conferring such degrees. In the present instance we can have no hesitation on this ground. The Earl of Dufferin appears here not merely as the ruler of this Dominion, as the Representative of



Her Most Gracious Majesty, and as a Statesman who has worthily filled some of the most important public offices—his position and services to the Empire in these respects merit and have received other acknowledgments than ours—but he appears among us as a scientific traveller willing to endure hardship and brave danger for the extension of knowledge,—as a successful worker in the field of literature,—as an orator who has given the happiest expression to great and fruitful truths most important to the welfare of this country and of the Empire,—as a patron of education whose name is associated with prizes for which the *élite* of our youth eagerly contend,—and as the occupant of the highest position in this University as its visitor on behalf of the Crown. On such grounds we may rejoice to have the name of the Earl of Dufferin inscribed on our list of graduates. It is also most appropriate that this University—one of the oldest in the Dominion, and deriving its students from all our Provinces—should acknowledge such services to learning. It is true that we cannot yet, like some of the venerable Universities of the old world, offer to our graduate the honor of inserting his name in a register enriched with the signatures of the great men of many generations,—but like other institutions of this young country, we can hope for the future if we cannot boast much of the past. In the coming time, when the Great Western plains over which His Excellency has lately journeyed shall be covered with towns and villages, netted with railways, and studded with populous cities; when the shores and valleys of the Pacific Coast shall be filled with a population more numerous and wealthy than that of England now, and when men shall come from their Western lands to visit the Seats of an older civilization on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and on the Atlantic Coast, our then venerable register will have its pages filled with the names of the Statesmen who have built up this great New Britain, of the poets, the orators, the men of science and of letters who have made it renowned throughout the world. It will then be no unhonored place to appear so near the beginning of the roll of Canadian University men, and to be revered as one whose wisdom aided in framing the character, and opening the bright future of the Canadian people. As workers for the future rather than the past, we shall therefore welcome Lord Dufferin, not merely to the fellowship of the few worthy names already on our list, but to that of the men who are to follow in the age to come. In the faith and hope that, with God's blessing in our earnest efforts, we shall prepare for this great future, we confer this degree, and in the same hope, which we know he also entertains, we ask our illustrious guest frankly to accept it."

The Registrar having invited His Excellency to sign the register, he did so, and the degree was immediately conferred upon him.

After a short address from His Excellency, His Lordship, Chief Justice Moss of Ontario, offered his thanks for the pleasure he had received in being present. He congratulated the College upon His Excellency's visit and he felt in alluding to him the truth of the saying that when using the language of truth it had a tendency to trench on eulogy, and thus he had thought until otherwise instructed that the University of McGill College was much of the

same mind, as they had chosen another language in which to convey to His Excellency their kind wishes. He then paid a high tribute to the statesman, *litterateur* and scholar, Lord Dufferin, and while regretting that Toronto University could not now make His Excellency a fellow student of his, it did not do so out of any feeling of jealousy to McGill, for which College he entertained feelings of the kindest courtesy. He then alluded to the difference between McGill and Toronto Universities, in that the former was the work of private munificence, and wondered whether he would ever see such a thing in Ontario. He heartily commended such munificence as had been shown by Messrs. McGill, Molson, and Redpath to the consideration of others, and looked for a closer union in the bond of sympathy between McGill and Toronto Universities. He eulogized McGill for the stand taken by her in maintaining the high standard of education for which she was famous, and referred in terms of thankfulness to the good fortune of Toronto University in having secured Dr. McCaul at a time when such a man was necessary. He looked forward to a time when the better class of people would aim to give their children a higher grade of education than at the present time. He contended that our youths were taken away from school at too early an age for the counting-room, and money making pursuits. In conclusion he wished increased prosperity to McGill College, and advised increased effort on the part of her students and professors, and took his seat amid loud applause.

The diploma of the degree conferred on Lord Dufferin was enclosed in a box inlaid with native Canadian woods, and having His Excellency's monogram and coronet on one side, and the University arms on the reverse.

On the 14th February, their Excellencies visited the Convent of the Sacred Heart, where an address was presented, and duly replied to by His Excellency. A grand dinner was given to their Excellencies in the evening at the Windsor hotel. Mayor Beaudry, on account of severe illness was absent, and his place was filled by Sir Francis Hincks, who acted as Chairman. On each side of His Excellency were seated the following gentlemen: On the left, Sir Francis Hincks, the Hon. Chief Justice Moss, Consul General Dart, Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, Mr. Webb Hayes, Lord Aylmer, Sir Hugh Allan, Hon Mr. Justice Cross, Hon. T. Ryan, Mr. Bierstadt, Mr. T. Workman, M.P., Mr. Jos. Mackay, Mr. Jos. Hickson, Mr. Geo. Stephen, Mr. R. Stephenson, Mr. Sheriff Chauveau, Dr. Rottot, Ald.



Nelson, Capt. Blackwood, Capt. Smith. On the right, Hon. Chief Justice Dorion, Lieutenant General Sir Selby Smyth, Sir A. T. Galt, the Hon. Col. Littleton, Hon. John Hamilton, Hon. Mr. Justice Mackay, Judge Coursol, Lieutenant Col. Dyde, Hon. D. A. Smith, M.P., Mr. Molson, Mr. T. Cramp, Mr. Peter Redpath, Mr. R. B. Angus, Dr. Campbell, Capt. Ward, Mr. W. B. Simpson, Capt. Gauthier, A.D.C., Ald. J. Grenier, Mr. A. M. DeLisle, Mr. Henry Lyman, Capt. Harvey, 42nd Highlanders, A.D.C., Capt. Hamilton, 9th Regiment, A.D.C.

After the dinner, at about half past nine, Her Excellency came into the room, accompanied by her *suite*, all taking seats on the side of the room opposite His Excellency, and in the following order: Her Excellency, the Countess of Dufferin, Mrs. Russell Stevenson, Miss Hamilton, Hon. Mrs. Littleton and Lady Tatton Sykes. After the toast of the Queen, His Excellency rose and said:—

“SIR FRANCIS HINCKS AND GENTLEMEN,—Although it is very unusual for the guest of the evening to intrude himself upon the notice of his entertainers at so early a period, I have ventured to ask permission from your Chairman to intervene for a few moments for the purpose of introducing a toast. That toast, ladies and gentlemen, is the health of the President of the United States. (Cheers.) Coming, as I do, straight from the country whose Government he administers—the consideration for Canada he has been pleased to evince in his personal courtesies to myself fresh within my recollection—my heart still warm and glowing with the memory of the extraordinary kindness, attention, and hospitality with which I have been honored by every American citizen with whom I came into contact (loud applause), whether at Washington or New York, or indeed in any other part of the country (renewed applause), you will readily understand I should wish to lose no opportunity of giving expression to my gratitude, and of emphasizing my regard for the great republic, its ruler and its people (loud applause); and I indulge my inclination the more readily because I know that I am only interpreting your own sentiments (hear, hear), that my experiences have been yours, and that probably there is not a single individual present who cannot testify in his own person to the genial good nature, urbanity and friendliness of our neighbors across the line. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, upon the personal or upon even the political claims of the President of the United States to the confidence and affectionate regard of his people, it would be out of place for me to dilate. It is not either in his personal or political capacity that he presents himself to our regards. It is not for us to concern ourselves with the conditions and circumstances under which the chief of the American executive attains to power. In our eyes he is solely and simply ‘the elect of the people’ (applause), the head of one of the greatest and noblest nations of the earth (loud applause), the representative of their Majesty and Imperium, the repository of their power, the mighty chief of their glorious Commonwealth (great applause), and when we drink his health it is the American people we desire to honor (cheers), it is to the American people that we wish

happiness and prosperity, it is to the American people we extend the right hand of fellowship and affection. (Continued applause.) And, gentlemen, the more I know of them, the better I have become acquainted with their views and aspirations, the more disposed I feel to bid you cultivate their friendship, and to rely upon their generous regard and sympathy. (Cheers.) As far as I have observed, from the President downwards there is not a human being in the States who does not wish you well, who is not anxious to respect your independence, who does not desire to see you prosperous and powerful. (Applause.) In the fresh, free atmosphere of liberty, which sweeps their land from the Atlantic to the Pacific, no noxious root of jealousy can grow, and if there is one characteristic by which they are more distinguished than another, it is that of generosity, the inherent attribute of every educated democracy. (Renewed applause.) Nay, I will add that if Europe wishes to learn to what perfection kindness can be brought, to how great a degree genuine hospitality can enhance the graces of social intercourse, it is to this continent they must come for information. (Loud applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, I am happy to think that the cheers which my toast has called forth will not die away altogether in silence. We have amongst us to-night three distinguished citizens of the States. (Cheers.) We have our old friend General Dart, the Consul General of the United States, who, by his courtesy and ability, has won the respect of all who know him. (Applause.) We have Mr. Bierstadt, one of the most eminent and distinguished artists of the present generation (cheers), and I have the happiness of seeing near me Mr. Webb Hayes, the son of the President of the United States (cheers), to whom your city has extended its hospitality, and in drinking his father's health, and in bidding him and his two other friends welcome to the Canadian soil, I am sure that he and they will understand that if, instead of three representatives of their nation, the whole people of America were amongst us to-night, our hearts, if not our hotels, would be big enough to receive them all." (Tremendous applause.)

This was replied to by General Dart, Consul General of the United States. The Chairman then proposed the toast, "The Governor General of Canada."

This toast was received with the utmost enthusiasm, and when His Excellency rose to reply, the company rose and cheered him again and again. When the cheering subsided, His Excellency spoke as follows :—

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—Before attempting to express to you the deep gratitude I feel, not only for the kind reception you have given to the mention of my name, but still more for the round of honors and hospitalities with which I have been greeted during the present memorable week, there is a little matter of business, which, since it has been referred to by the Consul General of the United States, I feel, perhaps, it would be desirable, for me to mention in order that once for all I may reply to a query which has been put to me by almost every friend who has heard of my recent visit to Washington. Well then, gentlemen. No! I have not brought them back in my portmanteau. (Laughter.)



Our five millions and a half of fish money were not handed to me across the counter by the President of the United States (great laughter) as many persons imagine (renewed laughter) to have been the case. What is more, I did not even ask for them, nor look as if I wanted them, or indeed as if I knew anything about them. (Roars of laughter.) And in assuming this attitude of reserve, I am sure I consulted the delicacy of your feelings (renewed laughter). Some of those present,—I trust not many, for money is difficult to come by in these hard times (laughter), occupy the position of creditors. Well, how do they demean themselves under such circumstances? Why, however resolutely they may be disposed to put the law in force against the fraudulent debtor, when they see the man who owes them money, scraping together every sixpence within his reach, with the view of discharging his liabilities—appropriating his wife's pin money (laughter)—cutting down the allowances of his younger brothers and sisters—stopping his children's schooling—and talking, as if he really meant it, of curtailing his own daily consumption of cigars and cocktails (great laughter), he naturally feels it would be impious to trouble the serenity or to embarrass the self-respect of so right-minded a personage by dunning him for payment. (Renewed laughter.) If he knocks up against such a one in the street he slinks down the nearest alley (laughter), or shirks behind a shop door rather than disturb, by his own obnoxious and compromising presence, the self-satisfied cogitations of so much virtue. (Roars of laughter.) Well then, gentlemen, that was exactly the conduct I pursued during my visit to the States. I was perpetually hiding behind doors (laughter), and running round street corners (great laughter), so satisfactory did I find the public temper in regard to our little matter; nor did I move a muscle of my countenance when I was confidentially informed by an enterprising newspaper interviewer how General Benjamin Butler, and other influential personages, had been overheard to propose the sale by auction of the furniture of the Treasury Buildings at Washington rather than that the Great Republic should remain an instant longer in the debt of Canada. (Upróarious laughter.) And yet I did not altogether refrain from diplomatic action. When asked by the Secretary of State to dinner, I ostentatiously abstained from taking fish (roars of laughter and applause), a demonstration the force of which Mr. Evarts met and acknowledged by the maintenance of a precious and pregnant silence (laughter) on the subject of the Halifax award. Now, some uninstructed gentleman might imagine this silence to have been of ominous import. Such an inference only shows how ignorant some people are of the subtle manner in which the representatives of great nations interchange ideas. (Laughter.) Ambassadors do not dispute like washerwomen across a tub. (Great laughter.) When they meet they imitate the lofty reticence of those two famous augurs of ancient Rome, a nod, a wink (laughter), a *demi-mot*, or as upon this occasion, no word at all, conveys the most important decisions. (Laughter.) In Mr. Evarts' taciturnity I read—as all of you would have done—a reference to the ancient Greek apothegm, 'Speech is silver, but silence is gold' (great laughter), and by remaining speechless Mr. Evarts intended me to understand that not only did he intend to pay up like a man, but that he intended to pay up in gold like a gentleman (tremendous cheering and laughter), and the President himself has confirmed

this solemn undertaking of his Ministry by handing over to me his own son as a hostage (laughter and applause), though, to save appearances, in the guise of a friendly visitor. But we have had a narrow escape. If, by a stroke of Machiavellian policy, he had only substituted his daughter, we are so gallant I believe we would have kept the young lady and let the money go. (Cheers and laughter.) And now, gentlemen, having disposed of the only serious matter before us, we can afford to make a night of it, and in order that you may do so the more agreeably, I will hasten to conclude the task your kindness has imposed upon me. And yet, before I sit down, I cannot help desiring to express more fully than I have yet had an opportunity of doing my very deep sense of the extraordinary kindness I am receiving at your hands. For an entire week, myself, my family, my friends, my staff, my household, have been the guests of your city, lodged in a palace, and welcomed to a series of entertainments of unparalleled splendor and interest. (Great cheering.) The Beauty of the Province has decked itself in its most irresistible charms to grace the occasion. (Applause.) Thanks to the munificence of one of your eminent citizens, my visit is destined to become associated with as noble an act of charity as has ever illustrated the annals of the Dominion (loud applause), while Education, Art, the Drama, and many other elements of our national life have received a fresh impulse and additional proofs of the interest and sympathy felt for them by your fellow-citizens in virtue of your having permitted me to become the interpreter and exponent of the general sentiment in their regard. Such a prolonged ovation has seldom been extended, I believe, to the head of any executive, and, if a proof were wanting of your loyalty to our Sovereign, it would be found in this succession of graceful courtesies to one whose only claim to your consideration is the fact of his being her representative. (Great cheering.) For, gentlemen, God forbid that I should mistake for a moment the significance of these glorious demonstrations. Unless intended to exhibit your devotion to the throne and person of our gracious Queen,—your reverence for the constitution under which you live,—they would be empty, meaningless and vain. (Applause.) It is only in this sense that I could either enjoy or accept them. (Cheers.) It may be, however,—and it would be affectation on my part to ignore the fact—that circumstances of a peculiar nature have invested the present festival with a character more personal to myself than those with which I have been hitherto so frequently greeted. (Applause.) It is probably for the last time I have the pleasure of finding myself in your presence, and although I dislike extremely touching upon any egotistical topic, such a reflection naturally evokes within my mind many and many a regret. (Great applause.) During a period of six years I have frequently come amongst you, mingled with your society, taken part in your sports and pastimes, interested myself with your affairs and business, become one with you in thought and feeling, and never have I received at your hands, whether in my public or in my private capacity, anything but the kindest consideration, the most indulgent sympathy, and the warmest welcome. (Cheers.) I have known many of you long and intimately enough to have watched your little children grow up into young men and maidens, your maidens into wives and mothers, and there is scarcely a family amongst those I see around me with whose domestic joys and sorrows I have not been permitted to sympathize. (Applause.) But—what is still more significant



—this brief period—hardly exceeding a lustre—has enabled me to mark the extension of your city, the multiplication of your public buildings, of your churches and of your charitable institutions. (Applause.) But, best of all, it will have been during my administration of your affairs, and under my nominal auspices, that will have been laid, in the widening and the perfecting of our Laurentian navigation, the ineradicable foundations of your future prosperity, nay, of your commercial supremacy and absolute dominion over the north-eastern section of America. (Tremendous applause.) Well, ladies and gentlemen, ties that have been so deeply rooted, ties that have been consecrated by such endearing reminiscences, can never fail or wither, and to my dying day I shall remember with feelings which cannot be expressed in words, the extraordinary marks of confidence and good will I have received from the citizens of Montreal. (Great applause.) And yet if there is one thing more than another which causes me satisfaction in all that you have done, and are doing for me, it is the reflection that the springs from whence your generous benevolence, your princely hospitalities ascend, are perennial, inexhaustible, and independent for their overflow upon the accidental qualities of him to whom they are immediately addressed, and that it is in something deeper, more lasting, more significant, than in your mere goodwill to an individual official, who is here to-day and away to-morrow, that they have their sacred birth and origin. (Cheers.) After all, the Viceroys of Canada are but “*αμενηνὰ κάρηνα*”—fleeting shadows and evanescent *eidolons* that haunt your history, but scarcely contribute a line to its page. Should we leave behind us a single kindly memory—should our names hereafter mark a date, or identify a period, it is the most we can aspire to. Half a column of a biographical dictionary would suffice to exhibit the sum of our united achievements; so imperceptibly do we come and go, play our small part, and fade from off the scene. But unsubstantial, phantasmal, and impersonal as we may be individually, we nevertheless represent and symbolize in our uninterrupted succession, some of the most solid realities of which the modern world can boast,—for are we not the living proofs and exponents of the love of a mighty nation for the children she has sent forth to enlarge her Dominion, and enhance her renown (great applause),—the affection of a great Colony for a Mother Country, that has endowed her with absolute freedom and legislative independence,—the reverence of a free people for constitutional liberty as secured by monarchical government,—the recognition by the owners of half a continent of their right to share a still mightier imperium—the love and loyalty of two chivalrous races towards the purest woman, and the most duty-loving Sovereign that ever wore a crown or wielded a sceptre (long continued applause),—the unswerving confidence of a modest, God-fearing community in their ability to vindicate their independence, to elaborate their own destiny, and to guard and embellish to the utmost the glorious inheritance with which they have been endowed by Providence. (Loud and continued applause.) In one respect we are, indeed, but insignificant factors in the system of your national existence, in another we are more than the equals of the greatest autocrats that ever terrorised mankind. If then, ladies and gentlemen, I now acknowledge, with all the emphasis of which language is capable, the satisfaction I have experienced by the exhibition of your affection and goodwill towards the Governor General of Canada, it is not the individual who thanks you,

but the interpreter and representative of those indestructible principles of constitutional government, of Imperial unity, and of natural affection which are the foundations of your private happiness and public prosperity."

When His Excellency resumed his seat the company again rose and loudly cheered him. Among the subsequent toasts was, "The Countess of Dufferin and the ladies," proposed by Dr. Hingston, and responded to by Mr. C. J. Brydges.

On the 15th February, the eighth conversazione and exhibition of the Art Association of Montreal was held at the Windsor Hotel, to which their Excellencies were specially invited. Sir Francis Hincks, the President of the Association, in his address dwelt at length upon Mr. Benaiah Gibb's munificent bequest to the citizens of Montreal of his collection of paintings and bronzes, valued at \$65,000, and, in addition, a sum of \$8,000, together with a lot of ground, valued at \$9,400, upon which an Art Gallery is to be erected, provided the citizens will supplement the bequest with a sufficient amount to put up a suitable building.\* Lord Dufferin, after some preliminary remarks, said :

"On the present occasion the reply I am about to make will, I think, be as succinct and as hearty, perhaps, as all those that I have hitherto had the honor of composing. It is a written reply. Every word upon the paper has been carefully studied. There is not a word too much in it, or a word too little. I will not so far trespass upon the attention of this distinguished audience as to read my reply to the address, but I have the pleasure of handing it unread to Sir Francis Hincks (His Excellency then handed a cheque to Sir Francis for \$100), and I have resorted to this course the more readily because I am well aware that, whereas the professors of every branch of science, whether it be connected with Greek or with Latin, with mechanics or metaphysics, with the military art or any other, think a considerable amount of previous study is necessary to be able to speak with authority upon it. When we come to art, every one seems to think he is a born art critic, and sufficiently capable and intelligent to enlighten his fellow-creatures upon any topic."

His Excellency then said that,

"Without worrying the audience with any superficial remarks in connection with art, I will confine myself to making an announcement on behalf of an honored and personal friend, who has been pleased to authorize me to inform those interested in the objects which have been so eloquently enlarged upon by the projectors of the address, that it was his intention at no distant date to enhance the value of Mr. Gibb's treasures by the contribution of a valuable picture which he had been good enough to say I should put a value upon." † (Applause.)

\* The Art Gallery is now in course of erection, and will be finished by the summer of 1879.

† The picture alluded to, entitled *Sunset in the Yosemite Valley*, painted by Mr. Bierstadt, has since been presented by the artist, through His Excellency, to the Art Association.



The Vice-regal party took their departure from Montreal on the 16th February, and on their way to Ottawa addresses were presented to His Excellency at St. Thérèse, St. Scholastique, Lachute, Calumet, Papineauville, Thurso, Buckingham, and Hull.

In the meantime the business of Parliament was slowly proceeding. There was no matter of grave importance before it, and, though the session was long, and the debates protracted, the utterances of members were intended, not so much to influence the divisions in the House, as the coming general elections. The Ministry had a majority of about forty, and any attempt to defeat them in a house so constituted would have been a useless expenditure of time. The Opposition had made the fiscal policy of the Government the great test question on which they would go to the people, and hence their chief movements in the house were connected with the tariff. On the 7th March, Sir John Macdonald took the first step in the official announcement of the course settled upon by the Opposition, when he moved the following amendment in Supply :—

“That this House is of the opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy, which, by a judicious re-adjustment of the tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion ;—that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow-countrymen, now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home,—will restore prosperity to our struggling industries, now so sadly depressed,—will prevent Canada from being made a sacrifice market,—will encourage and develop an active inter-provincial trade, and moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of a reciprocity of tariff with our neighbors, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country, eventually, a reciprocity of trade.”

On the 12th March, after an exhaustive debate, this motion was negatived by a vote of 114 against 74, shewing a majority for the Ministry of 40.

On the 2nd April, Mr. Brown, Member for the West Riding of Hastings, moved another amendment in Supply :—

“That it be resolved, that whereas a large quantity of wheat and flour has been imported into Canada within the last few years, this House is of opinion that the interests of Canadian farmers would be promoted by the imposition of a duty on these articles.”

The motion was negatived on a vote of 148 to 28.

On the 9th April, Mr. Béchard, Member for Iberville, moved in amendment in Supply :—That it be resolved,

“That a large quantity of corn and oats having been imported into Canada within the last few years, this House is of opinion that the interests of Canadian farmers would be promoted by the imposition of a duty upon the importation of those products.”

The motion was negatived on a vote of 144 to 54.

Another expression of the opinion of the House on the trade policy of the Government was obtained on the motion of Mr. Bolduc, Member for Beauce :—That it be resolved,

“That whereas one million dollars worth of tobacco is imported every year ; and whereas that plant might be cultivated to advantage in this country ; this House is of the opinion that the cultivation thereof should be encouraged by the abolition of duties on tobacco grown in Canada.”

The motion was negatived on a vote of 90 to 32.

Still another attempt was made to commit the House to a policy of Protection by the motion of Mr. Mackay, member for Cape Breton, who, on the 25th April, moved that it be resolved :—

“That in the opinion of this House, it is advisable to impose a duty of 75 cents per ton upon all coals imported into the Dominion, so as to help to meet the financial deficiency, and, at the same time, give a stimulus to a most important industry.”

This motion was lost on a vote of 135 to 27.

This ended the contest. The Ministry were fairly supported by a large majority in their trade policy, and the Opposition became more convinced than ever that no change could be effected, excepting by the verdict of the people at the ensuing general elections for the Dominion.

The Liberal party made a serious attack on the principles of Constitutional Government, when, in 1873, they demanded from Lord Dufferin the dismissal of his Ministers, on account of their alleged complicity in the irregularities connected with the Pacific Railway charter. Though the Ministry commanded a majority in the House, and though the charge against them was still unproven, the then Opposition resorted to the most extreme steps to force upon His Excellency the exercise of the Royal Prerogative, and secure the dismissal of Sir John Macdonald and his associate ministers. But Lord Dufferin was too well versed in constitutional law, too loyal to the advisers whom the people had chosen for him, and too firm in his determination to support the Constitution in its integrity, to accede to the demand ; and he protected the Liberals even against their own violence and folly, while



he did the country and the cause of constitutional liberty a noble service by his refusal.

The unfortunate propensity of the Liberal party to ignore principle where interest interferes was again painfully displayed in 1878, by the attack made on the Constitution in what is known as the "Quebec Crisis."

The Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, a member of the Senate, a warm partisan and supporter of Mr. Mackenzie's Government, was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Quebec in December, 1876. The Legislative Assembly, the Legislative Council, and the Ministry of that Province were then in antagonism to the Dominion Government. Mr. Letellier thus found himself the chief executive officer of the Province, but without any political sympathy either with his Ministers, or the representatives of the people in the House, or the Legislative Council.

He seems to have worked in tolerable harmony with his advisers until the Provincial Session of 1878; but during its progress difficulties arose, and on the 1st March he executed a *coup d'état* by suddenly dismissing his Ministers, although, they then had at the time, and always had, commanded large majorities in both branches of the Legislature.\* The country was astonished, and anxiously awaited an explanation of what appeared to be a most unwarrantable attack on the liberties of the people.

On the 8th March, each House passed an address to the Senate and Commons of Canada, which, after briefly referring to the official correspondence, states:—

"That the dismissal from office of the De Boucherville Cabinet has taken place without reason constitutes an imminent danger to the existence of Responsible Government of the Province, and is an abuse of power in contempt of the majority of this House whose confidence they possessed, and still possess, and is a violation of the liberties and will of the people."

On the 19th March, Mr. Letellier addressed to His Excellency the Governor General, an "explanatory case" in which he details his reasons for his conduct. As these are separately cited and commented on by Mr. De Boucherville in his "explanation," it will be needless to re-produce his memorandum.

This reply of Mr. De Boucherville bears date the 2nd April, 1878, and is as follows:—

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\* The majority in the Assembly was from 20 to 22 in a House of 65, and in the Upper House they had a majority of more than two to one.

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF DUFFERIN,  
K.P., K.C.B., G.C.M.G., GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA, OTTAWA.

OTTAWA, April 2, 1878.

MY LORD.—The “Explanatory case” addressed to your Excellency by his Honor M. Letellier, and accompanying the documents and details which related to my recent dismissal from office, and by you transmitted to the Senate and House of Commons, containing, as it does, statements of facts, the accuracy of which I respectfully deny, imposes upon me the duty of submitting for your information and consideration the following :—

As your Excellency is doubtless aware, M. Angers \* laid upon the table of the Legislative Assembly on the 8th of March last, copies of the correspondence and explanations by him made at my request, relating to the dismissal from office of the DeBoucherville Government. This correspondence and explanations, with some comments of his own, are contained in the copy of the Votes and Proceedings of that House of the 9th March, and I respectfully beg to be permitted to annex them as forming part hereof. I beg, however, to add to these explanations of M. Angers a few words upon two subjects, viz. :—

1. In the memorandum which I had the honor to address to his Honor M. Letellier, under date 27th February, I said :—‘Later I have the honor to ask your Honor for a general permission to submit to the House measures concerning money matters, which your Honor gave me with your ordinary courtesy. This permission, I may say, had always been granted me by your predecessor, the lamented M. Caron.’

I do not think that the meaning of these phrases is correctly rendered in the paragraph in his Honor’s letter to me, under date the 1st March, wherein he says :—

‘It is true that the Premier gives in his letter as one of the reasons for acting as he did, that this permission of using the name of the Representative of the Crown had always been granted him by the predecessor of the present Lieutenant Governor, the lamented M. Caron.

‘This reason cannot be one for the Lieutenant Governor ; for in so acting, he would have abdicated his position as Representative of the Crown, which act neither the Lieutenant Governor nor the Premier could reconcile with the obligation of the Lieutenant Governor to the Crown.’

It is manifest that I desired to say, and that, in fact, I did say, that the late M. Caron had given me that authority for money matters only.

My Lord, I respect too highly the memory of that virtuous and distinguished statesman to allow any such misinterpretation of my meaning to pass unchallenged, by which I am made to intimate that the deceased M. Caron had abdicated to me his position as the Representative of the Crown. Every person who knew the late M. Caron and his high legal and constitutional attainments will share with me my regretful surprise that any such imputation should be cast upon his memory.

2nd. That, not having kept any memorandum of such conversations as I had

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\* Mr. Angers was the leader of the Government in the Assembly. Mr. DeBoucherville, the Premier, was in the Legislative Council.



with the Lieutenant Governor, except those which took place since the 25th February last, I have no remarks to make upon the paragraph, wherein it is stated:—

‘The Premier did not let the Lieutenant Governor know, then or since, that the Government was in such a state of penury as to necessitate special legislation to increase public taxation;’ unless it be that this statement does not seem to me to accord with a preceding paragraph, wherein it is stated that the Lieutenant Governor drew my attention ‘to the necessity of reducing the expenses of Government and of the Legislature, instead of having recourse to new taxes in view of avoiding financial embarrassment.’

I acknowledge that I never did inform the Governor that the Province was in a state of penury, simply because I was convinced of the contrary.

‘The Lieutenant Governor expressed also, but with regret, to the Premier, that the Orders passed in Council to increase the salaries of Civil Service servants seemed to him inopportune.’

Upon this matter I merely desire to remark that these Orders in Council were authorized by a law passed during the Session of 1876.

I propose now, my Lord, to deal with the specific allegations made against me by his Honor M. Letellier, in his explanatory case, and, for convenience sake, I take the liberty to quote from his Honor’s memorandum:—

1st. ‘During the Session of 1876, a Bill had been read three times in one of the two branches of the Legislature, and only twice in the other.

‘This Bill, bearing all the certificates which were necessary to induce me to believe that it had been regularly passed and adopted, was submitted to me by the Premier for my sanction.

‘In consequence of being left in ignorance of these facts by my advisers, I sanctioned the Bill.

‘Not long afterwards I was informed of the irregularity, and I immediately spoke of it to the Premier. I made the observation that such an Act would entail too serious consequences to allow of its being passed over.

‘As a favor to him, however, I passed over this instance of irregular legislation, which was then irreparable.’

In relation to this, the facts will furnish a sufficient answer. The Act in question was a Bill entitled: ‘An Act to authorize the formation of Societies for the improvement of country roads, and for the destruction of noxious weeds in the Province of Quebec.’ It was introduced in the Legislative Council, duly passed that House, and was sent down to the Legislative Assembly for its concurrence.

Apparently in the hurry of the last hours of the Session, after it had been read twice, the Clerk, by mistake, certified it as passed without amendment, and it was thus sent back to the Legislative Council. His Honor came down on the following day to prorogue the Legislature, and his assent was given to this Bill along with others. The error was immediately discovered by the Attorney General, who made a report for transmission to Ottawa, stating the error, and suggesting that the Act should be disallowed. The Hon. Mr. Blake, then Minister of Justice, reported in reply that this was unnecessary, that the Act, not having received all its stages, was but blank paper, and as a consequence it was not printed in the Statutes. In view of this fact, it is difficult to understand the statement of his Honor the

Lieutenant Governor that, 'as a favor' to me, he 'passed over this instance of irregular legislation, which was then irreparable.'

2. 'During the same Session, another Bill was submitted to me for my sanction. On examining it I perceived a blank which had not been filled up, which I pointed out to the Premier in the following letter :—

(Private.)

'QUEBEC, 27th December, 1876.

'MY DEAR PREMIER,—A Bill (E), which originated in the Council, was passed by the Legislative Assembly without amendment; upon reading it before adding my certificate of sanction, I noticed that a blank had not been filled up in the seventh line of the sixth section.

'You followed the usual practice in not fixing the amount of the penalty in the Legislative Council, but the matter passed unperceived, or the officers, through some mistake, omitted to insert the amount fixed by the House, or it may have been an error in the proof-sheets.

'While on the subject of these mistakes, you will find another in the second section of the same Act, wherein the word 'amender' is in the infinitive mood. I notice this latter inaccuracy, to which I do not attach much importance, only because I discovered another in an Act in which I had to point out to you an omission which I consider fatal.

Yours very truly,

(Signed,)

L. LETELLIER.

'The Premier came to me and said that he regretted the omission; he requested me to give my sanction to the Bill in the state in which it was. The conciliatory spirit which I showed in giving my consent seemed to please him.'

In relation to this I have to say that the Act in question was 'An Act to provide for the safety and protection of the public in theatres, edifices and public halls.' As stated, it was passed first in the Legislative Council, where the blank, being the amount of the penalty, could not be inserted. By inadvertence it passed the Legislative Assembly in the same form. After its passage the omission was discovered, and a short Bill was introduced to remedy it. The Act in which the omission occurred is numbered 19, and the Act supplying the omission is numbered 20, of the Statutes of 1876, and both were sanctioned by his Honor the Lieutenant Governor at the same time.

3rd. 'In March, 1877 (*vide* Appendix A), my advisers caused me to make an appointment of a Municipal Councillor for the South Ward of the Village of Montmagny, under the pretext that there had been no election, or that if such election had taken place it was illegal,' &c.

As to the third complaint of his Honor, it is difficult to understand, seeing that it had no relation to the dismissal of myself and my colleagues, why it is introduced. Whether wisely or not, the Municipal Code of the Province of Quebec provides that, in a certain contingency, the Lieutenant Governor of the Province shall appoint a Councillor. In the opinion of the Law Adviser of his Honor, upon a petition sent in from the Village of Montmagny, that contingency had arisen, and he made a report recommending an appointment. That report was approved, and the appointment made by his Honor. Subsequently other information was received,



which induced his Honor to urge the revocation of the appointment, and out of deference to him, while seeing no reason to change its opinion, the Government yielded, and the appointment was cancelled.

4th. 'On the 19th March, 1877, being on the eve of absenting myself for a few days, I wrote to the Hon. M. Chapleau, and in a postscript I said: "Please oblige me by telling the Premier that, if he needs my concurrence, M. Gauthier may bring down to me the documents requiring my signature.'

'M. De Boucherville should have understood from that, that if I was ready to give him my concurrence, it was on condition of having all documents submitted to me before signing them.'

'I leave you, my Lord, to judge in what manner my views were interpreted.'

It would seem somewhat remarkable that a statement to which his Honor appears to attach so much importance should have appeared as a postscript to what, I have reason to believe, was a private letter, in no sense relating to public business. I may say, however, that a reference to dates will shew that the documents referred to had relation to the *Montmagny* Councillorship, which was at the time a subject of discussion, and was not intended to have, and had not any such significance as that attempted now to be attached to it.

5th. 'Under date of the 6th November last, I addressed to the Honorable M. DeBoucherville the letter of which the following is a copy:—

(Private.)

QUEBEC, 6th November, 1877.

THE HONORABLE C. B. DEBOUCHERVILLE,

Premier.

'MY DEAR DEBOUCHERVILLE,—In the last *Official Gazette* were published over my signature two proclamations which I had not signed.

'One was for the summoning of Parliament, which I had reserved in order to confer with you; the other, which I did not even see, appoints a day of Thanksgiving.

'These proceedings, the nature of which I shall not characterize, are productive, apart from their impropriety, of nullities which you will easily understand.

Yours very truly,

(Signed,) L. LETELLIER.'

'The following are the notes which I took of the conversation which I had with M. DeBoucherville on the subject:—

'M. DeBoucherville came on the same day he received the letter, to tell me that he regretted that the thing had occurred, and that it was no fault of his. I accepted the excuse, and I then told him that I would not tolerate my name being used, when necessary for any duty of my office, unless the documents requiring my signature had been previously submitted to me, and unless information was afforded to me, which M. DeBoucherville assured me would be the course followed in future.

(Signed,) L. L.'

It is a sufficient answer to this complaint, to say that the proclamation for the summoning of the Legislature for the despatch of business was not published until the 24th November, and it could not, therefore, be that proclamation to which his Honor referred in his letter of the 6th November. The proclamation to which he refers was the mere formal one by which the meeting of the Legislature is further postponed from time to time ; and I am informed that the Order in Council for the particular proclamation to which his Honor referred was signed by him, and is of record, so signed, with the proper officer.

As to the proclamation fixing a day of Thanksgiving, I have to remark that this was the result of a communication from the Premier of Canada, the Honorable Alexander Mackenzie, to the Lieutenant Governor, and handed to me by his Honor with the request that I would carry out the suggestion. It will appear sufficiently strange under these circumstances, that I should be accused of acting without his knowledge, even if the clerical duty of obtaining his signature had been omitted. I am informed, however, that in this case also, the Order in Council, as well as the proclamation, were signed by his Honor, and are of record, bearing his signature, in the office of the proper officer.

6th. 'But, my Lord, there is another point still more important, which I cannot any longer refrain from mentioning.

'From the conversations which I have held with M. DeBoucherville, there results a fact, which, if it were known, would of itself have sufficiently justified me in believing that he did not possess the confidence of the people of this Province.

'On two occasions, some time after the Session of 1876, I pointed out to him that millions had been voted to aid railways in general, at a time when our finances did not appear to me in a condition to warrant all at once a lavish expenditure in subsidizing these numerous undertakings, particularly as, apart from that, our credit was so heavily pledged towards the building of the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway.

'He very frankly avowed that these grants, though they were for the development of the Province, had been necessitated by political considerations ; that without them the support of the Members whose counties were traversed by those railways would cease to be secured to Government ; that there would be no means of having a majority ; that the Members formed combinations—"Rings"—to control the House.

'M. DeBoucherville is not unaware that I thereupon told him that it was better to save the Province than a Government, and that if his Administration was not strong enough to resist those influences, it would be better for him to form a combination of honest and well-meaning men, from both sides of the House, rather than submit to the dictation of those "Rings," and to the control of those combinations.

'When he made no attempt to escape from that deleterious influence, after his own avowal that the Legislature was controlled by those "Rings" ; when by his legislation he sought to favor them anew during the last Session, without having previously advised with me, had I not the right, as the Representative of my



Sovereign, to believe and to be convinced that M. DeBoucherville did not possess a constitutional majority in the Legislative Assembly ?'

I have no desire to enter into a discussion as to the precise conversations that may have taken place between his Honor and myself, in the frequent intercourse which we had together ; but I submit, as my answer to this most serious imputation, that I confessed to being controlled by 'Rings,' in relation to the Railway legislation while I was the leader of the Provincial Government, the following facts :—

I took office in 1874. In the Session following, a measure was introduced to increase the subsidies granted by previous legislation to a number of railways. Several amendments were moved to the resolutions, all of them looking to an increase in the grants, and for these, the Opposition, under the leadership of Mr. Joly, voted. The General Elections took place subsequent to that Session, and, whether the legislation was good or bad, it was sustained by a very large majority of the people, and is, therefore, no longer a proper subject of discussion in the connection in which his Honor introduced it. At the first Session after the elections, the Government, at the request of the municipalities of Montreal and Quebec, assumed the task of constructing the North Shore and Northern Colonization Railways, now known as the 'Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, and Occidental Railway.' Great pressure was brought to bear upon the Government to increase the subsidies to the other roads at that time, but this pressure was resisted. As a matter of fact it is not true that 'millions have been voted to aid railways in general,' at a time when 'our credit was so heavily pledged towards the building of the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway.' On the contrary, since our credit became so pledged, not one dollar has been added to the debt or liabilities of the Province on account of those 'railways in general.'

In the Session of 1876 a measure was introduced authorizing a portion of the subsidy on some of these railways, from the unbuilt portion, to be used on that which was under construction to enable them to be carried to particular points, which it was considered important in the public interests should be reached, and a lapsed subsidy of \$200,000 was divided among other roads of a similar class, the Bill passing the Legislature without division.

In relation to this Act, his Honor M. Letellier, in proroguing the Legislature, used these words :—'I trust that the result of your labors will be to give a new impetus to the great improvements which have been undertaken in this Province.' During the last Session this process of 'doubling up' of the subsidy was again adopted, but without adding to the public liability. This Act was carried through its final stages in the Legislative Council, after the change of Government, and was assented to by his Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

'7th. In communicating to both Houses my memoranda of the 25th February and 1st March last, the Premier and Mr. Attorney General Angers, in violation of their duty, overstepped the authorization which I had given by my letter of the 4th March last for that purpose. They added to that communication a report of pretended conversations, the correctness of which I contest, and the impropriety of which I maintain,' &c.

As this relates to what occurred after the dismissal of the late Government, it can hardly be held to justify that dismissal. It is sufficient to refer to the correspondence, which shows that there was no stipulation on my part as to the precise form of explanations to be made to the House ; and in view of the fact that we were a dismissed Ministry, I must claim that we had a duty, not only to ourselves, but to the majority of the representatives of the people whose confidence we enjoyed, to make the explanations as full as possible. As to the introduction, without authorization, of the Railway and Finance Bills, I conceived myself to have been fully authorized, and the explanations which I offered to his Honor on this point, and which were accepted by him, do not require to be repeated.

To sum up after the manner of his Honor :—

‘ 1st. That in general the recommendations which I made to my Cabinet did not receive the consideration which is due to the Representative of the Crown.’

As responsible Ministers we considered it to be our duty to advise his Honor, not to be bound to act upon advice from him. At the same time, as is seen in the case of the Montmagny Councillorship, we were disposed, as far as possible, to pay proper deference to his views and wishes.

‘ 2nd. That my name has been used by the Members of the Government in the signature of documents which I had never seen.’

I have simply to say that I know of no such case, unless it refers to the Proclamations mentioned in the “ Explanatory case,” and the answer on that point is sufficiently distinct.

‘ 3rd. That a proclamation summoning the Legislature was published in the *Official Gazette* without my being consulted or informed of it, and before my signature had been attached thereto.’

No proclamation summoning the Legislature was so published, without the knowledge and signature of his Honor, and the Legislature was in fact not summoned for the despatch of business for nearly three weeks after his Honor’s letter of complaint on the subject.

‘ 4th. That a like proclamation fixing a day of Thanksgiving was also published under similar circumstances.’

The Thanksgiving day was fixed at the request of his Honor himself, and the Order in Council fixing it was signed by him.

‘ 5th and 6th. That, although I had intimated to the Premier by my advice, and by my letter of the 14th March, 1877, my firm determination to protect the inhabitants of this Province against the arbitrary decisions of the Executive in matters within the jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice, he thought proper without my participation and without advising me, to propose to both Houses, in legislating for the “ Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway,” to substitute the power of the Executive for that of the Judiciary.’

‘ That, without having advised me, and without having received authorization of any sort whatever from me, the Government of M. DeBoucherville proposed to the Legislature a measure of almost general taxation upon the ordinary contracts and transactions of life, transfers of bank stock, etc., while no Message from me had been asked for this subject, nor signed by me to authorize its proposition to the Houses.’



In relation to these measures I considered myself authorized by the reply of his Honor to my request for an authorization for resolutions respecting finances, and my explanations, as is seen by his letter to me, were accepted, and the Government relieved from all imputation of intentional discourtesy.

‘7th. That, after its dismissal, the Government of the late M. DeBoucherville again failed in its duty by assigning reasons for the adjournment of the House from day to day different from those agreed on between myself and the Premier, at the risk of prejudicing public opinion against the Representative of the Crown.’

No reasons were assigned by me for the adjournment of the Legislative Council, neither the Speaker nor myself being present at any sitting of that House during the crisis, and the reasons assigned by M. Angers for the adjournment of the Legislative Assembly were in these words :—

‘The Lieutenant Governor signified his desire that the explanations respecting the dismissal from office of the Members of the Executive Council be not given this day, but only after a new Cabinet shall have been formed ;’ that reason being substantially that given in the letter of his Honor of the 4th March.

‘8th. That at the time of the communication of the causes which rendered necessary the dismissal of the Cabinet, in the explanations which were given by the Premier to the Legislative Council, and by the Attorney General to the Legislative Assembly, both of them referred to pretended conversations which they had no authority whatever to communicate to the Legislature, since the Premier had, by his answer to the letter of the Lieutenant Governor of the 4th March last, limited his explanations to the communication to both Houses of my memoranda of the 25th February and 1st March, and the answers of the Premier of the 27th February and of the 2nd and 4th March instant.’

My letter of the 4th March makes or accepts no such limitation, and, for the reason I have already stated, I considered myself fully justified in making the explanations that were made.

‘9th. That therefore the additions and the comments made by the Premier before the Legislative Council, and by the Attorney General before the Legislative Assembly, were contrary to the conditions agreed upon between the Lieutenant Governor and the Premier.’

As I have stated, there were no such conditions agreed upon between the Lieutenant Governor and myself.

‘10th. That the Premier and his colleagues, by making use of pretended private conversations to explain the causes of their dismissal, in contravention to their duty to the Crown and to what they had pledged themselves to observe with regard to it, have placed the Lieutenant Governor under the necessity of bringing under the notice of Your Excellency all the reasons for their dismissal.’

The conversations reported by me were not ‘pretended’ but real, of which notes were taken immediately after they occurred, and which were necessary to explain fully the circumstances preceding my dismissal. If they have compelled his Honor to state ‘all the reasons for that dismissal’ I venture the opinion that it would have been more respectful to the Legislature, whose confidence I enjoyed, had ‘all the reasons’ been communicated to it.

The observations I have made upon these additional reasons will, I hope, serve to convince Your Excellency that they were not such as to strengthen the position of the Lieutenant Governor.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,  
Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) C. B. DEBOUCHERVILLE,  
M. L. C."

On the grounds thus set forth by Mr. Letellier he justified the dismissal of his Ministers. It is not too much to say that so serious an offence was never attempted to be justified by reasons so poor, or extenuated by circumstances so trivial. But the question is not to be judged in the mode suggested by him. It was wrong in Mr. Letellier to magnify the minute indiscretions, even if they existed, of his Ministers; or to attempt to fasten on them the charge of recklessness or incapacity; or to attempt to prove the unwisdom of their policy, or the fatuity even of their course. His duty was to uphold them so long as they were supported by the people as represented in Parliament, unless indeed their conduct was so utterly improper as to be absolutely indefensible, and an outrage upon Parliamentary Government; and unless also he possessed the clearest proof that they had lost the confidence of the people. This impropriety did not exist, and of this loss of confidence there was no evidence. It has been said in his defence that he had the power to dismiss. That is true, but the power to dismiss may be exercised in an unconstitutional way. Lord Dufferin in his speech at Halifax in August, 1873, lays down the correct rule. He said:

"My only guiding star in the conduct and maintenance of my official relations with your public men is the Parliament of Canada. I believe in Parliament, *no matter which way it votes; and to those men alone whom the deliberate will of the Confederate Parliament of Canada may assign to me as my responsible advisers, can I give my confidence. Whether they are heads of this party, or of that party, must be a matter of indifference to the Governor General. So long as they are maintained he is bound to give them his unreserved confidence, to defer to their advice and to loyally assist them with his counsels.*"\* As a reasonable being, he cannot help having convictions on the merits of different policies, but these considerations are abstract and speculative, and devoid of practical effect in his official relations. As the head of a constitutional state engaged in the administration of Parliamentary Government the Governor General has no political friends,—still less can he have political enemies. The possession, or the being suspected of such possession, would destroy his usefulness."

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\* The *Italics* are the author's.



It was not the duty of the Lieutenant Governor, it was not his privilege to impede the legislation. The opinions of his Ministers were constitutionally the opinions of the people, whom he was bound to respect. It is true that extreme cases may arise where the strong arm of the Royal Prerogative would properly be invoked, but in this case there was no very serious consequence, or very grave matter involved in the measures of Ministers. Their policy might or might not have been the best, but of that he had no right to judge for the purpose of dismissal. The power actually exercised by him, Mr. Letellier, if admitted to be constitutionally put in force in this case, would enable any Governor General or any Lieutenant Governor to paralyze at any moment all governmental functions. It was alleged by his defenders that if his policy were supported by the people at the ensuing elections his course would thereby be justified. But this is fallacious reasoning. No ruler has a right to speculate on the result of an appeal to the country. Mr. Letellier's conduct was purely speculative, he was in effect gambling. He said to himself:—

“These people are obnoxious to me. True, they possess the confidence of the people, but they do not possess mine. I will oust them. I will call in my political friends as Ministers, and send them to the country. Armed with all the power of a Government, having offices to give and favors to promise, they will carry with them the very weight of which I have robbed their opponents. The French people are mercurial,—they do not yet fully appreciate the benefits of a strictly Constitutional Government, and have not yet learned the importance of preserving its principles intact; they will be easily swayed. If I succeed, I shall be applauded as the destroyer of a bad Ministry; if I fail, all that can be said will be that I was mistaken. It is a venture, a speculation, a gambling, a throw of the dice, I admit, but the Dominion Government who appointed me are my friends,—they will not punish me if I fail, and they will reward me if I succeed. ‘*En avant!*’”

A country governed on such principles would soon go to destruction. The rule laid down by Lord Dufferin is utterly incompatible with them. It is to be remembered that his maxims should be enforced with the most jealous care in the case of Lieutenant Governors, because they are always political friends of the Dominion Government, from whom they receive their appointments, and are sometimes partizans. The temptation to bring their Province into political harmony with the Dominion Ministry who appointed them is therefore, great,—in most cases not easily resisted, and in many perfectly irresistible.

*Coups d'états* are utterly incompatible with the spirit of the British Constitution. It is provided with checks of sufficient power to pre-

serve the people from tyranny, and if its machinery be allowed fair play it may, possibly, satisfactorily solve every Governmental problem. But it requires patience on the part of its engineers. Sudden, spasmodic, and violent applications of its powers are foreign to its spirit, and destructive of its usefulness. It may sometimes appear slow in its movements, but it is sure in its results. If the DeBoucher-ville Government were as bad as its enemies represented it to be, it would soon have fallen by the weight of its iniquity, and the violence of Mr. Letellier would have been unnecessary, for there was nothing in the measures of the Government seriously threatening either the liberties or the prosperity of the people of Quebec. The fall of a corrupt Ministry—if it were corrupt—was dearly purchased by the sacrifice of the most valuable principles of Constitutional Government.

The fact that these principles are not as well understood by the people of Quebec, as it is desirable they should be, is a strong reason why the political men of that Province should observe their constitutional rights, and avoid all attacks on the integrity of Constitutional Government. The leaders of the Liberal party must be assumed to have been acquainted with their duties as guardians of the public interests, and when they found themselves in a position to secure an important party triumph, they should have felt their honor appealed to, and should have resisted with unwonted vigor the temptation to secure a temporary victory, which involved at once the taking advantage of the ignorance of the people, the striking a blow at their liberties and the wounding of the Constitution. It is, perhaps, unreasonable to expect a lofty practice from the political parties of the day, and it is, therefore, of the greatest consequence that the ruler should be a man deeply impressed with the dignity of his office, and keenly alive to its heavy responsibilities. This consideration shews the importance of placing men in power as Lieutenant Governors, who, so soon as they take the oath of office, will forget that they were ever party men, and recollect only that they have been elected to the dignity of rulers, whose chief duty is to hold the balances of power and justice even between the conflicting parties. That Lord Dufferin has done this has been his crowning glory ;—that Monsieur Letellier failed to do so has made the honorable appellation of the “just Governor,” a misnomer.

Sir John Macdonald brought the matter before the House on the 11th April. His speech on this occasion was one of the best ever delivered in a Canadian Parliament. It was entirely freed from political bias, and was a purely constitutional argument, in which he incon-



testably proved that a great violence had been done to the Constitution of the country.

As an exposition of the peculiar relations which have been created by Confederation between the Imperial, the Dominion and the Provincial authorities, this speech demands the careful perusal of every student of constitutional law. Sir John Macdonald is understood to have been the framer of the "British North American Act, 1867," and is universally looked up to as the best constitutional lawyer of the Dominion. His vast experience in the Government of Canada under its various systems of rule entitles him to speak with authority. This speech is an admirable and exhaustive treatise on Constitutional Government, and was delivered in a judicial tone. It will be quoted as authority in all future discussions on the subject. As reported in the *Hansard* for 1878, page 1878 *et seq*, he said :

“Mr. Speaker, I rise for the purpose of bringing before the attention of this House the late political events which occurred in the Province of Quebec, and I may as well now read the motion which I propose to place in your hand. I move, Sir, seconded by the Hon. Member for Cumberland—

‘That Mr. Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be *Resolved* that the recent dismissal by the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec of his Ministers was, under the circumstances, unwise and subversive of the position accorded to the advisers of the Crown since the concession of the principle of Responsible Government to the British North American Colonies.’

It was suggested the other day that the motion to be made on this subject should be an independent motion, standing upon its own merits, and in an amendable form, and my Hon. friend, the member for Chateauguay, alluded as an example to the course taken with respect to the celebrated resolutions relative to Responsible Government which were passed in September, 1841. There is this difference between that case and this. Those were a series of propositions for the future Government of this country. Before that, Canada, which had long been fighting for Responsible Government, had not succeeded in obtaining that great boon, and those resolutions contained, in fact, a measure, not certainly in the form of a Bill, but still a measure for the future government and administration of this country. This, on the other hand, is an expression of a grievance. It is not a resolution for laying down a new rule for amending any rule for the administration of the affairs of this country, but it is a statement from the point of view to which I venture to call the attention of the House, of a grievance, of a breach of the constitutional system which now exists in Canada. It is a well-understood principle that the demand for supply and the assertion of grievances go hand-in-hand. It is the proper mode, and the expedient time for asserting grievances when supply is demanded by the Crown. And if that be so, the grievance must be stated in the language of the party who claims and states it as a grievance. It is no satisfaction of the right of the party wishing to make his complaint that he should be told by amendments that his grievance is not as alleged, but that it is another kind of grievance, and must

be dealt with in another way. Therefore, I have thought it expedient to adopt the constitutional mode of making this motion at this time. This question, as I have already stated, I hope and believe should be approached without any party feeling one way or the other. It is a constitutional question, rising far above and beyond the temporary party struggles of the day. The Hon. gentlemen opposite are as interested as we are on this side in the good government of the country, in laying down correct principles for its government. I have had something to do, and I am proud of having had something to do, with the Confederation of these Provinces, with the establishment of the present system, and the inauguration of the Dominion. The Hon. gentleman at the head of the Government is one of those, to their credit be it said, who forgot party feelings and party antecedents, forgot for the time all the old struggles, in a common effort to lift, if it were possible, the scattered Provinces from the slough into which they had, in some degree fallen—at least in which the late Province of Canada had fallen—and to form one great Dominion under her Majesty's Crown and Government. The Hon. gentleman at the head of the Government, as well as myself, and all the leading men of that day who were concerned in laying the foundation of the Dominion, must desire to see that a fair superstructure shall be raised on that foundation, and that it shall not be undermined, shall not be weakened or destroyed, or prejudiced by any mistake so early in our history. It is of the very greatest consequence that we should make no bad precedent. A bad precedent is a dangerous thing, especially when we are in the commencement of our history. A flaw, a disease at the roots of the young tree, is surely to lead to early decay, and, therefore, it is especially our duty to see that the tree planted by us, to change the metaphor from the building to the tree, shall be protected from every possible disease or infirmity which might destroy its value. A bad precedent is an exceedingly bad thing. If there is a mistake in administration, that can be cured by a change of Government or of policy. If there is bad legislation, that can be cured by repealing or amending the objectionable Acts; but a precedent once established always has its influence. If you take up constitutional authorities, you will find precedents quoted from very early times. It is amusing to see how, when any constitutional question arises, gentlemen interested in such subjects follow the line of precedents, and you will see sometimes quoted precedents in the time of George III., if not earlier, as of equal value and weight with the precedents that have been set in our own day and in our own time.

MR. MACKENZIE : That is good Tory doctrine.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD : The Tory doctrine is a doctrine which says there must be a conservation of the Constitution. It is good Tory doctrine to say that the treatment bestowed on the tree should vary with its growing wants and developments. A bad precedent being a bad thing, it is of the very greatest consequence, on this, the very first occasion when a great constitutional question has arisen, that we should deal with it in a manner worthy of it. I had thought, looking at public affairs from my point of view, that at this time, in the nineteenth century, and with all the advantages we have derived from English precedents, and our own system, a question of this kind could not have arisen in Canada again, but it



only shows that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, when at this time, after having gained Responsible Government at the point of the bayonet, the first principles of Responsible Government should require to be discussed and defended in this House. The resolution I have submitted to the House states that the act of the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec, 'was unwise and subversive of Constitutional Government,' and unconstitutional in every way. The first question that arises upon that resolution is whether we have any concern with that in this House. I need scarcely discuss the question, I suppose, and I hope, and I believe, that the Lieutenant Governors of the different Provinces stand now precisely in the same position with respect to the Governor General and his Cabinet, as the Governor General stands with respect to the Queen and her Cabinet; and, if that be admitted, then it must be held that the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada has a supervision of the acts of the Lieutenant Governors. Before Confederation, each of the Provinces had a Lieutenant Governor. We had a Governor General of British North America, who had, by his commission, a nominal supervision of the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, but that was a merely nominal supervision. Unless the Governor General was personally present and superseded the Lieutenant Governor, then those Governors stood in exactly the same relation to their respective Provinces as the Governor General of British North America did to the old Province of Canada. They reported direct to Her Majesty's Government, or rather to the Colonial Minister who represented Her Majesty in that respect. It is well known that before Confederation all these Governors were liable to have their conduct discussed in the British Parliament. Every Governor of a colony in the British Empire was liable to have his conduct discussed, to have a motion made for his recall, or for his censure, or to censure Her Majesty's Government if they did not recall him. I need scarcely quote the numerous cases which occurred in days of old; but in modern times we all remember the case of Governor Eyre, whose conduct was discussed in the British House of Commons again and again, who was dismissed by Her Majesty's Government in consequence of the action that was taken in the House of Commons. We all know the case of Sir Charles Darling, who was recalled by Her Majesty's Government, and whose conduct and deportment and mode of Government were frequently discussed in the British Parliament. If Hon. members would like to have reference to the discussions I will give them. The discussion on Governor Darling's case will be found in the English *Hansard*, volume 191, page 1964, and that on Governor Eyre's case in volume 184, pages 1069 and 1763. There was a remarkable case showing the freedom with which the British Parliament discussed the conduct of Colonial Governors on the motion made by the late Joseph Hume against successive Governors of British Guiana, where he attacked most strongly the conduct of the Government, charging them with a breach of honor and of duty in respect to these Governors, who were two rather distinguished men—Sir Henry Light and Governor Barkley. In this country, within my experience and that of the Hon. Member for Chateauguay. (Mr. Holton.), Lord Cathcart announced in a very unusual way, rather as a soldier than as a politician——

MR. HOLTON: By your advice.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD : It was long before my time.

MR. HOLTON : It was after Lord Metcalfe came, and before Lord Elgin arrived.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD : It was before my time. The first Governor under whom I served was Lord Elgin.

MR. HOLTON : It was your party.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD : I never served either under Lord Metcalfe or Lord Cathcart. Only a year or two ago we had the case of Mr. Pope Hennessy, whose conduct in Barbadoes was discussed. Although he was not recalled; the debate in the House of Commons went so far as to show, perhaps in his superabundant zeal, because I believe it was such, he had, perhaps, outrun discretion, and he was, a very short period afterwards, removed to another colony. These cases, however, are not required in order to establish the fact that the Imperial Parliament have dealt with the acts, the merits and demerits of Colonial Governors with perfect freedom, and with perfect right, and the Imperial Government are held responsible, as they were in Governor Eyre's case, when they resisted several of the motions made to follow up his dismissal by punishment, and censure was endeavored to be cast on them by several resolutions. In fact, it is said by the present Lord Grey in his book on Representative Government, that, in some respects, the colonies have an advantage over the Mother Country. The Sovereign can do no wrong, but, if the representative of the Sovereign does wrong, the people of the colony have the right to appeal to the foot of the Throne, and hold the Imperial Ministers responsible if they do not do justice to the colony. I will quote a short passage. Earl Grey says, at page 346 :—

‘But there was this most important difference between a Colonial Governor and an English Sovereign of the Houses of Plantagenet or Tudor, that the former was responsible to a distant and generally an impartial authority, to which the Colonists could always appeal to relieve them from a Governor who abused his power. The Crown could recall any Governor who failed in the discharge of his duties; and, if it refused to do so on a well-grounded complaint from the inhabitants of a Colony, they were entitled to lay their grievance before Parliament, to which the Ministers on whose advice the Crown had acted were bound to answer for what had been done.’

My contention is, and I do not suppose it will be disputed, that the same power that rested in the Imperial Parliament with respect to Colonial Governors appointed by direct command of Her Majesty, exists with respect to the Dominion Parliament as far as regards Lieutenant Governors appointed by commission of the Governor General. In the remarks which I shall address to the House, I assume that the Lieutenant Governor of each Province has the same power, represents the Crown to the same degree as the Governor General represents the Crown with respect to the Dominion Parliament, within the jurisdiction of his own Province. I do not mean to say, it is not necessary for the purpose of my argument, that this is legally so. A very strong argument has been used lately by a distinguished lawyer in Montreal (Mr. Kerr) upon that point. He has gone to show and to argue that by law the Lieutenant Governor, being a creature of the Statute, a creature of our Constitutional Act, appointed by commission from the Governor General, and not from the Sovereign directly, has not the same power, or the same



attributes, or the same position as the Governor General. Well, there is much to be said from a merely lawyer's point of view in that respect.

MR. HOLTON : Not much.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD : And I would not be at all surprised if a case were brought up before the Courts, which would be obliged to set aside the constitutional question, and look at the strictly legal question, whether that might not be maintained. We know with respect to the powers of the Speakers of the different Provinces that that question has been decided twice, if not thrice, perhaps oftener. The different Legislatures, the different representatives of the people, the Colonial Assembly have always contended that the Speakers in the different Colonies had the same power within their limited Colonial jurisdiction as the Speaker of the House of Commons, and that it is absolutely necessary for us that the Speaker should have that power. But we know that it was decided in an action brought against the Speaker of Newfoundland, in the case of Kelley and the Speaker, that the Speaker had no such right. That the right of the Speaker of the House of Commons rested upon prescription. That the Speakers under the Colonial Constitution were creatures of the Statute, and that they had no common law Parliamentary rights, as the Speaker of the House of Commons had. Still, all the Colonies said it was absolutely necessary that that power should be given them. It was accorded to us. In the case of McNab against Bidwell, when Sir Allan McNab brought an action against the Speaker of the old Province of Upper Canada for false imprisonment, because he had, under order of the House of Assembly, and as Speaker, issued a warrant for his arrest, the question was raised, though I am not sure that in that case it was formally decided. For the purpose of this discussion I will assume that the Lieutenant Governor held precisely the same position in reference to the Province of Quebec, its Legislature and its Ministry, as the Governor General does in regard to this Legislature and the Ministry that advises him. In this discussion, as far as I am concerned, I assume that he has the same power and responsibility, the same right of exercising the prerogative within the limits prescribed by the Confederation Act, and the same responsibilities, and that he must be subject to the same checks. I have been speaking about the legal right of Speakers, and I will now also speak of the legal right of Lieutenant Governors, of Governor Generals, and of the Crown. A great deal of confusion arises, as is evident from the arguments we read in the Press, from the intermingling of the question of prerogative power and constitutional right. The Crown has great powers, great legal powers, and, if they are exercised, every Court must sustain the exercise of that prerogative power, that legal power, because it is a power conferred upon the Crown by law. At the same time, every one of these acts, which are sustained, and may be sustained in the Courts as perfectly legal, may be as thoroughly unconstitutional as the Court declared them to be legal. Formerly it was otherwise, but now the distinction is drawn in practice and in theory. All the constitutional writers lay down that principle beyond cavil, and to say that the Crown has the right to dismiss a person, or to appoint a person, the right to veto an Act of Parliament, the right to make a treaty, that that the Crown has an infinity of prerogative rights, is no answer to any charge which may be brought against the Crown, or the advisers of the Crown, that the

legal prerogative of the Crown was unconstitutionally exercised. The Sovereign, for instance, can declare war, as we all know. The Sovereign can make treaties without reference to Parliament. The Sovereign could, by a treaty, give away the Isle of Man, or the Channel Islands, or the Duchy of Cornwall, and that treaty would be legal, and the country would be gone. But, at the same time, there is the right of impeachment, and no Minister in his senses would ever recommend such an exercise of the royal prerogative. It is very important, Mr. Speaker, that we should keep that difference distinctly and steadily before us. We see it mentioned in some of the newspapers, which one usually styles Liberal, but which, in this case, were the reverse of Liberal, that the Constitutional Act gives the Lieutenant Governor the power to dismiss his Ministers, that they only held office during his pleasure, and that pleasure can be exercised whenever the Crown thinks proper so to exercise it. This is not the Constitution, and I will call attention to the difference shortly, because it is well to lay down this principle, and to understand the difference between the legal power and the constitutional exercise of it. Lord Brougham, who is, I must say, however, not perhaps the strongest authority on constitutional questions, who was a little erratic, though his general idea, as my Hon. friends opposite, who have studied these questions, must know, was that of a man whose statements should be received with respect, said :

“In discoursing upon the frame of our Government, I have frequently used the term constitutional, notwithstanding the disfavor in which it is held by political reasoners of the Bentham school. They regard it as a gross absurdity, and as the cant language of the “factions” whom they hate. They say that the word has either no meaning at all, or it means everything and anything. A thing is unconstitutional, say they, which any one, for any reason, chooses to dislike. With all deference to these reasoners, the word has a perfectly intelligible meaning, and signifies that, what it is always most important to regard with due attention, many things that are not prohibited by the law, nay, that cannot be prohibited without also prohibiting things which ought to be permitted, are nevertheless reprehensible, and reprehensible because contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. Thus the Sovereign of England is allowed by law, like any other person, to amass as much money as he pleases by his savings, or by entering into speculations at home and abroad. He might accumulate a treasure of fifty millions as easily as his brother of Holland lately did one of five, and he would thus, besides his Parliamentary income, and without coming to Parliament for a revenue, have an income of his own equal to two or three millions a year. This would be an operation perfectly lawful and perfectly constitutional, and the Minister who should question it would be justly liable to severe censure accordingly. So we speak with perfect correctness of a law which is proposed being unconstitutional, if it sins against the genius and spirit of our free government, as, for example, against the separation of the executive from the legislative and judicial functions. A Bill framed into a Statute which should permanently prohibit public meetings without the consent of the Government, would be as valid and binding a law as the Great Charter, or the Act of Settlement, but a more unconstitutional law could not be well devised. So a law giving the soldiers, or the militia, the power of choosing their officers, or a law withdrawing the military wholly from the jurisdiction of the courts of law, would be as binding and valid as the Yearly Meeting Act, but it would violate most grievously the whole spirit of our Constitution. In like manner, letting the people choose their Judges, whether of the Courts of Westminster, or Justices of the Peace, would be as unconstitutional a law as letting the Crown name the juries in all civil and criminal cases.”

But, Sir, I will quote the language of a man of the present day, the mention of



whose name will be sufficient to ensure respect for his opinions; one who is extremely liberal in his views, and who, as an historian, has assumed in England the first place. I refer to Mr. Freeman. This passage is so instructive that, at the risk of being tedious, I shall read it, especially as the point I am now discussing is put far more aptly and with greater ability than I can pretend to put it. He says:

Since the 17th century things have, in this respect, greatly altered. The work of legislation, of strictly constitutional legislation, has never ceased. A long succession of legislative enactments stand out as landmarks of political progress, no less in more recent than in earlier times. But alongside of it there has been a series of political changes, changes of no less moment than those which are recorded in the Statute-book, which have been made without any legislative enactment whatever. A whole code of political maxims, universally acknowledged in theory, universally carried out in practice, has grown up without leaving among the formal Acts of our Legislature any trace of the steps by which it grew up. To the end of the 17th century, we may fairly say that no distinction could be drawn between the Constitution and the law. The prerogative of the Crown, the privilege of Parliament, the liberty of the subject, might not always be clearly defined on every point. It has, indeed, been said that those three things were all of them things to which in their own nature no limit could be set. But all three were supposed to rest, if not on the direct words of the statute law, yet, at least, on that somewhat shadowy, yet very practical creation, that mixture of genuine ancient traditions and of recent devices of lawyers, which is known to Englishmen as common law. Any breach, either of the rights of the Sovereign, or of the rights of the subject, was a legal offence, capable of legal definition, and subjecting the offender to legal penalties. An Act which could not be brought within the letter, either of the statute or the common law, would not then be looked upon as an offence at all. If lower Courts were too weak to do justice, the high Courts of Parliament stood ready to do justice even against the mightiest offenders. It was armed with weapons fearful and rarely used, but none the less regular and legal. It could smite by impeachment, by attainder, by the exercise of the greatest power of all, the deposition of the reigning King. But men had not yet reached the more subtle doctrine, that there may be offences against the Constitution which are no offences against the law. They had not learned that men in high office may have a responsibility practically felt and acted on, but which no legal enactment has defined, and which no legal tribunal will enforce. It had not been found out that Parliament itself has a power now practically the highest of its powers, in which it acts neither as a Legislature nor as a Court of Justice, but in which it pronounces sentences which have none the less practical force, because they carry with them none of the legal consequences of death, bonds, banishment, or confiscation. We now have a whole system of political morality, a whole code of precepts, for the guidance of public men, which will not be found in any page of either the statute or the common law, but which one in practice held hardly less sacred than any principle embodied in the Great Charter, or in the petition of right. In short, by the side of our written law, there has grown up an unwritten or conventional constitution. When an Englishman speaks of the conduct of a public man being constitutional or unconstitutional, he means something wholly different from what he means by conduct being legal or illegal. A famous vote of the House of Commons, passed on the motion of a great statesman, once declared that the then Ministers of the Crown did not possess the confidence of the House of Commons, and that their continuance in office was, therefore, at variance with the spirit of the Constitution. The truth of such a position, according to the traditional principles on which public men have acted for some generations, cannot be disputed, but it would be in vain to seek for any trace of such doctrines in any page of our written law. The proposer of that motion did not mean to charge the existing Ministry with any illegal act, with any act which could be made the

subject either of a prosecution in a lower Court, or of impeachment in the High Court of Parliament itself. He did not mean that the Ministers of the Crown committed any breach of the law, of which the law could take cognizance by retaining possession of their offices till such time as the Crown should think good to dismiss them from those offices. What he meant was that the general course of their policy was one which, to a majority of the House of Commons, did not seem to be wise or beneficial to the nation, and that, therefore, according to a conventional code, as well understood and as effectual as the written law itself, they were bound to resign the offices of which the House of Commons no longer held them to be worthy. The House made no claim to dismiss those Ministers from their offices by any act of its own. It did not even petition the Crown to remove them from their offices. It simply spoke its mind on their general conduct, and it was held that when the House had so spoken it was their duty to give way without any formal petition, without any formal command on the part of either the House or of the Sovereign. The passing by the House of Commons of such a resolution as this, may perhaps be set down as the formal declaration of a constitutional principle. But, though a formal declaration, it was not a legal declaration. It created a precedent for the practical guidance of future Ministers and future Parliaments, but it neither changed the law nor declared it. It asserted a principle which might be appealed to in future debates in the House of Commons, but it asserted no principle which could be taken any notice of by a Judge in any Court of law. It stands, therefore, on a wholly different ground from those enactments, which, whether they changed the law or simply declared the law, had a real legal force, capable of being enforced by a legal tribunal. If any officer of the Crown should levy a tax without the authority of Parliament, if he should enforce martial law without the authority of Parliament, he would be guilty of a legal crime. But if he merely continues to hold an office conferred by the Crown, and from which the Crown has not removed him, though he hold it in the teeth of any number of votes of censure passed by both Houses of Parliament, he is in no way a breaker of the written law. But the man who should so act would be universally held to have trampled under foot one of the most undoubted principles of the unwritten but universally accepted Constitution.'

Now, Sir, what is the case of the Lieutenant Governor and what were his relations to his advisers constitutionally, setting aside the legal question altogether, which I have attempted to discuss. Setting aside the legal right to dismiss every officer holding office under him during his pleasure, what is the position of the Lieutenant Governor and his advisers? They hold precisely the same position, I contend, with respect to the Lieutenant Governor, as Lord Beaconsfield and his Government hold with respect to Her Majesty, and the Hon. Member for Lambton and his Ministry hold with respect to the representative of the Sovereign, the Governor General. Under the Constitution, as it now stands, I contend that the Ministry of the day, so long as they have the confidence of Parliament, so long as they are sustained in Parliament, must, and have the right to claim the confidence of the Sovereign, or the representative of the Sovereign. I contend that, although it was otherwise formerly, and although the doctrine has grown up by slow degrees, and although we read of dismissals of Ministries by the Crown in the earlier days when the Constitution of England was still undeveloped to the state of perfection in which, I think, it exists at this moment; yet, in this day, so long as the advisers of the Crown have the confidence of Parliament, they have a right to claim the confidence of the Sovereign. That is the great principle. If we do not hold to that then we are all at sea, and in great danger of being wrecked. Then, indeed, our institutions are not only on their trial, but we have great reason



to dread that they will fail, and this promising commencement of our new Dominion will, by an abandonment of that great land-mark, fail to carry out its future as a Dominion founded on British constitutional principles, and carrying them out under more favorable terms, and under less fettered conditions than even our fellow country in Great Britain and Ireland. As I said before, this is a question which appeals to all of us, to every man, to every lover of his country, every lover of free institutions, every one who wishes to embalm, as it were, British institutions in this great offshoot of the British monarchy. It is so necessary that we should consider this question as it exists now in England, and not according to old precedents, that I will take the liberty, before I sit down, of calling the attention of this House to the gradual growth, the very gradual growth, in the face of such immense discouragements, and immense pressure from the Crown, and occasionally from immense weaknesses on the part of the advisers of the Crown, that it is only by slow degrees that we have evolved the now present system that exists in England, and which I hope, by the vote of this House, and by the advice of this House, and by the general concurrence of this House, will be carried out in this country. When I speak about the failure of Ministers in England, we know that they have failed, and that the desire of continuing in office has again and again made them make unworthy compliances to the Sovereign; but, notwithstanding the obstinacy, the wrong-headedness, if I may use the expression, from the Queen or King wearing the Crown at the time, in the unworthy compliances and weaknesses of the advisers of the Crown, yet by slow degrees the Constitution has been evolved, until we now have that principle fixed in England, and I hope that the action of this House will fix it in Canada, and that, so long as the Ministry of the day have the confidence of the people, they will have the confidence of the Crown, and that the Crown will be advised by those men who have the confidence of the representatives of the people. There is only one case, Sir, in which it seems to me that this doctrine can be impugned, and that is when the Sovereign has a reason to believe that the representatives of the people who maintain, who support the advisers of the Crown, have forfeited the confidence of the people themselves. In such a case, Mr. Speaker, if the Crown has that opinion, the Crown has a fair right to say to its advisers—

“ Though I admit that you have the confidence of the representatives of the people, though I admit that you are sustained in Parliament, yet my idea is this: that those who do so sustain you have, from one cause or another, forfeited the confidence of the people themselves, and I desire that there shall be an appeal under your guidance. I hold you, my advisers, to have the confidence of the people until the contrary is shown, but I call upon you, and I insist upon it, that there be an appeal to the people, and if you come back from the people, sustained in the future, as you have been sustained in the present Parliament, then you will have again the confidence which has been in some degree weakened by late events.”

For instance, Mr. Gladstone himself did not wait for any such intimation from the Crown. He did not wait to be told that there was unmistakeable evidence that a reaction had set in in England. He did not wait to have the Crown send for him and say to him—

‘ You see single after single election going against you. You see that there is a very strong reaction in the country, and I think that you ought to appeal to the

country as a whole. I think that you ought to see whether the country has such confidence still in you, that you have a title to the renewal of your lease of office.'

No, Mr. Gladstone felt that it was due to himself and his position to go to the country. He believed, and it may or it may not have been so, that these elections which had gone against him were indications that he had, to a certain extent, lost the confidence of the people; and, of his own accord, he advised the Sovereign to dissolve, so that there might be an appeal to the people, and, as we all know, the appeal to the people was against him. In the first place, I would call your attention shortly to the act of the Lieutenant Governor in the Province of Quebec. He had found his Ministers in when he came into power, and found them sustained by the representatives of the people in the House of Assembly. He found them in the Upper House, which was a judicial House nominated by the Crown, and they were there also strong.

Several HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: It is so. I state so as a matter of fact; as a matter of fact the Lieutenant Governor found them in office. They had then the confidence of the representatives of the people, and they had the support, if that suits better.

MR. BLAKE: To the term 'a judicial House' we were objecting, because every man in it was nominated by themselves.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: Every man on the bench is nominated by the advisers of the Crown, and yet they are judicial officers.

HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. CARTWRIGHT: They have judicial functions.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: I know, Mr. Speaker, it is the fashion in some places, and in some ways, to attack the Senate or the Legislative Council—these nominated bodies. That is a point by itself which, perhaps, we had better not import into this discussion.

MR. BLAKE: We did not import it.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: When I say 'judicial,' I mean to say that their functions are supposed to be somewhat analogous to those of the House of Lords. The House of Lords is supposed to have judicial functions; that is to say, they are not to resist the well-ascertained will of the people, and they are to sit judicially upon the measure of the representatives of the people—the House of Commons—so that they may give the people themselves the opportunity, if they think right, of considering that question, the question they are dealing with. They are a check on the House of Commons, the representatives of the people, and in this respect they hold an advisory and *quasi*-judicial position. That is all I mean in that respect, but the Lieutenant Governor found a Ministry having the confidence of both branches of the Local Legislature in office, and they were very strong, I believe, in the House of Assembly, but I do not know what the proportions were in the Legislative Council. I believe that they were two to one.

MR. DEVLIN: More than that.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: Two to one. In the Lower House they had a majority of 20 in 65. The Lieutenant Governor had their assurance that his advisers had the confidence of the representatives of the people, and of the other branch of the Legislature, which, wisely or unwisely, was a constituted authority



in this case. The whole or nearly the whole of the Session dragged on. The Ministry of the day introduced their several measures. They carried them almost to completion. They brought down, for instance, a system of taxation, which is not a very popular thing for any Government to do, as perhaps every Finance Minister in his lifetime has found out. This was allowed to go on until it had almost come to completion. The principle measures of the Government were about to become law in a day or two, and all these measures had been supported by strong votes in both Houses. They had been supported, and there was a vote of want of confidence against them on one of these measures, but it was out-voted by a numerous majority, considering the small body of which that House is constituted, and yet, at the last moment, just before prorogation, when they had the proof that both Houses had determined on this, and the proof that the representatives of the people, and until there is an appeal to the people it is to be held that they had the confidence of the people, approved of it, then the Lieutenant Governor took the opportunity to dismiss these men on the ground that these measures were unconstitutional. Not one of these grounds was sufficient, not one of these grounds can hold water for a moment. I am quite satisfied that if the illustrious individual, or the illustrious personage of whom we spoke to-day,\* had been in the position of the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec, he would rather have cut off his right hand than permit what he would consider an outrage on the British Constitution. I said that by slow degrees England was educated up to the present position of constitutional law. The Constitution is developing every moment. Here, as Bristow says: the Constitution is not now what it was in 1860. The Constitution is not certainly now what it was in 1838, at the time of the Bed Chamber plot. The Constitution of England, at this moment, is being developed to a perfect system, and what we contend, as the right of the people of the Dominion, and the right of every Province of the Dominion, is that we have a right to claim that we have precisely in our several Legislatures, and in respect to the several Legislatures and this Parliament, the same right as the English people have with respect to their Parliament. Now, Sir, look at the case of dismissals even in the time of George III., and he, as we all know,—if we draw our authority from the Liberal writers, and the Liberal writers of that day are the Liberal Conservatives of to-day—

MR. HOLTON: Do not slander them.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: Edmund Burke made his appeal from the new Whigs to the old Whigs, and he would be in this country what we call a Baldwin Reformer, or in other words, a Liberal Conservative. Now, Sir, in 1774, it had been laid down by all the writers that the present British Constitution only commenced to get fair play, and that the Rockingham Government was established over the ruins of old George III.'s Government, Lord Bute and the rest of them, by the influence and by the genius, and by the efforts, and by the writings of Edmund Burke. In 1774 Fox or rather the Duke of Portland, who formed the famous Coalition Government, was dismissed by George III. Well, Sir, even then, although it was admitted by all writers, as well by those who may be considered to be writing on the Conservative side, or the Tory side if you like, as by all

\* His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin.

Liberal writers, that looking at the transactions of that day by the present light of the present Constitution as at present administered, George III. was wrong, and that George III., if he did now what he did then, would be considered to have committed a great breach of the Constitution. What was the case? It is quoted, and it is one of the examples of how far a bad precedent reaches, and how it may be to the latest instant quoted, when it should be looked upon as a rock to be avoided rather than as a precedent to be followed. The India Bill was introduced in the House of Commons. It was carried in the House of Commons, and it was defeated in the House of Lords. George III. was known to be opposed to that measure. George III. knew that it was taking away all the patronage which he was eagerly holding in his tenacious grasp. It was known that its terms transferred the patronage of the Crown to the Ministry of the Crown of the day. Although he was aware of that, and he felt, too, in his heart's core that this was a blow at what he considered the monarchical principle, and the monarchical power, yet he allowed it to pass through the House of Commons. Although he was opposed to it, and the Ministry knew that he was opposed to it—although they knew that every feeling, and every principle, and every emotion of George III. was opposed to that measure, yet he allowed his Ministers to introduce that Bill, and it was carried through the House of Commons. It came to the House of Lords, and only when it was defeated by the other branch of the Legislature and thrown out, did he say, 'You have lost the confidence of one branch of the Legislature.' And mind you, Mr. Speaker, that then the House of Lords was of as much consequence, if not more consequence, than the House of Commons. If this was long before the Reform Bill, it was at a time the House of Lords had not only its own power and prestige as a great branch of the Legislature, but it was at a time when it controlled more than one-third, aye, and approaching to nearly one-half of the House of Commons. So that a great peer in the House of Lords was an infinitely greater political man than a political man in the House of Commons, and it was more necessary at that time, if possible, and certainly as necessary, to have the confidence of the House of Lords as it was to have the confidence of the House of Commons; and it was not until there was a vote of want of confidence by throwing out this measure, on which the Administration had staked their whole existence, did he venture to dismiss them. And yet, notwithstanding that case, it is now held by all constitutional writers, held by all statesmen, and held by every man who has carried the constitutional principle into action, that the conduct of George III. cannot be defended as being constitutional.

MR. HOLTON : Hear, hear.

MR. BLAKE : He brought about the vote.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD : That is only another instance of the King interfering improperly. I am not defending George III., who certainly brought about the vote.

MR. BLAKE : I am simply pointing out that this was an ingredient in his conduct.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD : Still George III. certainly had no right to write that letter to Lord Temple. Certainly this act would not be borne with for a moment now. Although we had under a great State exigency, under the danger of there being a great revolution in England, William IV., doing very nearly the



same thing with respect to the Reform Bill. It is admitted that this was a breach of the Constitution, but it was like the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in time of war or insurrection. In 1801 Pitt was not dismissed, but he resigned because the King insisted upon his abandoning his project of Catholic emancipation. It was a resignation. It was not a dismissal in terms, but it was approaching very much to a forced resignation. He resigned on the Catholic question. The next dismissal was that of Lord Grenville, in 1817. It took place on one form of the Catholic question, namely, in regard to allowing officers professing the Catholic religion to hold high rank in the army. The King at first consented, but afterwards stated that a misapprehension had occurred as to the extent of his assent, and, therefore, requested the Ministry to withdraw the Bill. That the Government consented to do, but the King required a still further pledge from them in writing, that they would never introduce a similar measure. They at once said it would be unconstitutional and derogatory to their position, and they were dismissed. There were two cases in the time of George III.—that of Lord Grenville and of the Portland Administration, the coalition Administration of Fox and Portland. During the whole reign of George IV., there was no dismissal. Although he was opposed to Catholic emancipation, although he had an hysterical abhorrence to that measure, yet he finally yielded to his Ministers. There was no dismissal by George IV., there was one dismissal by William IV., in 1834, and that we have all seen quoted as a precedent for the dismissal in Quebec in 1878. Now, in the first place, there was a great excuse, which was not so well known at the time as it is now, for the conduct of William IV. in dismissing the Government of Lord Melbourne in consequence of the death of Lord Spencer and the elevation of Lord Althorpe, who led the Lower House, to the House of Peers. That you will find described in Greville's Memoirs, and in order to show that there was an excuse for William IV. in that case, which does not exist now, I will quote shortly the statement the King made, which is given in Greville, and which has been confirmed in the Memoirs of Baron Stockmeyer. When Lord Melbourne went down to Windsor to see the King, on the elevation of Lord Althorpe, the following is stated to have occurred :

' Lord Melbourne told him (that is the King) that as he had only undertaken to carry on the Government in consideration of having the assistance of Lord Althorpe in the House of Commons, his removal made it necessary to adopt a new organization altogether, that some considerable concessions to the principle of Reform were judged to be necessary, and the appointment of a successor of Lord Althorpe, who should carry them into effect. That he was of opinion that, without these the Government could not go on, and at the same time it was necessary to state that there were members of the Cabinet who did not coincide with these views, and who would retire when Parliament met if they were adopted. These were Lord Lansdowne and Spring Rice. Lord John Russell was to lead in the House of Commons, but the loss of Rice would be a severe blow to them. The concessions related principally to church reform, the disunion of the Cabinet being thus exhibited, it was clear the Government could not go on without some material alteration in its composition. The King urged this, and asked Lord Melbourne from what quarter the necessary accession of strength was to be procured, and whether he could hope for it from the Conservative interest. He owned that nothing was to be expected from that quarter. It remained, then, that it was only from the more extreme party that their ranks could be recruited. To this the King would not consent, and he, therefore, imparted to him his resolution of placing the Government in other hands.'

In a note made by Mr. Reeve, who was Clerk of the Privy Council at that time, and who edited Greville's Memoirs, it was stated :

' This account of the transaction was confirmed in almost every particular by the statement drawn up by King William himself, or by his directions, for the information of Sir Robert Peel, and first published in Baron Stockmeyer's Memoirs in 1872. And when Lord Melbourne formed his Government he told the King that it could not continue unless Lord Althorpe remained in the House of Commons, and unless it became more Radical and less an old Whig Government. That Lord Lansdowne and Spring Rice, who were known as the leading Whigs of that day, were going to retire, because they would not go with the more extreme party, and that, unless the Government was re-organized, he could not carry on the Government.'

Such was the excuse given by the King, and it bore considerable force. Yet, by the entire consensus of practical statesmen and theoretical writers, it had been admitted that William IV. was wrong. Let it be remembered, moreover, that there is this marked distinction between that case and that in Quebec. At the time Lord Melbourne told the King he could not go on without a Radical change in his Administration, and in fact have it recast, he was in a minority in the House of Lords ; whereas in Quebec a vote of confidence in the Government was adopted both by the Commons and the Upper House.

It being six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

#### AFTER RECESS.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD resumed. He said : At the time the House took recess I was speaking of the last instance in the history of England when the power of dismissal of Ministers by the Crown was exercised. Such a case has not occurred since then. It was unsuccessful then, as it deserved to be. It received the repudiation of Parliament and of the people by the triumphant return of Lord Melbourne and his supporters at the general election, which was forced on unconstitutionally. It has been pointed to with scorn by all writers on the subject ever since ; and it is, therefore, an important landmark in the history of constitutional law in England, of an act which can never happen again in the Mother Country, and I would fain have hoped, if it had not been for the recent occurrence in Quebec, it would never have happened in any country having English institutions. I shall have to quote several authorities with respect to this last outrage and offence against Responsible Government in England, and against the British Constitution. Since recess, I have opened the second volume of the Memoirs of Lord Melbourne, written by Mr. McCullagh Torrens, an old Parliamentarian, and a man of high standing in Parliament, than whom no one was more competent to deal with the subject. The writer, who treats the memoir as a narrative, took the ground that, if a change of Government were to be made, it should be carried out in a constitutional manner. Lord Melbourne felt it to be his duty to remind his Sovereign that the Ministry had a large majority in Parliament on a question of importance. The King replied that they were in a minority in the Peers, and he had reason to believe that they would speedily be in the same condition in the Commons, and he added preemptorily they had better, therefore, resign without loss of self-respect. William IV. was quite right according to the principles of the Constitution. If



Lord Melbourne thought his Administration had not the confidence of the people, they had the right to appeal to the country if they desired to do so, and it was when he had declined to do so, and not before that, the King should have dismissed him, and brought in another Administration to try the experiment whether the people supported the new or the old Administration. The writer further said that it appeared as though His Majesty (change Majesty to his Honor)—had been misled into the unconstitutional course of taking counsel from others without the knowledge of his legitimate advisers, and he was about to follow some secret or irresponsible counsel in opposition to their advice. Lord Althorpe, who was of such importance in the King's opinion that his removal from the leadership of the House of Commons to the House of Lords as Earl Spencer on the death of his father, might be supposed to feel flattered by the declaration of his Sovereign, and that his withdrawal from the House of Commons was sufficient to break up an Administration. He had made up his mind never more to enter politics and he never did so. But what did Lord Althorpe say?

‘He remained for some weeks at Althorpe in seclusion, and finally made up his mind to take no further part in public affairs. But in the calm of his retirement, he was peculiarly qualified to weigh the motives which had led to the dismissal of his late colleagues, and the consequence of that dismissal, and his judgment was unwavering and stern. He suggested to Mr. Hume, with whom he had never had any private confidence, and very intermittent public agreement, that an early opportunity should be taken to ascertain what the opinion of the new House of Commons was upon the mode in which Lord Melbourne had been dismissed. In his view the conduct of William IV. was not only reprehensible, but far too dangerous an example to be suffered to pass unrepended by Parliament.’

That would be found in a letter dated January 31st, 1835, from Lord Althorpe. It is said that in this age the people do not know the history of their time. In looking at the imperfect histories written of recent days you find little allusion to the philosophic and constitutional reasons affecting the course of the Administration of the nation. I will quote from a well-known History of England, written by Charles Knight, who every one knows is a great literary man, and great politician, and a great Liberal. The sentences are few, but the words are pregnant with meaning. The author wrote:—

‘The sensation produced in London by the reported dismissal of the Ministry was a natural consequence of the suddenness of the act, as it presented itself to the body of the people in its really unconstitutional character, as it appeared to thoughtful and well-informed men. The Sovereign has a constitutional right to dismiss his Ministers, but it must be on grounds more capable of justification to Parliament than the simple exercise of his personal will. The suddenness of the resolve rendered an arrangement necessary, which could not be justified by any precedent, except on an occasion of critical emergency in the last days of Queen Anne.’

That was when it became a question whether a Pretender, a Stuart, should be raised to the throne, or that the Hanoverian succession should be maintained. Let me quote from a periodical, then of considerable more weight than it has now, viz. : the *Edinburgh Review*, on this subject, and I think the House will agree with me that the sentences are pregnant and the language forcible. The *Edinburgh Review* said:—

‘The power of the Crown to choose its Ministers is clearly a necessary attri-

bute of the monarchy. But is it now exercised under adequate checks? Some intriguing courtiers, some clamorous friend who has access to the Royal ear, some politician who has a purpose to serve, and cares little if a new Ministry lasts no longer than his own gratification requires, may abuse the Royal confidence, and blindly bring on an experiment, all but desperate for both King and country, of changing the Ministry. By the strict letter of the law, the Minister who accepts office is responsible for the charge which removed his predecessors. But suppose one Ministry displaced and that no one agrees to take its place. Suppose this suspension of ministerial functions to continue for weeks, who is answerable for that? Indeed, if the King has once dismissed his Ministers, or he is left without a Government, hardly any practical responsibility could ever be incurred by the men who only entered into the places made vacant long before they were consulted.'

The language used in this article is so strong, that I do not care to read it all, lest it should be supposed that I did it for party purposes, or with the intention of applying it expressly to the circumstances in Quebec. Further on it proceeds:—

'If any one thinks that the view here taken of the late change of Ministry is too strong, let him reflect on the wholly unprecedented circumstances which distinguished that strange event. Between his majority and his confidential servants there existed no difference of opinion upon any subject of policy, foreign or domestic. This is now explicitly admitted by the Tories themselves. Among the Ministers reigned the most perfect harmony on all questions, and personally the members of no Cabinet ever were on more cordial terms one with another. This, too, is admitted, and the King's speech describes their whole policy as perfectly unexceptionable and uniformly successful. Lord Althorpe became a peer, Parliament was not sitting, and therefore, and for no other reason whatever, as is now allowed by all, the King changed his Government, called to his Councils the most opposite class of statesmen he could find, to give his confidence to the men whom the country most distrusted and disliked, and would not even wait a few days before he cleared out his House. That he had been wishing to change the Ministry for some time is very possible. But when his Royal father, said to be one of the ablest professional men of his day, wanted to make such changes, he always waited his opportunity, and seized on some measure, or on some pretext in some moment when there was a cry against his servants, to deliver the Ministry into the people's hands, and appoint more popular successors, men whom he liked, not certainly because of their popularity, but in spite of it. It was thus that when Mr. Fox died in September, 1803, His Majesty waited till a no-Popery cry could be raised, and turned out the Whigs only six months after they had lost their mighty chief. The secret advisers of the present King have done much, certainly, to dispirit and to alienate by their late proceeding, but nothing to show that they are gifted with his Royal parent's kingcraft. They seem to think that a King should turn off his Ministers much as a gentleman does his livery servants.'

That is the opinion of the *Edinburgh Review*. I have said that no dismissal has taken place since that time. George III. dismissed his Ministers in two instances, William IV. in one instance, George IV., with all his faults, never thought of such a thing. He fainted on one occasion; he wept; he deplored his sad fate in being obliged to submit to his Administration on the Catholic question, but he yielded; and Queen Victoria has, in no case, committed such an outrage on the Constitution as to dismiss a Ministry which had the confidence of the representatives of the people. The nearest approach to that in the Queen's history is what is called the Bedchamber Plot in 1838, not two years after she ascended the throne. On the resignation of the Whig Administration, Sir Robert Peel was sent for, and he insisted that the Ladies of the Bedchamber, who were the wives



of the defeated Ministers, should also retire. He did not interfere with the Maids of Honor and others, but he said it was unseemly that the great ladies of the Court should be the wives of the members of the defeated Administration, that the wife of the defeated Prime Minister, for instance, should be continually at the ear of the Queen, conveying her husband's sentiments and the opinions of the Opposition. The Queen, then a young woman, naturally clung to the friends of her youth, and she declined to have them removed. Sir Robert Peel declined to form an Administration unless they were removed. There was, at the time, great sympathy with the Queen. I remember it quite well. I remember how it rang through the press in England about the attempt to force upon Her Majesty, this young lady, strange women, instead of those she respected and esteemed and had been brought up with. But, in 1842, when the Queen had become a little more acquainted with kingcraft, and knew her position, and when Sir Robert Peel was called in again, she admitted that she was wrong, and allowed the Ladies of the Bedchamber to be removed, and in the "Life of the Prince Consort," in the previous book, you will find some leaves written by the Queen, where she gracefully and frankly acknowledges that she made a mistake. That is the only instance, and it has a very remote resemblance to this case. It was the cause of the refusal to take office of Sir Robert Peel, because the Queen insisted on her personal predilections in opposition to the principle that even the *entourage* of the Sovereign should be selected under the advice of the responsible Ministers of the day. The only case that at all appears to give a justification for the course taken in Quebec is that which happened the other day in South Africa, the action of Sir Bartle Frere, who dismissed a Ministry and sent for a new one. That is defended, faintly defended, perhaps, and if it proves to be on true ground, it will be upheld. The result will show whether he will be upheld or not. But his justification is *salus populi suprema est lex*. It was a case where all constitutional practice must be set aside in the presence of a great danger. There were a few white men in the South African colonies. There were 200,000 Zoulas threatening them on one flank, and the great body of the aborigines threatening the whole frontier, and Sir Bartle Frere said: 'I must take this course, or I may have upon my conscience the blood of every white man in South Africa.' We know how fractious the Molten's Government has always shown itself. That Government declined to give the control of the militia force in South Africa to the commander-in-chief. England had her military forces there, and was responsible for the safety of those great and growing colonies. England said: 'If we are to fight your battles, we must have the control of your martial force. We cannot have a divided command. We cannot have our Sir O'Grady Haly controlled by Colonel Walker Powell, your Adjutant General. We cannot have two separate and independent forces acting under different commands and without a common responsibility?' This was defended, I think, in the *Saturday Review* and certainly in the *Pall Mall Gazette* upon the same ground on which the *Habeas Corpus* Act, the charter of British liberty, might be suspended in the presence of threatened rebellion or certain war. On that ground, and on that ground only, is it defended, and on that only is it defensible. There can be no application of that case to the present, where there is no war or expectation of war. Where there is no fear of external attack or internal commo-

tion. Peace, thank God, dwells on our border, and we can carry out the British system in its fullness without any such infringement as we have seen on this occasion. Look at the different course of Sir George Bowen, where the circumstances were more than suspicious, when the apparent action of the Government, so far as we can understand it, was such as to propose to disarrange the whole machinery of the Government. The Judges, the officials, were all paid off, and the threat was made that unless the Upper House yielded to the Lower, and passed a Bill to pay the latter their wages as Members the lunatic asylums and prisons and penitentiaries should be opened, and all the idiotcy and madness and crime should be poured out upon the colony, and yet the British Government sustained Sir George Bowen in saying: 'I must sustain my Administration, who have the confidence of the people, unless Imperial interests are threatened. It is not for me to judge; I must take my advice from my Administration.' And the Liberal press in England sustained him in that. No more able article has been written than that in the London *Daily News* on this subject, showing that if the Colonies were to be really a *fac-simile* of the British Constitution, it must be carried out to its utmost extremity short of war or bloodshed. And the natural consequence had proved to be that a compromise, from the necessity of the case, had arisen between the two Houses, simply because Sir George Bowen, though the course of his Ministers was opposed by every newspaper in England, supported them, because they had a majority in Parliament. I said a little while ago, that we must judge of the British Constitution as it is now, as it has been developed, and not as it was seventy-five years ago, fifty years ago, or thirty years ago. I shall call the attention of the House to what I believe to be the true principles of the British Constitution on the point which I am pressing upon the consideration of the House at this moment in 1878 I shall first quote an author who has been quoted again and again, Mr. Bagehot, whose lamented decease struck England with sorrow, especially all political constitutionalists, for he was considered the authority of the day on constitutional law. If I am permitted in this argument to relate a little anecdote, I would do so with reference to this gentleman. This book from which I quote was in the first place published in the *Fortnightly Review*. I had read some of the numbers before I went to England in 1865, and I was dining with the 'Political Economy Club,' of London, of which the Hon. the Premier is a member, when in the course of a conversation on political economical matters with a gentleman who sat near me, I said: 'I have been very much struck with some articles in the *Fortnightly Review* on the English Constitution. It seems to me that they give the only true picture of the British Constitution as it now exists. They are written by one Mr. Bagehot.' He said: 'I am very glad you like them, because I am Mr. Bagehot.' From that time an acquaintance grew up between us, which only ceased with his lamented death. Let me now read from him:

'Principle shows that the power of dismissing a Government with which Parliament is satisfied, and of dissolving that Parliament upon an appeal to the people, is not a power which a common hereditary monarch will in the long run be able beneficially to exercise.

'Accordingly, this power has almost, if not quite, dropped out of the reality of our Constitution. Nothing, perhaps, would more surprise the English people than if the Queen, by *coup d'état*, and on a sudden, destroyed a Ministry firm in the allegiance, and secure of a majority in Parliament. That power indisputably, in theory,



belongs to her ; but it has passed so far away from the minds of men, that it would terrify them if she used it like a volcanic eruption from Primrose Hill. The last analogy to it is not one to be coveted as a precedent. In 1835, William IV. dismissed an Administration which, though disorganized by the loss of its leader in the Commons, was an existing Government, had a Premier in the Lords ready to go on, and a leader in the Commons willing to begin. The King fancied that public opinion was leaving the Whigs and going over to the Tories, and he thought he should accelerate the transition by ejecting the former. But the event showed that he misjudged. His perception, indeed, was right ; the English people were wavering in their allegiance to the Whigs, who had no leader that touched the popular heart, none in whom Liberalism could personify itself and become a passion—who besides were a body long used to Opposition, and, therefore, making blunders in office—who were borne to power by popular impulse which they only half comprehended, and perhaps less than half shared. But the King's policy was wrong ; he impeded the reaction instead of aiding it. He forced on a premature Tory Government which was as unsuccessful as all wise people perceived that it must be. The popular distaste to the Whigs was as yet but incipient, inefficient, and the intervention of the Crown was advantageous to them, because it looked inconsistent with the liberties of the people, and in so far William IV. was right in detecting an incipient change of opinion, he did but detect an erroneous change. What was desirable was the prolongation of Liberal rule. The commencing dissatisfaction did but relate to the personal demerits of the Whig leaders, and other temporary adjuncts of free principles, and not to those principles intrinsically. So that the last precedent for a royal onslaught on a Ministry ended thus : in opposing the right principles, in aiding the wrong principles, in hurting the party it was meant to help. After such a warning, it is likely that our monarch will pursue the policy which a long course of quiet precedent directs, they will leave a Ministry trusted by Parliament to the judgment of Parliament.'

And so he winds up the whole of his discussion on this subject by this pregnant phrase :—

'The Queen can hardly now refuse a defeated Minister the chance of a dissolution, any more than she can dissolve in the time of an undefeated one, and without his consent.'

This quotation has been already used in a speech made by Mr. Chapleau, and he made a long quotation from Bagehot which I did not recognize, and which I could not find. I thought that I knew that work by heart. It has been my guide as regards the principles of the British Constitution. I searched the different editions, but I could not find it. I telegraphed to Mr. Chapleau to find out where he got that quotation, and he gave me the reference. It is a rather singular thing that it has never yet (until it was translated by Mr. Chapleau, or for Mr. Chapleau, in his speech) appeared in English. Bagehot's book at once took public attention, and a French edition was published of it. It was published in 1872, I think immediately after a book on the British Constitution was written, by the late Monsieur Prevost Paradol ; and in the French introduction to his book, which otherwise as a translation of this he discusses some of the points taken by Monsieur Paradol, in his book on the British Constitution. I have the original edition here in French, but I shall not trouble you with my imperfect French, I will read to you Mr. Chapleau's translation of it, which I have verified as being a correct translation. I have already read you the first passage he quotes, and I shall read it on account of its importance again :—

'The Queen can hardly now refuse a defeated Minister the chance of dissolu-

tion any more than she can dissolve in the time of an undefeated one, and without his consent.'

This is the quotation which only appeared in French, but I shall read you a translation:—

'And no Monarch should dissolve Parliament against the will and the interest of the Ministry which is in power. No doubt the King can dismiss such a Ministry and replace it by another Administration, whose advice to dissolve Parliament he could take; but even with this precaution, to act thus towards a Ministry, which had a strong majority in Parliament, would be to *strike a blow* which it is *almost impossible* to suppose. We do not believe that Queen Victoria herself, in spite of the popularity and respect by which she is surrounded, to a greater extent perhaps than any of her predecessors, would ever have recourse to such a measure. What would be thought if she should venture to reason thus?'

Apply the reason to Quebec, and you will at once see the pregnancy of this passage:

'The Whigs are in a majority in the existing Parliament, but I think that the country would favor a Tory Administration; let us, therefore, dissolve Parliament, and see whether the country will not elect a Parliament of opposite opinion to those which prevail in the present Parliament. What would be thought of this? No Englishman can dream even of a catastrophe of this nature, but it, to him, appears to belong to the phenomena of a world altogether different from that which he inhabits. In practice in England the Sovereign considers himself obliged to follow the advice of the Ministry which the House of Commons desires to maintain in power. All prerogatives at variance with this principle have fallen into disuse, but the Sovereign may accord to the people a majority which is denied it, in the House of Commons; but to strike from behind, so to speak, and strangle, by means of an appeal to the country, a Ministry sustained by Parliament, would be an event which no longer enters into the calculation, although, in former times, instances of this occurred in our annals.'

No stronger passage could be written, and it could be written by no stronger authority than by Mr. Bagehot. I read you, Sir, a long passage as to the difference between the legal prerogative and the constitutional exercise of it, from Freeman, in his "Growth of the English Constitution," which has just come out; and I shall only read you one, that sentence which agrees in every respect with the language of Mr. Bagehot:

'The written law leaves to the Crown the choice of all Ministers and agents, great and small. Every appointment to office and dismissal from office, as long as they have committed no crime which the law can punish, is left to the personal discretion of the Sovereign; but the unwritten law or the unwritten constitution makes it practically impossible for the Sovereign to keep a Ministry in office whom the House of Commons does not approve, and it makes it almost equally impossible to remove from office a Ministry whom the House of Commons does approve.'

But, Sir, we cannot do better than quote what has been quoted again and again, and I feel that my remarks on this occasion would be imperfect unless I quoted an authority which we have to-day admitted to be an authority—the authority of our respected Governor General. What said the Earl of Dufferin, our Governor General, at the time, in 1873, when he was at Halifax:

'My only guiding star in the conduct and maintenance of my official relations with your public men is the Parliament of Canada. I believe in Parliament, no matter which way it votes; and to those men alone whom the deliberate will of the Confederate Parliament of Canada may assign to me as my responsible advisers,



can I give my confidence. Whether they are heads of this party or of that party must be a matter of indifference to the Governor General. So long as they are maintained he is bound to give them his unreserved confidence, to defer to their advice, and to loyally assist them with his counsels. As a reasonable being, he cannot help having convictions on the merits of different policies, but these considerations are abstract and speculative, and devoid of practical effect in his official relations. As the head of a constitutional State as engaged in the administration of Parliamentary Government, he (the Governor General) has no political friends; still less can he have political enemies. The possession of, the being suspected of such possession, would destroy his usefulness.'

But, Sir, we have more than that. In our own history we have got the practical instructions given by Her Majesty to Lord Elgin at the time Lord Elgin had before him the difficult question of the position of his Government in 1847. When he came out to this country, what did he find? He found the two Canadas almost at a dead lock. He found the Government of that day, of which I was a member—my first entry into politics—supported by a majority from Upper Canada, when all Lower Canada was banded against it. He found that this Government was formed on what, I must say, was the unwholesome principle of one race against the other. He was very anxious, for he was not mixed up with the questions connected with the formation of the Government, and all the questionable proceedings of Lord Sydenham with it, in carrying the elections of 1844.

MR. HOLTON: There was Lord Metcalfe later.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: I am coming to Lord Metcalfe. Lord Elgin was not mixed up in any way with the *personnel* of the Government which Lord Metcalfe tried to keep up in Canada. He came out here for the purpose of carrying out the principle which they adopted in September, 1841, but which had never, in fact, been worked thoroughly, either by Lord Sydenham or by Lord Metcalfe, and he consulted his chief in the Colonial Department as to his position at that time. You will find what the present Lord Grey, then and some time before and longer afterwards, an able Colonial Minister, did. These were the instructions which Lord Grey then gave to Lord Elgin, and which Lord Elgin carried out:

'The object with which I recommend to you this course is that of making it apparent that in any transfer which may take place, of political power from the hands of one party in the Province to those of another, is the result, not of an act of yours, but by the wishes of the people themselves, as shown by the difficulty experienced by the retiring party to carry on the Government of the Provinces according to the forms of the Constitution. To this I attach great importance. I have, therefore, to instruct you to abstain from changing your Executive Council until it shall become perfectly clear that they are unable, with such fair support from yourself, to go on.'

Mind you that, even then, although Lord Elgin was of opinion that for the good of Canada a new Administration should be formed, in which the French element and the English element should equally, or nearly equally, predominate, yet even then the instructions to Lord Elgin were:

'I have, therefore, to instruct you to abstain from changing your Executive Council until it shall become perfectly clear that they are unable, with such fair support from yourself as they have a right to expect, to carry on the Government of the Provinces satisfactorily, and command the confidence of the Legislature.'

These authorities are, I think, sufficient to prove the case that in England the power of dismissal of a Government having the confidence of Parliament is gone for ever, and that, if it is gone there, it ought never to have been attempted to be introduced in a colony under the British Crown. But, Sir, if you will look at the causes, if causes they can be called, why the Administration was changed in Quebec, you will find that all the objections are taken by the chief of the Executive to the legislation of his Ministers, and not to the administrative acts of his Ministers, not to anything they had done. It is true that he quotes an act of administration respecting the appointment of a Councillor in Montmagny; but that does not appear, however, in the case laid before Parliament, and we have no right in one sense to look at it, or quote it at all, because the case of the Governor and his advisers must be governed by the paper laid before the Legislature of Quebec before its prorogation; but, for the purpose of illustration, I will take the only act he complains of in administration, and this was that this Councillor was appointed by the Crown instead of being elected by the people. The circumstances were that there was a real or supposed irregularity in the appointment. The Attorney General reported that the appointment was null and void, and that the Crown by law had the power to fill up this vacancy. Filled it was on the report of the Attorney General, and the Lieutenant Governor sanctioned it, but afterwards he thought that he was wrong, and he pressed that opinion on his Government. The Attorney General still held to his opinion, but the First Minister yielded to the pressure brought upon him by the Lieutenant Governor, and took his opinion upon it, and the appointment was cancelled, and yet it was actually made a charge, apparently made a charge, against the Administration that they took a step on the advice of the Attorney General; but afterwards, on the head of the Executive remonstrating with him, in deference to his opinion, they took his advice. With that single exception, it occurs to me, from my recollection of the paper, that all the objections made to the course and action of the DeBoucherville Government were that there was a difference of opinion as to the legislation which was carried on in the Quebec Legislature. Now, Sir, there is a distinct difference between acts of administration and acts of legislation, and that I think will be obvious from the nature of the case. The Sovereign is the chief of the Executive. The Crown, with its advisers, is appointed to carry on the administration of affairs, public or executive, and to administer matters. The Crown, it is true, nominally is a branch of the legislative power, but it has really ceased to be a branch of the legislative power. There is a mighty distinction between the legislation and the administration of Ministers, and you can well see the reason of the difference. With the single exception of matters involving a charge upon the people, any member of this House, whether he is a member of the Ministry or not, can introduce a measure. Any member of the Quebec Legislature could have introduced an Act stating that if these municipalities did not pay up there would be no necessity of going to the Courts, and the Governor in Council should make summary proceedings to enforce their obligations. Any member could have done it, and if the House chose to carry it, then the Ministry would be obliged to yield. And not only that, Mr. Speaker, but if that legislation, no matter how important it may be, is brought before Parliament, it is a contempt of the privileges of this House for any man even to quote or



suggest what the opinion of the Crown is respecting any political question. But it so happens that all the changes that have taken place in England are mostly—indeed all the changes except two that have taken place, have been on questions of administration, or questions of want of confidence in the capacity of the Government to administer affairs. Only two instances are known since the time of George III. until up to this present moment, when there was a dismissal or resignation of the Ministry in consequence of the difference between the Crown and the advisers of the Crown on matters of legislation, and these were on similar questions—that is, on the question of Catholic disability. The dismissal of Lord Melbourne was founded on the opinion of the King, that they could not satisfactorily administer affairs; but no difference of opinion, no questions as to legislation, arose at all. The only two instances, as I said before, in which Ministers were dismissed on account of difference of opinion between the King and his advisers on matters of legislation were in—no, there were three cases. In the first place, there was the India Bill. It was objected to by the King because it deprived him, as the chief of the Executive, of his patronage as chief of the Executive. Then he objected to the Catholic Emancipation Bill, in 1801,—which Pitt had promised,—and he forced Pitt to resign, because Pitt would adhere to the promise which he had made to the Irish people at the time of Union in 1800. The next dismissal on account of legislation was when Lord Grenville was dismissed, in the manner which I have already mentioned, because he would not sign a pledge never afterwards to bring up the question of allowing Catholic gentlemen to hold high commands in the British army. There were only three instances, and they were instances only to be mentioned to be considered, to be cited, to be pointed at as outrages on the British Constitution. There was this difference: it had been conveyed to poor old George III. by the Chancellor, the head of the English Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, that he would be committing a breach of his Coronation oath if he allowed such legislation. Lord Melbourne, then Mr. Dundas, declared that such an allegation was absurd. That when he swore as King that he would preserve the rights of the Protestant Church, as by law established, it meant that he would defend those rights as by law established, but if the law changed then he must defend them as altered. The answer of the King, which was well known, was that he did not want any Scotch metaphysics, that he had taken the oath and was bound by his conscientious scruples. We may regret that he had those conscientious scruples, because it has been the cause of much misery and misfortune to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It has been one of the principal causes that England and Ireland are not now one in heart and feeling, as Scotland and England have been ever since 1700. Still we must have respect for the conscience of the King. But, I point out to the House that, with the exception of the cases I have quoted, cases not to be repeated, but cases to be held up as warnings, that British Legislatures and people should never fall into committing the same mistake again, all the causes of dismissal and of forced resignation were on matters of administration. On that point I quote ‘May,’ 1859. Some gentleman has handed me this paper:

‘What of Sir Edmund Head’s refusal of a dissolution to the Brown-Dorion Government.’

I am not bound to defend Sir Edmund Head, but my answer is this: Sir Edmund Head, at the time he sent for Mr. Brown, told Mr. Brown he was going to charge him with the formation of a Government, but Mr. Brown must understand that he must not suppose that, if he did form a Government, he would have the right of dissolution, as a matter of course. That, after the Government was formed, he would hear reasons given for it, and then he would judge for himself. The Sovereign of the day can send for any person he likes, and can charge that person with the formation of a Government, stating on what conditions he could form it.

MR. MILLS: That is not consistent with Bagehot.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: I say it is. The Sovereign can attach certain conditions to the power given to a member to form a new Ministry. The only power the Crown can exercise personally, was that of attaching conditions to the power to form a Government, and of insisting on a dissolution by his Ministry. Sovereigns have again and again, in English history, given permission to form an Administration on certain terms. If the person did not choose to accept the terms, the Sovereign must form an Administration and get the confidence of Parliament. Sir Edmund Head in this case told Mr. Brown that he must not understand, if he accepted office, that he was to get a dissolution, as a matter of course, and that such would be granted only after sufficient reasons to convince him as to its necessity were given.

MR. MACKENZIE: He was working in accordance with Parliament.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: You say he was working in accordance with the majority of Parliament. I was arguing that matters of legislation stood on quite a different basis from matters of administration. As a general rule, the Crown does not interfere in matters of administration, but left those to Parliament, and the only instances in which the contrary had been the case are those I have quoted, which are precedents not to be followed, but which are held up by all constitutional writers as infringements on the true principles of the British Constitution. Not only is that held to be the case when Pitt took office and a resolution was moved in consequence of its having been reported through the country that the King was against the Portland and Fox Coalition Government, and the India Bill by Mr. Burke, on December 17, 1783, which, after denouncing secret advices to the Crown against responsible Ministers, and the use of the King's name set forth—

‘That it is now necessary to declare that to report any opinion or pretended opinion of His Majesty upon a Bill or other proceeding with a view to influence the vote of the members, is a high crime and misdemeanor, dangerous to the honor of the Crown, a breach of fundamental principles of Parliament and subversive of the Constitution.’

The motion was carried by 153 to 80, notwithstanding all the opposition of Pitt, who was ultimately successful in the struggle, though, according to our present views of constitutional principles and laws, he was altogether wrong in the course he pursued on that occasion. Why, it is impossible that the same principles can apply to acts of administration and acts of legislation. I tried it the other day in this House. The hon. Minister of Justice introduced a Bill respecting penitentiaries, and I rose and asked him if the Governor General had assented to the measure. He said, ‘No.’ He looked at the Premier, and the Premier looked at him, and said to me:—‘I do not think it is necessary.’ I said, ‘Neither do I,



but the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec thought it was necessary he should be consulted about all measures.'

MR. MACKENZIE: The right hon. gentleman is not now quoting me quite correctly.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: I think so.

MR. MACKENZIE: I thought the right hon. gentleman referred to some financial part of the scheme. When I said it was not necessary, I referred wholly to the usual sanction for Bills.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: He thought of no financial clause in it requiring the previous assent of the Crown.

MR. MACKENZIE: Every Bill the Ministry introduces has the assent of the Crown.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: I have been a member of five Administrations. I have sat under five Governors—Lord Elgin, Sir Edmund Head, Lord Monck, Lord Lisgar, and Lord Dufferin, and I never heard that doctrine proclaimed before. We know perfectly well that the Governor General, as the Queen can, if he chooses, send for the Ministers, and say: 'I do not like that Bill, and I would like to discuss it with you. I think you must modify it or hold it over.' The Sovereign can thus interfere if he chooses, but practically he leaves all legislation to the country. The proof of that is found in the fact that any member of the Opposition, in all matters excepting those connected with finance, which must be preceded by a message from the Crown, were just as competent to introduce every Ministerial measure as hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches, and as competent to amend any measures. The House saw the other day a Bill introduced by the hon. the Postmaster General, to which the hon. member for South Bruce moved an amendment which entirely destroyed and changed the whole aim and end of the Bill.

MR. MACKENZIE: No.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: The hon. gentleman accepted it. He did not propose that it should be deferred until he went to Rideau Hall to consult the Governor General. So it is with all other Government Bills. I venture to say that, with the exception of the general statement, which, of course, is made by the hon. the First Minister at the beginning of the Session as to what is contained in the Speech from the Throne, all Departmental Bills were introduced without the sanction in any shape of His Excellency. Hon. gentlemen opposite will not deny that statement. Yet the whole cause of objection to the course taken by the Quebec Administration was because the Lieutenant Governor did not agree with the policy of the legislation, although that policy was passed and approved by the representatives of the people by a large majority. The Lieutenant Governor allowed his Ministry to introduce their Bills, he saw day after day the discussions in the House, every day received the Votes and Proceedings, and, in fact, laid in wait for his Ministers. He allowed them to bring down the Supply Bill, and almost allowed them to carry the Appropriation Act. He allowed them to carry through their Bill respecting railways and that respecting the doubling up of the subsidies, and, strange to say, that the same Bill for doubling up the subsidies,

which was one of the first causes given why they were dismissed, received the Royal assent of the Lieutenant Governor on the advice of the successors of the late Government. That Bill in no way increased the burthens of the people, the subsidy having been voted years before Mr. Letellier was Lieutenant Governor, there being a provision that if a portion of the subsidy was not taken advantage of for certain railways, it could be applied for the benefit of other railways. That was the law before Mr. Letellier was Lieutenant Governor. The Act was merely carrying the law into force. The Lieutenant Governor gave, as one of his first reasons for dismissing his Ministers, that they had passed the law without consulting him. Yet it was by the advice of Mr. Joly that it was now the law. As an hon. member near me says, Mr. Joly was President of one of the roads, and voted for the measure in regard to which he advised the Lieutenant Governor to dismiss Mr. DeBoucherville. Actually he who voted and supported the measure, and was in one sense interested in it, and was now responsible for the measure becoming law, was a party to the dismissal of Mr. DeBoucherville, because he had introduced the Bill and carried it through the Legislature. He approves of the Act, but procures the dismissal of the man who obtained its passage. The Stamp Act, which was introduced last Session, was a very important one. Before the hon. the Minister of Inland Revenue got his Amendment Bill through the Committee, he must not have known his own progeny. It was like the gun which had a new lock, stock and barrel. Was the assent of the Governor General obtained to the Bill, or to any amendments made to it? And yet, forsooth, the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec was to decide and govern what the legislative policy of the people is to be. He, like Jupiter, shakes his ambrosial locks, gives his nod, and the legislators have merely to register his decrees. No such thing could happen in England. The Queen knows too well what her duty is. She keeps a sharp and watchful eye upon the foreign policy. No one can read the memoirs of the Prince Consort without feeling what a great woman, a great stateswoman, if there is such a word, she is, and with what watchful and patriotic a care she guarded, and studied, and considered the administration of the nation. But, as regards the legislation of the nation, she left that, as it ought to be left, to the people through their representatives. She was satisfied with the old sliding scale of the corn duties in the old Corn Law times. She was satisfied with the fixed duty of four shillings a quarter declared by Lord John Russell, and with the free trade in corn declared by Sir Robert Peel. She was satisfied with the sustaining of the Established Church in Ireland so long as her Ministers advised her so to maintain it. She was satisfied with the disestablishment of her own Church, of which she was the head, as soon as the representatives of the people in Parliament decreed it. She received with like equanimity a Reform Bill from one Government or a retroactive measure from another. She knows it has ceased to be a portion of the attributes of the Crown to possess any power in legislation, and the strongest proof of that is that the power of veto has gone, and that while the Sovereign is still the head of the Executive, she is only nominally the head of the Legislature. She cannot veto a bill. It has not been done since Queen Anne's time. It is as extinct as the dodo. It is no part of the Constitution of England. This is laid down by all the writers. I shall quote again from Mr. Bagehot, page 143 :—



‘To state the matter shortly, the Sovereign has, under a constitutional monarchy such as ours, three rights, the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn, and a King of great sense and sagacity would want no others. He would find that his having no others would enable him to use these with singular effect. He would say to his Minister: “The responsibility of these measures is upon you. Whatever you think best shall have my full and effectual support, but you will observe that for this reason and that reason, what you propose to do is bad, for this reason and that reason, what you do not propose is better. I do not oppose, it is my duty not to oppose, but observe that I warn.”’

And that is the duty of a Sovereign. If any legislation, carried on by a Ministry having a majority in Parliament, and, of course, they cannot carry it on without that, was opposed to the view of the Sovereign, he had the right to send for his First Minister, and say, ‘I will continue to support you, but I have had experience for years, and I warn you,’ and that is substantially the only power he has in matters of legislation. On page 125, Mr. Bagehot says:—

‘The popular theory of the English constitution involves two errors as to the Sovereign; first, in its oldest form, at least, it considers him as an estate of the realm, a separate co-ordinate authority with the House of Lords and the House of Commons. This, and much else, the Sovereign once was, but this he is no longer. That authority could only be exercised by a monarch with a legislative veto. He should be able to reject Bills if not as the House of Commons rejects them, at least as the House of Peers rejects them. But the Queen has no such veto. She must sign her own death warrant if the two Houses unanimously sent it up to her. It is a fiction of the past to ascribe to her legislative power. She has long ceased to have any.’

Nor can the House of Lords interfere effectually, if the House of Commons declares in favor of the policy of the Government of the day. May says:—

‘The responsibility of Ministers has been still further simplified by the dominant power of the Commons. The Lords may sometimes thwart the Ministry, but they are powerless to overthrow a Ministry supported by the Commons, or to uphold a Ministry the Commons have condemned. Instead of many masters, the Government has only one, that is the people. Nor can it be said that master has been severe, exacting, or capricious.’

Sir, I contend that the Government of Quebec having a majority in both Houses should be sustained by the Governor. If the Governor thought they had forfeited the confidence of the people, he had a right to insist on having a dissolution, but he must leave it in their hands. I have quoted these authorities to show that it is utterly impossible for a Ministry to be maintained if they lose the confidence of Parliament, and utterly impossible for a Ministry to be dismissed if they have the confidence of Parliament. The Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, if he had chosen to pursue the legitimate course, would have said to his advisers: ‘I do not agree in this policy of yours, and I do not think that the people do.’ He should have said that the moment when he knew the policy of the Government, when he knew the measures were introduced, and he had the right to send for his Ministers and say, ‘I see that a measure has been, or is to be, introduced, and I ask what it means.’ Although the Crown never does interfere, he might have sent on theoretical grounds for the Prime Minister, and said, ‘I do not approve of it, and I will insist upon your leaving it to the people, upon your hurrying through the Session,

and withdrawing the measure, and submitting it to the people to see if you have their confidence on general grounds.' That would be an extreme measure, which the Queen would never think of taking, a step which she would think would be an outrage on the Constitution. But still in that case there would have been an adherence to the letter of the Constitution. But what was done here? The Legislature had met, and had passed a series of laws. It was known what the policy of the Government was. All their measures were submitted to Parliament. They were going on from day to day, and from week to week, without objection or without a warning such as that mentioned by Bagehot. The measures were almost completed when at last the Government were told: 'There is the door, and you must go.' It was a *coup d'état*. It was an outrage on the Constitution. It was an outrage on free institutions, and above all on British institutions, and as such I move that the course taken by the Lieutenant Governor was both unwise and unconstitutional. Unwise it certainly is, and its unwisdom is obvious from the imputations thrown out as to the motives which govern him in that course. In this discussion, I have tried to sever the condemnation of his acts from any charge against the Lieutenant Governor. I am sure he has made a mistake. I know he has committed a breach of the Constitution. I condemn the act, but it is not for the purpose of my argument to say anything against him, except that the act which he has committed was an outrage on the Constitution. It was unwise, not only because it was against the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution, but because it was liable to the imputations thrown out, and the suspicions which it has engendered. Here we are, just before a general election in which there is to be a struggle of considerable, perhaps, of extreme, warmth, from one end of the country to the other. It is alleged that the present Government has not the confidence of the people of Lower Canada. It is alleged that Mr. Letellier was a partizan of the present Government. He had before been one of its Ministers, and it is alleged was sent down there as a partizan. It is alleged that he allowed a Ministry having the confidence of both Houses, having the confidence of the representatives of the people, to carry their measures almost to the end of the Session, and, at the last moment, when he thought the legislation was complete, he sent them adrift and brought in new men belonging to the same political party as himself, who had supported him when he was a member of the Government, and that all this was done for the purpose of getting hold of power in the Province of Quebec to be used at the general election. This is a widely spread charge, be it untrue or be it true. The very fact of this act being done by the Lieutenant Governor at the time, as it must have been obvious to him, and to any man of common sense, that it would be liable to do, has given rise to that charge, to that imputation, to that suspicion. It was a matter of unwisdom, as it tended to show, perhaps, that the Government did not exhibit the greatest discretion in choosing him for that office. But it is not without some foundation, that those who are opposed to the present Government may think perhaps that their suspicions are well founded, and those suspicions grow, among other things, from the remarks which had been made by the Ministerial Press itself. The *Halifax Chronicle*, a paper which the hon. the Minister of Militia will not disavow, says:

'If a general election should take place in Quebec now, the Liberals would



have good prospects of capturing the Government of the Province, which is supposed to be the stronghold of Conservatism.'

The *Hamilton Times*, a paper which I fancy the hon. the Premier will not disavow, says :

'The dismissal of the Quebec Government is the talk of the Lobbies. The Tory members are gathered in groups and discussing the situation, which is most grave. They condemn the action of the Lieutenant Governor. Their fear is that the new Ministry will cause their names to be announced to-morrow in the House, and the moment that is done have Parliament prorogued. This would give the new Ministers time to ferret out the rascality of the old Cabinet, and make a full exposure of it when they appeal to the country, which would take place at the time the Dominion elections are held, and would give the Liberal party an unusual strength in the Province.'

The rumour was, therefore, such that it actually appeared in type that the elections were to be held about the same time. If so, I think I am fully outborne in expressing in my resolution, that the dismissal of the Ministry at this time, of all others, is unwise ; that it is a breach of the British Constitution, and has shaken Responsible Government to its very basis. And there is one thing that is worse than all ; it is throwing upon the people the decision of a great constitutional question, in an election that will not be fought on that question. The elections coming on in the Province of Quebec will be decided on the railway question, on the tax question, on every other question than the constitutional question. It was a grave responsibility for that Lieutenant Governor to take a responsibility which no man fully aware of the consequences of his conduct would take, a responsibility which no man who was not utterly reckless of the sanctity of the Constitution and the necessity of preserving all the bulwarks of the Constitution, would have undertaken. Unless this House is firm, unless this House rises to the occasion and is true to itself and to the Constitution under which we sit here, and unless it desires to sacrifice the principles of Responsible Government, and to go back to the old autocratic times, we shall establish a precedent which may be worked for the evil of this Constitution for all time. What would be said of the Earl of Dufferin, if he had said to Hon. gentlemen opposite : 'I am of opinion you have not the confidence of the country. I have seen that a number of casual elections have gone against you from one accident or another. I think there is a reaction in the country, that the people do not support you with the same alacrity as formerly, and I shall dismiss you and send for the Opposition.' You could not suppose that the Earl of Dufferin, that a man imbued with the spirit of the British Constitution, that an English statesman, or an English gentleman, could commit such an offence. Take another case. Suppose, now, that the elections are just coming on. Mr. Archibald, now the Governor of Nova Scotia, who formerly belonged to the same party as myself, and was recommended by me as the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, has in that Province an Administration opposed to the policy of the Opposition here, and supporting with all their power the present Dominion Government. Suppose he took a leaf out of Mr. Letellier's book and picked a quarrel with his advisers just before the elections. Suppose he said : 'I see you have only a majority of two or three, that you have lost election after election, and I do not believe you really represent the people. I shall dismiss you, and call a new Ad-

ministration. I shall call a friend, personal or political, of my own, and assign to him the agreeable duty of dissolving the Legislature, and using the patronage, the power, and the influence of the Government in favor of the present Opposition, and against the present Government.' How my Hon. friend at the head of this Government would, in that case, rise in his place and recall the good old days when the Liberal party fought the battle of Responsible Government, and denounce the destruction of the old Tory method of dismissing a Government with a majority, which it was true, might be a limited one, but was still a majority. How this House and the country would have rung with lament over such a return to the old days of Metcalf and Toryism and tyranny. Sir, I do not believe the Hon. gentleman at the head of the Government will belie his previous professions. I do not believe, until I hear and see it, that, because the Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada happens to be his appointee, he will sacrifice his own great principles in defence of a Minister who, I believe, has committed a great constitutional wrong. Every Ministry is liable to make mistakes in appointments. Every Ministry is liable somewhat from the mistakes or errors, or the worse than errors, of their subordinates. Though they may not be responsible for them, still they may be to a certain degree responsible in public opinion for having made a wrong choice; but until they condone the offence, until they approve of the offence, until they say, 'We approve of that policy, and will support them in that policy,' they are not justly amenable to attack. I have made no attack. God forbid that I should do so, for as yet I know not that the present Ministry, at the head of which is the Hon. Member for Lambton, is liable to the charge, liable to attack, or liable to censure for anything that has taken place. As yet I do not know this, and, therefore, I will not say it. But it depends upon that Hon. gentleman to say whether he, the head of a Liberal Government, he upon whom the mantle of Robert Baldwin and others has fallen, he, the distinguished leader of the Liberal party of the country, will—but I do not believe that the Hon. gentleman will—sacrifice those great principles. It may be a warm-hearted, it may be a kindly, and, perhaps, in some respects, a polite act to do so, looking at the mere temporary advantages of an election; but I do not believe that that Hon. gentleman will turn his back upon those principles which he has so long professed, and which have been the chief credit, the chief honor of his party. Mr. Speaker, I move the resolution."

The Ministry offered neither justification nor palliation of Mr. Letellier's offence. They neither defended nor extenuated it. They did not argue the constitutional question. They neither denied Sir John Macdonald's statements of fact, nor questioned his deductions of law. They were absolutely mute on these points, and contented themselves by saying that the matter was one with which the Dominion Parliament had nothing to do, it rested entirely and solely between Mr. Letellier and the people of Quebec. This unsound reasoning was all Mr. Mackenzie had to oppose to Sir John Macdonald's crushing attack, but he had the voting power of a majority of forty-two by whom the motion was negatived on the 15th April.



At about the time this question was before the House, Mr. Todd, the Librarian of Parliament, issued a pamphlet styled "A Constitutional Governor," in which, after quoting a number of cases, he deduces several leading principles. Mr. Todd is the author of the best work yet published on Parliamentary Government,\* and his book on that subject is now the leading authority in England, and in the British Colonies, where Parliaments exist. His opinions on this subject are of the utmost value, and are received as authorities by the most accomplished British statesmen. He has devoted his attention to the very peculiar relations which exist between the Imperial power and the Dominion, between the Dominion and the Provinces, and between the Imperial authority and the combined Dominion and Provincial powers. His deductions on the powers and duties of a Colonial Ruler under our system of Constitutional Government are thus set forth, and it will be seen from their perusal how strongly they support the views enunciated by Sir John Macdonald in moving his resolution;—

1. That the position of a Constitutional Governor towards those over whom he is set, as the Representative of the Sovereign, and especially in relation to his Ministers, is one of strict neutrality. He must manifest no bias towards any political party; but, on the contrary, be ready to make himself a mediator and a moderator between the influential of all parties. And he must uniformly be actuated only by a desire to promote the general welfare of the province, or dependency of the empire, committed to his charge.

2. That a Constitutional Governor is bound to receive as his Advisers and Ministers the acknowledged leaders of that party in the State which is able, for the time being, to command the confidence of the popular assembly; or, in the last resort, of the people, as expressed, on appeal, through their representatives in the Local Parliament. And it is his duty to cordially advise and co-operate with his Ministers, in all their efforts for the public good.†

3. That in furtherance of the principle of local self-government, and of the administration of the Executive authority in harmony with the legislative bodies, it is the duty of a Constitutional Governor to accept the advice of his Ministers in regard to the general policy and conduct of public affairs; and in the selection of persons to fill subordinate offices in the public service; and in the determination of all questions that do not directly interfere with the responsibility which he owes to the Imperial Government.

4. That in order to enable a Constitutional Governor to fulfil intelligently and efficiently the charge entrusted to him by the Crown, he is bound to direct,—as by

\* "Parliamentary Government in England." Alpheus Todd, Librarian of the Library of Parliament.

† See Grey, Colonial Policy, vol. 1, p. 211.

his Commission and Instructions he is authorized to require—that the fullest information shall be afforded to him, by his Ministers, upon every matter which, at any time, shall be submitted for his approval; and that no policy shall be carried out, or acts of executive authority performed, by his Ministers, in the name of the Crown, unless the same shall have previously received his sanction.

5. That while, under ordinary circumstances, a Constitutional Governor would naturally defer to the advice of his Ministers, so long as they continue to possess the confidence of the popular Chamber, and are able to administer public affairs in accordance with the well-understood wishes of the people, as expressed through their representatives; if, at any time, he should see fit to doubt the wisdom, or the legality, of advice tendered to him; or should question the motives which have actuated his Advisers on any particular occasion,—so as to lead him to the conviction that their advice had been prompted by corrupt, partizan, or other unworthy motives, and not by a regard to the honor of the Crown, or the welfare and advancement of the community at large,—the Governor is entitled to have recourse to the power reserved to him, in the Royal Instructions; and to withhold his assent from such advice. Under these circumstances, he would suitably endeavor, in the first instance, by suggestion or remonstrance, to induce his Ministers to modify or abandon a policy or proceeding which he was unable to approve. But if his remonstrances should prove unavailing, the Governor is competent to require the resignation of his Ministers, or to dismiss them from office; and to call to his councils a new Administration.

6. That the prerogative right of dismissing a Ministry can only be constitutionally exercised on grounds of public policy; and for reasons which are capable of being defended and justified to the Local Assembly; as well as to the Queen, through her Ministers.

7. That upon a change of Ministry, it is constitutionally necessary that the gentlemen who may be invited by the Governor to form a new Administration shall be unreservedly informed by him of the circumstances which led to the resignation or dismissal of their predecessors in office; and that they shall be willing to accept entire responsibility to the Local Parliament for any acts of the Governor which have been instrumental in occasioning the resignation or effecting the dismissal of the outgoing Ministry. For it is an undoubted principle of English law, that no prerogative of the Crown can be constitutionally exercised unless some Minister of State is ready to assume responsibility for the same. Hence, the authority itself remains inviolate, however the propriety of its exercise may be questioned, or its use condemned. The authority of the Crown, in the hands of the Queen's Representative, should always be respected; and no one subordinate to the Governor should attribute to him, personally, any act of misgovernment; his Ministers being always answerable for his acts to the Local Parliament and to the constituent body.

8. That the Governor is personally responsible to the Imperial Government for his exercise of the prerogative right of dissolving Parliament; and he is bound to have regard to the general condition and welfare of the country, and not merely to the advice of his Ministers, in granting or refusing a dissolution. And should he deem it advisable to insist upon the dissolution of an existing Parliament, con-



trary to the advice of his Ministers, he is not debarred from issuing the necessary orders to give effect to his decision, because his Ministers, for the time being, are sustained by a majority of the Local Assembly :—although such an act, on the part of the Governor, should involve their resignation of office. But no Governor has a constitutional right to insist upon a dissolution of Parliament, under such circumstances, unless he can first obtain the services of other Advisers, who are willing to become responsible for the act ; and unless he has reasonable grounds for believing that an appeal to the constituent body would result in an approval, by the new Assembly, of the policy which, in his judgment, rendered it necessary that the Parliament should be dissolved.

9. That in the ultimate determination of all questions wherein a Constitutional Governor may see fit to differ from his Ministers, the declared intention of the Queen,—that She ‘has no desire to maintain any system of policy among Her North American subjects which opinion condemns,—’\* a principle which is equally applicable to every self-governing Colony, and which has been freely conceded to them all,—requires that the verdict of the people in Parliament must be accepted as final and conclusive : and that the Governor must be prepared to accept an Administration who will give effect to the same ; or else, himself surrender to the Sovereign the charge with which he has been entrusted.

10. That in questions of an Imperial nature, wherein the honor of the British Crown is concerned, or the general policy of the Empire is involved,—as, for example, in the administration, by a Governor, of the prerogative of mercy ; or, the reservation, under the royal instructions, of Bills, of a certain specified class, which had passed both Houses of the Local Parliament, for the signification of the Queen’s pleasure thereon,—it is the duty of a Governor to exercise the power vested in him, in his capacity as an Imperial officer, without limitation or restraint. Nevertheless, in all such cases, a Constitutional Governor should afford to his Ministers full knowledge of the questions at issue, and an opportunity of tendering to him whatever advice in the premises they may desire to offer ; albeit the Governor is bound, by his Instructions, and by his obligations as an Imperial officer, to act upon his own judgment and responsibility ; whatever may be the tenor of the advice proffered to him by his Ministers. In all such cases, the responsibility of the local Ministers to the Local Parliament would naturally be limited. They would be responsible for the advice they gave, but could not strictly be held accountable for their advice not having prevailed. For, ‘if it be the right and duty of the Governor to act in any case contrary to the advice of his Ministers, they cannot be held responsible for his action, and should not feel themselves justified on account of it in retiring from the administration of public affairs.’ †

But, according to constitutional analogy, no such right should be claimed by the Governor, except in cases wherein, under the Royal Instructions, he is bound, as an Imperial officer, to act independently of his Ministers. If his discharge of

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\* Lord John Russell’s despatch to Governor Thomson, of 14th October, 1839.

† The Colonial Secretary (Lord Carnarvon), as quoted in the Report of the Dominion Minister of Justice (Mr. Blake) to Canadian Privy Council, of 22nd December, 1875.

this duty should be felt, at any time, as a grievance, either by his own advisers or by the Local Parliament, it would be a reasonable ground for remonstrance or negotiation with the Imperial Government ; but it could not, meanwhile, absolve the Governor from his obligations to the Queen, under the Royal Instructions. It is, nevertheless, supposable, in an extreme case, that the Local Parliament might assume the right of punishing a Ministry for advice given ; or of censuring them for not having resigned, if their advice had not been followed.

In this connection it will be suitable to make mention of a Report from the Minister of Justice for Canada (Mr. Blake) of Sept. 5, 1876, of his mission to England, to confer with Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies on certain public matters. In conference with the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Blake suggested certain alterations in the present terms of the Royal Instructions and Commission to the Governor General of Canada, with a view to the application to the Dominion of Canada of the fullest possible measure of self-government. While asserting for the Dominion, that her vast extent of territory, her acknowledged position under the British North America Act, and her growing importance, entitled her to a larger application of the principles of constitutional freedom than any other dependencies of the Empire, Mr. Blake expressly disclaimed any desire to weaken the rightful position of the Governor General, as the Representative of the Crown. He admits, in this able state paper, the Governor's 'undoubted right to refuse compliance with the advice of his Ministers, whereupon the latter must either adopt and become responsible for his views, or leave their places to be filled by others, prepared to take that course.' He also regards as 'unobjectionable' the authority vested in the Governor General, by the Royal Instructions, which confer upon him 'the full constitutional powers which Her Majesty, if she were ruling personally instead of through his agency, could exercise.' But he pleads for certain necessary changes in the formula of the Official Instructions to the Governor of Canada, so as to bring them into more complete accord with existing constitutional practice ; and with the constitutional powers and relations of the Crown, the Governor General, and his Council. It is gratifying to learn that, in reply to this communication, Her Majesty's Colonial Secretary has made answer, that he 'hopes to be in a position, at no distant date, to inform Lord Dufferin that he will advise an amendment of the Commission and Instructions in general accordance with Mr. Blake's representations.'\*

11. That while it is objectionable in principle, and of rare occurrence in practice, that appeals should be made to the Imperial Parliament, in cases of difference between a Governor and the Executive or Legislative authorities of the colony over which he presides, or has presided,—so as to lead to the fighting over again, in the British Parliament, of colonial political contests,—yet, the reserved right of the Imperial Parliament to discuss all questions affecting the welfare of Her Majesty's subjects in all parts of the Empire, and to advise the Crown thereupon, is unquestionable ; and a Governor, or ex-Governor of a British province, must always be mindful of his responsibility, not only to the Crown in Council, but

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\* See Canada Sessional Papers, 1877, No. 13.



also to both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, for the exercise of his political functions.\*

12. That, in the absence of definite instructions, the Governor of every British colony should be guided, in all questions which may arise, or matters that may come before him, in his official capacity, by the constitutional usage of the Mother Country ; and it is his duty to ascertain the same, and conform himself thereto, so far as circumstances will allow." †

It may be mentioned that when the Quebec Parliament assembled in June, the new Government secured a majority of one, by the casting vote of the Speaker, a gentleman who had been elected as an avowed opponent of the new Ministry, and had before acted with the DeBoucherville Government. The farce of such a Government is a fitting commentary on the unconstitutional course pursued by Monsieur Letellier de St. Just.

On the 4th May, Mr. Mackenzie made his annual statement of the progress of the Pacific Railway. He said the Government had

"Arrived at the period when it becomes necessary to take some definite and decided steps towards making an attempt at the continuation of that road because of the entire completion of the surveys upon the several routes that are most likely to be adopted by the Government from one end of the line to the other." ‡

Heretofore, in answer to the demands of British Columbia, the excuse for delay in proceeding with the work of actual construction, had been that the surveys were incomplete. Mr. Mackenzie now admitted they were all finished. He then proceeded to describe the several routes from Lake Superior to the Pacific, and the question of the ocean terminus. He did not bind the Government to any particular route or western terminus, though he plainly indicated that, so far as then advised, the route and terminus suggested by Mr. Fleming, the chief engineer of the road, would probably be those selected. He mentioned that Mr. Marcus Smith, acting engineer-in-chief proposed a different route, and another terminus ; and he discussed the relative merits of each. As these reports comprise the essence of the whole dispute on these points they are now re-produced in full. They are

\* See Earl Grey in Hansard's Debates, vol. 103, p. 1280. Case of British Guiana. *Ibid.*, vol. 107, p. 930. Parliamentary Debates on the case of Governor Eyre, of Jamaica, in 1866 and 1867 : of Governor Darling, of Victoria, in 1868 : of Governor Hennessy, of Barbadoes, in 1876.

† Report of the Attorney General of Ontario (Mr. Mowat) dated 16th December, 1873, concerning the allowance of certain Bills by the Dominion Government : Ontario Papers, First Session, 1874.

‡ Hansard for 1878, page 2413.

well worthy careful study as they are the productions and the carefully-considered conclusions of the two most eminent engineers of the Dominion, and of gentlemen than whom there are no persons more competent to express an opinion on this highly important question. Mr. Fleming's report is in these words :

“ CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY,  
OFFICE OF THE ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF,  
OTTAWA, *April 26, 1878.*

The Honorable A. MACKENZIE,

Minister of Public Works, &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—I have the honor to report on the operations which have been carried on to determinè the location of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and to establish the locality on the Pacific Coast best adapted for its terminal point.

In my last General Report, February 8th, 1877, I endeavored to furnish a concise record of these operations from the commencement of the survey in 1871 ; I further submitted what other important information had been acquired from various sources. In the following pages I shall have occasionally to refer to that General Report.

During the past season the investigations have been confined to the following surveys and explorations :—

1. A trial location of the line (No. 2), extending from Yellowhead Pass, *via* the Rivers Thompson and Fraser, to Burrard Inlet.
2. An exploration from Port Simpson, on the Pacific Coast, by the valley of the River Skeena, to the Central Plateau, and thence to Fort George.
3. An exploration from Fort George, through the Rocky Mountain Chain, by Pine River Pass.
4. A nautical examination, by the Admiralty, of the mouth of the River Skeena.
5. Surveys, between Selkirk and the south branch of the Saskatchewan, for an alternative line.
6. Surveys between Lake Nipissing and Lake Superior.
7. Explorations to Lac la Biche and other points lying to the north of the main Saskatchewan.

A Report, dated 4th January, 1878, on these operations and on the progress of the works under construction, was made by my Chief Assistant, Mr. Marcus Smith. A Report dated 19th December, 1877, was also made by Mr. H. J. Cambie, Engineer in charge of Surveys in British Columbia, on the results established by the location survey of the line from Yellowhead Pass to Burrard Inlet. These reports appear in the Appendix to the Annual Report of the Minister of Public Works, laid before the House of Commons on the opening of Parliament.

Supplementary Reports have been likewise made by Mr. Smith and by Mr. Cambie. The former submitting the advantages which appear to him to be presented by a line which, diverging from the located line at Northcote, near Lake Winnipegosis, is projected to run through the Pine River Pass to Bute Inlet. The latter furnishing additional information with regard to the line by the Rivers



Thompson and Fraser to Burrard Inlet ; and showing the comparative advantages claimed in regard to that route.

Both Reports, together with a Report on the exploration made of the Pine River Pass, are appended.\*

Some correspondence has taken place on the subject of the Terminal Harbor, in connection with the examination made last summer, under instructions of the Admiralty, by Imperial Naval Officers, of the mouth of the River Skeena. This correspondence is appended.†

In reporting on this important subject, the general question presents itself to my mind under two aspects ; first, in respect to the influence the railway will exercise on colonization ; second, as a through line of steam communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

1. The early settlement of the Eastern Provinces of Canada followed the coast of the seaboard, and the margin of the land traversed by the great rivers and lakes. The natural water ways accordingly were important auxiliaries in directing successive waves of emigration to points of settlement, and, doubtless, the water communications of the interior of the Dominion west of Lake Superior will prove valuable accessories in this respect. They may be largely utilized during the early stages of colonization, and when settlements have been effected and the various districts become inhabited, the more important will still be valuable as the means of transporting heavy products.

The climatal conditions, however, impose a limit to their use. During four or five months of the year, the rivers and lakes are frozen, and navigation is closed ; and thus the absolute necessity of a system of railways is imposed, to attain an extended and permanently prosperous settlement. More especially is this the case where the water lines are broken or disconnected, and the localities are far removed from open navigation.

In examining into the question of colonizing the vast undeveloped interior of Canada, we are called upon to consider what main lines of communication, in after years, may be regarded as essential. It is desirable to take a comprehensive view of the subject, as we may be regarded as preparing the way for the occupancy of territory capable of sustaining millions, and to no limited extent, as dealing with the destinies of half a continent.

I have elsewhere given my views as to the principles which should govern the establishment of railways in such circumstances.‡ In the case of the territory under consideration, from information we have gathered, we are justified in assuming that, ultimately, not one railway, but many railways, will hereafter be needed. At one time it was thought that the habitable land was confined to a comparatively narrow fertile belt along the immediate valley of the Saskatchewan ; now, it is considered that the belt is of immense breadth, and that the habitable territory is of vast extent. It is therefore to be anticipated that one railway will

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\* Appendices A, B, and D. (The appendices B and D are not here reproduced.)

† Appendix C.

‡ Appendix E.

eventually prove insufficient for the traffic of the country, and that two trunk lines, with numerous branches, may hereafter be required.

We have but to place before us a map of the United States and Canada, to note the lines which run from the seaboard westward, in some sections ramifying in many directions: lines on which the traffic is regular and constant, and which, thirty years ago, not the most sanguine of projectors would have ventured to have foretold as indispensable.

In the paper referred to, I have set forth the importance of strictly observing certain principles, in the establishment of railways in a new country, in order to avoid hasty and ill-considered construction; to prevent mis-application and waste of capital by assuring that no unnecessary line be undertaken, that no lines be completed before they are wanted, and that the highways of the country of every class be designed so as to perform their functions in the most satisfactory manner.

2. The establishment of railways, on the principles which I have described, would not speedily result in steam communication from the valley of the St. Lawrence to British Columbia. But a through line being exacted for other than colonization reasons, it becomes necessary to consider how that connection can be easiest attained.

The map which I submit with this report shows lines of railway which, possibly, may in time be required for general service, all of which should be kept prominently in view. The engagements of the Government are to secure without delay one through line, and if it be probable that these lines will all ultimately be required, it is evident that the one which is the most attainable is the one which, under the present circumstances, should be selected.

In my Report of February 8th, 1877, I described all the routes projected at that date. I submitted approximate estimates of cost as well as naval testimony with respect to the harbors on the coast, and I attempted to narrow down the enquiry by rejecting all projected lines and proposed termini, except the most satisfactory and important.

I pointed out that there is no harbor on the mainland entirely unobjectionable; that on the outer coast of Vancouver Island there is more than one harbor well suited for the purpose of a terminus; that it was exceedingly desirable to carry the railway to at least one of these harbors; but that they all could be approached from the interior only at an enormous cost.

By this process of elimination I reduced the number of available routes to three, viz. :—

Route No. 2, terminating at Burrard Inlet.

Route No. 6, touching tide water of the Pacific first at Bute Inlet.

Route No. 11, terminating near the mouth of the River Skeena.

The examinations made during the past season have not materially changed the circumstances under which these separate lines were considered; and the trial location survey to Burrard Inlet, substantially confirms the general accuracy of the estimates of cost.

The exploration to Pine River Pass is of value in confirming the impression referred to in my Report of last year, that a low lying available passage exists across the mountains in that latitude; but there is nothing to show that so good a



route can be obtained in that locality as by the Peace River Pass. —As already stated, it has been suggested to carry the line from the east through Pine River Pass to Bute Inlet. Mr. Smith has given prominence to this line in his Report 29th of March last as a means of reaching the coast. I do not attach the same importance to the Pine River Pass. It is certainly lower than the Yellow Head Pass; but its position is not favorable for reaching a southern terminus. Moreover, although favorably situated for a line to a northern terminus, its importance is not enhanced by the fact that a still lower pass—Peace River—exists, only a few miles further north. I have accordingly projected a northern line of Railway through Peace River Pass, which I consider preferable.

The correspondence respecting the examinations at the mouth of the Skeena River by the Admiralty proves the non-existence of a suitable harbor immediately at that point; but our own explorations show that an excellent harbor exists at Port Simpson, in the neighborhood of the Skeena, and that there are no great obstacles to be met in carrying the railway to it. (Annual Report Public Works, 1877, page 185.)

I find also that Commander Pender has a favorable opinion of Port Simpson. At page 295 of my last General Report (February, 1877,) he states: 'Port Simpson, at the north part of Tsimpsean Peninsula, is the finest harbor north of Beaver Harbor, in Vancouver Island.'

It will be seen from the correspondence with the Admiralty that a northern terminus is objected to on account of climatic causes, incidental to a high latitude. But no data have been furnished to show that the climate is materially different from that on the coast of Great Britain, in similar latitudes, such as the North Channel and the approaches to the River Clyde. And it cannot be overlooked that, although the climate on the west coast of Scotland may be considered far from good, Glasgow, one of the most enterprising and important cities in the world, has come into existence in the latitude referred to.

Commander-in-Chief, Admiral DeHorsely, on the Pacific Station, objects to Burrard Inlet (despatch to the Admiralty, 26th October, 1877,) and advocates carrying the Railway to a harbor on Vancouver Island, in the manner set forth in my Report of February 8th, 1877, page 72. The Admiral, equally with most of the other naval authorities, objects to Waddington Harbor as a terminus.

The deductions to be drawn from the naval testimony at our command, and from our own examinations, may be thus summarized:—

1. That there can be no question as to the superiority of certain harbors on the outer coast of Vancouver Island.
2. That Waddington Harbor is not favorably situated for a terminus, and may be viewed as a preliminary and temporary station only, the true terminus of a line by Bute Inlet being Esquimalt, or some other harbor on the outer coast of Vancouver Island.
3. That a terminus at Port Simpson would have the advantage of possibly the best harbor on the mainland; and that of all the terminal points projected on the mainland, and on Vancouver Island, Port Simpson is most conveniently situated for Asiatic trade. But Port Simpson is open to climatic objections, which are not experienced to the same extent at points farther south.

4. That of all the other points on the mainland, Burrard Inlet is the least difficult of approach from the ocean, and is generally preferred by the naval authorities.

5. That Burrard Inlet, equally with Waddington Harbor, is open to the geographical objections mentioned in my last General Report (page 71).

With these deductions, the comparison is confined to the three lines terminating respectively at Port Simpson, Esquimalt and Burrard Inlet.

The route terminating at Port Simpson has not been surveyed. On reference to the map, it will be seen that it is projected to follow the River Skeena, and thence easterly to Peace River; thence by Lesser Slave Lake, and Lac la Biche, keeping about 140 miles to the north of the line located by the Valley of the Saskatchewan. Being unsurveyed, and but little being definitely known concerning it, it is not possible to compare it with the other two lines, which have been located throughout the greater part of their length. If, therefore, this northern line is to be seriously considered, it is indispensable that a thorough survey be made of it. With our present knowledge, it will be unwise to adopt it as the route for the railway, and to determine on proceeding with construction, without obtaining full and complete information regarding it. My own opinion is in favor of gaining information, and, if the Government entertain this view, I beg leave to suggest that during the present year a continuous exploration be made from Port Simpson easterly to a point of junction with the located line in the neighborhood of Lake Winnipegosis.

If, however, the Government deem it essential to arrive at an immediate decision, the northern route, being insufficiently known, cannot be entertained, and thus two lines only remain for consideration, one terminating at Esquimalt, the other at Burrard Inlet.

The respective engineering merits of the two lines are sufficiently described in my last General Report and in the Reports of Messrs. Smith and Cambie, appended.

It only remains for me to submit some additional general remarks.

Manitoba is as nearly as possible about midway across the continent. From the crossing of Lake Manitoba to Burrard Inlet, the distance is more than 1100 miles; and to Esquimalt more than 1400 miles. In the whole of the territory throughout these distances, there are few civilized inhabitants, probably not more than 12,000. I do not speak of the Indian population; they can hardly be considered as influencing, to any considerable extent, the project of the railway.

Thus it is evident, whatever may be needed hereafter for connecting prosperous and populous communities, there is not at this moment any pressing necessity for the railway, for ordinary purposes. For special reasons, however, the construction of the railway to the Pacific Coast is demanded, and, in the absence of traffic to sustain it, it becomes more than ordinarily important to adopt that route which will involve the sinking of least unproductive capital, and by which the loss will be least heavy in working it.

I have expressed my conviction that ultimately the country will require a comprehensive railway system, and that, besides branches in many directions, probably two leading trunk lines will eventually be demanded. These requirements, however, only lie in the future, and possibly may be somewhat remote. But it is of vital importance to burden the future as little as possible with accumulated losses resulting from operating the line. Therefore the selection of a line the least ex-



pensive to construct and to maintain is an essential point to be kept in prominence. It is even still more important to adopt the route which will not create the largest debt, through rapidly accumulating losses, resulting from the expense of working, being in excess of receipts.

I have submitted that, if the line by Peace River to Port Simpson be thrown out for the present, there remain to be considered the two lines terminating at Burrard Inlet and Esquimalt.

Burrard Inlet is not so eligible a terminal point as Esquimalt. It cannot be approached from the ocean, except by a navigation more or less intricate. Nor can it be reached by large sea-going ships without passing at no great distance from a group of islands in the possession of a foreign power, which may at any time assume a hostile attitude and interfere with the passage of vessels.

To the first objection it may be said that there are other harbors in the world, with an enormous extent of commerce, with entrances where shipping is not entirely free from delays and risks. New York, Liverpool, and Glasgow may be instanced. The second objection would appear to a non-combatant like myself a forcible one; but those who are held responsible for maintaining communication by land and sea in times of war appear to make light of it. It is impossible, however, to deny that, other things being equal, Esquimalt as a harbor and terminal point is superior to Burrard Inlet.

Let us assume, for the sake of the argument, that a railway is completed and in operation to both points, and a person at Esquimalt desires to travel to Ottawa. He has the option of crossing by steamer, 90 miles, to Burrard Inlet and then using the railway; or of taking the train at Esquimalt and proceeding on his journey from that point. In the latter case he would, taking the most favorable view, have to travel some 150 miles farther, or if the line were carried through by Pine River Pass, fully 200 miles more, than by way of Burrard Inlet.

It is evident that even were the wide channels at the Valdes Islands bridged, the railway carried to Esquimalt would present no advantage in time or cost to an ordinary traveller. If passengers from Esquimalt could secure no benefit from the extension of the railway to that place, it is certain that there would be a loss sustained by carrying freight by the longer route.

The cost of extending the railway to Esquimalt would greatly exceed that of taking it to Burrard Inlet; there is no sufficient data to form a proper estimate of the cost. But even by leaving a gap near Valdes Islands of 15 miles, and substituting a ferry for the enormously costly bridging at that locality, the excess would probably reach \$15,000,000 or \$20,000,000. The cost of maintenance would be great in proportion, and the annual losses on working the extra mileage would, under the peculiar circumstances, be serious.

It is difficult to recognize any advantage in carrying the line to Esquimalt, at this period in the history of Canada, to compensate for these grave objections. I have assumed Esquimalt as the Vancouver Island Terminus. If the other harbors, Alberni or Quatsino, were substituted, the argument remains unchanged, the conclusions differing only in degree. If we abandon the idea of extending the railway to Vancouver Island, and fall back on Waddington Harbor, we should have for a Terminus a point not favored by the principal naval authorities, and partaking of

the geographical objections to Burrard Inlet, while it would not possess some of the advantages of the latter place.

After weighing every consideration, embracing the engineering features of each route, I am forced to the conclusion that, if a decision cannot be postponed until further examinations be made—if the construction of the railway must be at once proceeded with, the line to Vancouver Island should, for the present, be rejected, and that the Government should select the route by the Rivers Thompson and Fraser to Burrard Inlet.

I have great faith in the future of a country favored with a bountiful supply of the natural elements of prosperity. The capabilities of the territory of the Dominion on the Pacific Coast are great. Vancouver Island alone is capable of supporting, by the industries which may be established, a large population; but this result may not be attained for many years. When the Island becomes fully inhabited, an independent railway system by that time may be created within its limits. It may then, with comparative financial ease, be connected with the main land, by way of Bute Inlet, as necessity may dictate.

If the mining industries of Cariboo become permanently profitable, a branch to that district could be constructed from some point between Lytton and Tête Jaune Cache. This branch would shorten the link to be filled up between the separate railway systems to be created on Vancouver Island and on the mainland, and render the connection less difficult of attainment hereafter.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

SANDFORD FLEMING,  
*Engineer in Chief.*"

Mr. Smith comes to very different conclusions, as will be seen by the following report :—

REPORT BY MR. MARCUS SMITH, ACTING ENGINEER IN CHIEF, ON THE SURVEYS AND EXPLORATIONS WITH REFERENCE TO THE LOCATION OF THE WESTERN SECTION OF THE LINE.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY,  
OFFICE OF THE ENGINEER IN CHIEF,  
OTTAWA, 29th March, 1878.

SIR,—I have the honor to submit a report on the results of the surveys and explorations made in the Central and Western regions since the date of Mr. Fleming's last report, January, 1877.

In that report, comparative estimates are given of the cost of construction of several lines, branching out of a common route, from Yellowhead Pass, in the Rocky Mountains, westward, and terminating at different points on the Pacific coast.

Of these several lines, only three are now under consideration; and, in the report above referred to, they are estimated as follows, *vide* pages 62 and 63 :—

*Route No. 2.*—Following the North Thompson, *via* Kamloops, to Lytton, and



by the Lower Fraser to Port Moody, Burrard Inlet, 493 miles. Estimated cost of construction, \$35,000,000.

*Route No. 6.*—Following the Upper Fraser to Fort George, and by the Rivers Chilacoh, Nazco, and East Homathco to Waddington Harbor, Bute Inlet, 546 miles. Estimated cost, \$33,000,000.

*Route No. 8.*—*Via* the Upper Fraser, Fort George, Rivers Chilacoh, Blackwater and Salmon to Kamsquot Bay, Dean Inlet, 488 miles. Estimated cost, \$29,000,000.

These estimates, as stated in the Report, 'include everything deemed necessary to complete the grading of the railway, with solid embankments, iron bridges, and generally with durable structures, equal in point of character to those on the Intercolonial line.

Also the cost of ballasting, permanent way, rolling stock, stations, shops, snow sheds and fences, indeed all the supplemental expenses indispensable to the construction and completion of a line similarly equipped and equal in efficiency and permanency to the Intercolonial Railway, and basing the calculations of cost on precisely the same data, the same value of material and the same average value of skilled and unskilled labor, as obtained on that work.'

There is great probability that these estimates will prove to be too low for the class of work referred to, as the price of labor of all kinds rates much higher on the Pacific slope than on the route of the Intercolonial Railway. The cost, however, can be kept down by using stone and iron only for the larger structures, and culverts under high embankments. There is plenty of timber to be had alongside the line for constructing and renewing the lighter structures when necessary. But, as the increase of cost, if any, would be proportionate on each route, these estimates were believed to present as fair a comparison of the several routes as could be arrived at with the data then obtained.

These data, however, being imperfect, owing to the loss of plans and profiles of a portion of the route No. 2, in the fire of 1874, which destroyed the Engineers' Offices at Ottawa it was deemed advisable to have a re-survey made, and during the past season seven parties have been engaged in that work.

A very close location survey has been made, and every effort has been employed in the endeavor to reduce the cost of construction to a minimum. By the introduction of a large number of exceptionally sharp curves a considerable quantity of tunnelling and rock excavation has been avoided; further, the line has been carried at points so close to the rivers as to require protection works against floods, while the inclination of the slopes, instead of being  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, as on the other routes, has been frequently increased to 2 to 1, in order to reduce the amount of excavation.

From the quantities thus obtained, an estimate of the cost of construction has been made out at the same rates for labor and materials as on the other routes. According to this estimate the comparative cost of the three lines would stand as follows:

*Route No. 2.*—From Yellowhead Pass *via* the Rivers Thompson and Fraser to Port Moody, Burrard Inlet, 493½ miles; estimated cost, \$36,500,000. If carried to English Bay, 508 miles, \$37,100,000.

*Route No. 6.*—From Yellowhead Pass by the Upper Fraser and the Rivers

Chilacoh, Nazco and East Homathco, to Waddington Harbor, Bute Inlet, 546 miles, \$34,000,000.

*Route No. 8.*—From Yellowhead Pass by the Upper Fraser, and Rivers Chilacoh, Blackwater, and Salmon, to Kamsquot Bay, Dean Inlet, 488 miles, \$30,000,000.

In Mr. Fleming's estimates, an allowance was made for possible reductions in locating for construction. On information since obtained, however, a revision has been made, and the present estimates are believed to represent very fairly the comparative cost of construction on the several routes.

But, besides the cost of construction, other points bearing on the selection of the route have to be considered. The chief of these are :—

1st. The extent and quality of the lands fit for cultivation traversed or brought within easy communication with the seaboard.

2nd. Access to the mineral districts, where mining is now in successful operation.

3rd. The character and geographical position of the harbor at the terminus, and its fitness for commerce, both foreign and domestic.

These matters were discussed in a previous Report, but the enquiry was then limited to the country lying between the Yellowhead Pass and certain points on the Pacific Coast ; during the past season, however, additional information has been gained, and a new route has been explored by another pass through the Rocky Mountains which diverges from the existing line at a point a little to the west of Lake Winnipegosis. Accompanying the present Report is a map showing the several lines referred to, and colored to show the general character of the soil in different regions, as explained in the margin. The mileage, in former Reports, is carried on from Fort William (Lake Superior) to Yellowhead Pass, and, for convenience of reference, the same arrangement is adopted here.

*Southern Route (No. 2 of former Reports) via Yellowhead Pass to Port Moody, Burrard Inlet.*—The line located for construction crosses the Red River at Selkirk, 410 miles from the starting point at Fort William, thence it takes a north-west course and continues in an almost direct line to Northcote—629th mile—at the north end of Duck Mountain. This is the point at which the line by the Pine River Pass would diverge. Thence the located line takes a westerly course up the valley of Swan River, to Livingstone, a few miles north of Fort Pelly.

Up to Doyle Station at the 673rd mile, the line has passed through what has been termed the fertile or wheat growing belt, shewn by buff color on the map, stretching away to the north-west, beyond the Peace River. It now crosses a tract of soil lighter and poorer, but yet, in parts, suitable for settlement up to the 815th mile.

Between Humboldt and Battleford—815th to 961st mile—the line touches the northern limit of the Great Plains (colored mauve), which stretch away southward to the International Boundary, and are principally prairie. The soil in parts is alkaline and saline, in others fit for the plough and for pasture, but owing to the want of wood and good water, settlement would be practicable only at intervals. Indeed, throughout the whole of this region, the surface water is bad and scarce, except in the early spring.



Between these plains and the fertile lands to the north of the Saskatchewan, there is a region of prairie (colored green on the map), interspersed with poplar cōpse, on a loamy and sandy soil, producing good crops of grass and wild pea-vine; the surface water being generally abundant. A fair proportion of this is suitable for agriculture and settlement.

The line enters this district a little to the west of Battleford, and reaches its western boundary about the 1130th mile. In this distance of 165 miles there is probably about an equal division of poor and sandy soil and of land fit for settlement. From the 1130th mile to the crossing of the River Pembina at the 1267th mile the soil is a heavy, rich loam, suitable for wheat growing, with very luxuriant vegetation, nearly identical with that of Ontario, abounding with streams and fresh water lakes, and clothed with a continuous forest of poplar and spruce. In places, the country is swampy, but it can be drained without difficulty.

At the River Pembina, rock is first seen on the surface—it is a sandstone, with coal seams underlying. Between this point and the Yellowhead Pass—1267th to 1453rd mile—the altitude is generally over 3,000 feet above sea level; the soil is cold and wet, with numerous muskegs; it is densely covered with poplar, occasional belts of spruce being interspersed with strips of Banksian pine on the gravelly ridges. This tract is unfit for settlement.

The summit of the Yellowhead Pass—altitude 3,720 feet—is the eastern boundary of British Columbia; and as this Province has formed a separate division of the surveys, a new mileage is commenced from that point to the Pacific coast.

From Yellowhead Pass to a point within a few miles of the confluence of the two branches of the Thomson at Kamloops—about 235 miles—the country is unfit for settlement. The Upper Fraser, Albreda, and Thompson Rivers flow through narrow, deep, and rock-bound valleys, with scarcely an acre of land fit for cultivation; though in some parts they are well wooded with spruce and cedar of large size. The Cariboo gold mines lie at no very great distance to the north-west of this part of the route; but a high and impassable mountain range intervenes.

At Kamloops, the line is fairly on the elevated, undulating, plateau between the Rocky and Cascade Mountains;—a belt, varying from 80 to 160 miles in breadth, and stretching from the International boundary line, on the south across the Province in a north-westerly direction to the watershed of the continent, between the 54th and 55th parallel of north latitude.

This belt is generally on a volcanic formation, and varies from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the level of the sea; it has been deeply furrowed by water courses; and the altitudes of the main valleys range from 1,000 to 2,000 feet above the sea. On the south-east portion there is little rainfall, but the soil, though dry, is rich, and produces luxuriant crops of bunch-grass, which is very nutritious, and ripens, as it stands, into natural hay. The snow in this region rarely reaches over two feet in depth, and cattle thrive on the bunch-grass during the winter, very seldom requiring any other feed.

The bunch-grass extends up to about the 53rd parallel of latitude, beyond which the rainfall increases, and blue-joint and other kindred grasses take the place of the bunch-grass.

In the bottom lands of the valleys and on the benches adjoining, the soil is very

rich, producing excellent wheat and other cereals, as well as vegetables. These lands, however, are scattered throughout the plateau in isolated patches, and bear a very small proportion to the whole area. They generally require irrigation, which can only be obtained to a limited extent.

The Central, or Bute Inlet route, branches out of the one under consideration near Tête Jaune Cache; and a line drawn from this point, so as to make an equal division of territory between them, would cross the Cariboo road near the east end of Lac La Hache and the River Fraser, near the mouth of Canoe Creek.

This would give a breadth of fully sixty miles on the north side of the Southern line, and about one hundred miles on the south of it, embracing an area of about 15,000 square miles.

Notwithstanding the advantages of its position, as being on the route to the gold mines, both from the coast and from the United States, the population of this district is but small, although most of the lands available have been taken up.

By the construction of a railway to the coast a considerable impetus would, no doubt, be given to the cultivation of cereals, which at present find a limited market at the centres of the mining industries. This is, however, pre-eminently a grazing country, so that it seems probable that horses, cattle and sheep would practically continue to be, as now, the chief or only exports of the district. These, in a free grass country, transport themselves at a cheaper rate than is possible by railway.

The district is already fairly supplied with roads and good cattle trails, and in Appendix F, page 117 of the Engineer in Chief's Report of 1877 it is shown how the water communication can, at small cost, be rendered available, from Lake Kamloops to Okanagan.

From Savonas Ferry, at the foot of Lake Kamloops, to Yale, the distance by the line surveyed for the railway is one hundred and twenty-three miles.

It is a few miles more by the waggon road, and it is evident that if this road were improved and developed, when required, into some inexpensive kind of railway, it would serve this district nearly as well as a line brought across the Rocky Mountains at great cost.

Spence's Bridge, on the River Thompson, is, by the located line, three hundred and twenty-seven miles from the summit of Yellowhead Pass; thence down the Rivers Thompson and Fraser, nearly to Fort Hope, a distance little short of one hundred miles, the valley is a mere gorge in the mountains, with no land, save a few garden patches, fit for cultivation, and only scant pasturage on the hill sides; the few houses on the road are only way-stations on the road to Cariboo.

Below Hope the valley begins to open up, and it becomes several miles wide, in places, before New Westminster is reached. The bottom flats are generally low and partly prairie land; the river meandering through them is occasionally divided into channels or sloughs, forming numerous islands; these are thickly clothed with cotton-wood, vine, maple, willow and other woods. There is good land on the higher benches, though but little wheat is grown in the district. The reasons for this, as given by the farmers, are:—The uncertainty of the weather during the harvest season, the alternate rains and hot sunshine causing the grain to



grow in the ear before it can be housed; and, further, that they find it more profitable to raise stock, coarse grains, hay, and fruit, and import their flour than to spend money in producing wheat, which, at best, would prove to be but an inferior article. The cattle are reared for the markets of New Westminster and Victoria; the hay and oats are sent to the logging camps, and the fruit to the upper country.

The total area of land in the valley is estimated at a little over 500,000 acres.\* Of this but a very small part is under cultivation, and it will require much labor and expense before any extensive increase can be obtained. The great bulk of the land that could be most easily brought under cultivation lies on the estuary of the river, below the point where the line leaves the valley for Burrard Inlet; and most of the balance is on the opposite side of the river to that on which the line is located. Much of this land is subject to overflow from the floods of the river and from high tides in the Strait.

Taken altogether, this is a very fine district, and in course of time will have a considerable population; but it is obvious that the reclamation of the low lying lands is not to be brought about by a railway, but by means of dykes, embankments, pumping machinery and such other works and appliances as have been successfully used on lands in a similar condition.

Steamboats already ply between New Westminster and Yale (90 miles) twice a week each way, and would do so daily if there were sufficient traffic. These steamers stop at any point on the river where desired for the collection of passengers or freight, however limited in number or quantity; a degree of accommodation greater than could be afforded by any railway. The amount of traffic which the valley would supply to a railway would be but limited, as its main products go seawards, and four-fifths of the traffic, both of passengers and freight, which passes up into the interior is in connection with the Cariboo Gold Mines, for the necessities of whose development there must, and will ultimately, be found a shorter and better route from some point on the coast farther north. On the whole, it does not appear that the prospects of a railway on this route are encouraging.

The distance from Fort William (Lake Superior) to Port Moody, at the head of the south arm of Burrard Inlet, is 1946 miles, and if carried to English Bay, 1961 miles.

Up to Northcote, 629 miles, the line is common to all the proposed routes westward. Between this and the Pembina River—1267 miles—the soil is variable, and, as above described, only in part fit for settlement.

From the Pembina River across the Rocky Mountains, to a point near Kamloops—420 miles—the land is unfit for settlement. There is another length of 100 miles in the canyons of the Thompson and Fraser in a similar condition. So that from the River Pembina, on the east side of the Rocky Mountains, to the proposed terminus at Port Moody, a distance of 679 miles, there are 520 miles on which there is no land fit for settlement, and on the balance most of the land of any value is taken up; in all this distance, therefore, there will scarcely be an acre within 60

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\* Calculated from the map issued by the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works.

to 100 miles of the line at the disposal of the Government for railway purposes. The works, moreover, will be generally heavy and costly.

*Central Line, vid Yellowhead Pass, to Waddington Harbor, Bute Inlet.*—This line diverges from that last described at a point thirty-eight miles west of the summit of Yellowhead Pass, and follows the Valley of the Fraser down to Grand Rapids, 181 miles from the Pass. Here the line leaves the Fraser and turns across the north end of the Cariboo Mountain Range, crossing Bear River at the 206th mile. This river rises near Barkerville, the chief town of the Gold Mining District, about eighty to eighty-five miles from the point of crossing: the valley affording facilities for the construction of a road. The line descends to the Fraser Valley on the west side of the Cariboo Range, by the Willow River, and crosses the Fraser at the 228th mile. The lower part of the Willow River Valley, for a length of fourteen miles, is about three-quarters of a mile wide, the soil being good both for agriculture and pasture; the elevation is 2000 feet above the level of the sea. This is the first land of any extent fit for cultivation met with after leaving Yellowhead Pass.

The line then crosses some rough ground on the right bank of the Fraser, and reaches the Valley of the Stewart River at the 246th mile, about nine miles west of Fort George. At this point it is fairly on the elevated plateau, between the Rocky and Cascade Mountains, already described on the other route; in this district the plateau is of low altitude, ranging from 2000 to 2500 feet above the level of the sea. The line crosses it in a south-westerly direction by a series of valleys, rising gradually in altitude to the foot hills of the Cascade Mountains, passing through the latter by the Valley of the Homathco, to the head of Bute Inlet; the length from Yellowhead Pass being 546 miles.

The portion of the grass region thus crossed is fully as extensive as that on the southern route, and is, in part, similar in character. Towards the north, however, the rain-fall is sufficient, without irrigation, and there is more woodland and soil fit for the plough.

Still, in proportion to the whole, the quantity of arable land is but small, though whatever there is, is available for railway purposes and settlement with the exception of the immediate neighborhood of the Cariboo Mines and the approaches to them, where a population, about equal to that which would be served by the other route, is already located. It should be explained that the waggon road and the accompanying settlements followed the course of gold discovery up the Valleys of the Rivers Fraser and Thompson to Cariboo; and as the supply of farm and other produce was obtainable in sufficient quantity from the settlements on the existing road, no farther extension has as yet been made of road or settlements northward of that district. The distance of the mines from the coast by the present road was long ago felt to be so serious an inconvenience that a waggon road from Bute Inlet to the mouth of Quesnelle was projected by the late Mr. Waddington, and 40 miles of a horse trail were actually constructed when a stop was put to the work through the massacre, by the Indians, of the men engaged in its construction. The proposed railway line follows this route generally, passing within 48 miles of Quesnelle.

On the whole, this route appears much more favorable than the other. As a



colonization line it would bring a large quantity of land into cultivation, and afford much better accommodation to the gold mining district of Cariboo, where the recent developments in quartz mining give promise of a future of extraordinary prosperity.

*The Northern Route, via Yellowhead Pass, to Kamsquot Bay, Dean Inlet.*—

This line is identical with the last, to a point in the Chilacoh Valley, 280 miles from Yellowhead Pass, where it diverges to a more westerly course, striking the Salmon River at the entrance to the Cascade Mountains, and following the same through the Mountains to Kamsquot Bay.

The length from Yellowhead Pass is 488 miles, being 58 miles shorter than the last line. This is undoubtedly the shortest practicable line across the Continent from Red River to the Pacific, and can be constructed at the least cost; it is also on the direct route to the coast of China. Both of these last two routes have, however, the same serious drawback as the southern line—the great length of sterile country in crossing the Rocky Mountains, and the considerable stretches of indifferent land which lie to the east of them. This objection was felt so strongly, that the permission of the Minister was obtained last summer to extend the projected exploration from the Skeena to Fort George, eastward, through the Pine River Pass, as far as might be possible during the season. An examination was also made of a portion of that route east of the mountains. The following are the results obtained.

*Route by the Pine River Pass to Bute and Dean Inlets.*—This route diverges from the located line near Northcote, at the north end of Duck Mountains, 629 miles from Fort William, Lake Superior, from which point, following up the Valley of the Swan River about 30 miles, it would take a course as direct as might be practicable, to a selected crossing of the River Saskatchewan, near Fort à la Corne, passing on the way the head waters of Red Deer River, and the Porcupine Hills.

The land in the Valley of Swan River is reported by the Surveyors to be very rich and of considerable extent; the soil on the Basquia Hills is also reported good; while the belt between these hills and the Saskatchewan, extending from the Prince Albert settlement, above the Grand Forks, down to the Old Fort, a distance of over 90 miles, is exceedingly rich land.

From the Saskatchewan, the line would be nearly direct to the foot of the Lesser Slave Lake, skirting the north side of the Moose Hills, on the water shed of the Beaver River, and passing the south end of Lac La Biche or Red Deer Lake. Low ranges of hills skirt the north bank of the Saskatchewan from a point a few miles above Fort Carleton nearly to Victoria; these are partially covered with groves of aspen and willow; the soil is generally light, and is well supplied with streams of clear water; the pasturage is good, especially in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt.

Between these hills and the river the soil is generally sandy, and there are numerous salt or alkaline lakes; but immediately north of the hills, the soil is stated by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, to be very good.

There are numerous fresh water lakes, abounding in white fish; but also numerous muskegs or swamps that will require draining.

The writer drove out 16 miles north-west of Carleton, and found the character of the country gradually improving, as he had been led to expect from the description of it given by Mr. Clarke, the Chief Factor at the Fort, who has spent many years in this district. An excursion was also made from Fort Pitt to Lac la Biche. The south slope of the Moose Hills, where the trail runs, is covered with a dense grove of aspen; but in crossing the west end of these hills, a magnificent prospect opened out. Stretching away to the east, north and west, as far as the eye could reach, there appeared a vast, undulating, grassy plain, rising in places into softly rounded hills, dotted and intersected with groves and belts of aspen mixed with spruce and tamarac and clumps of willows. This appears to have been formerly forest, which has probably been destroyed by fire, decayed trunks of large trees being found on the hill sides. In the hollows, however, there is sufficient timber left for railway and domestic purposes. The altitude, taken at several points, averages about 1700 feet above the sea level.

For three days, whenever we had occasion to leave the trail, we found great difficulty in forcing our way through thick masses of grass and pea-vine, three to four feet in height, and sometimes reaching nearly to the horses' backs. As we neared Lac la Biche, the country became more wooded, and we travelled in long glades between belts of poplar and willows, passing a number of small fresh water lakes.

There is a Roman Catholic Mission at Lac la Biche, where they produce excellent wheat, barley, oats and all kinds of vegetables; there are about forty families settled round the Lake, chiefly Half-breeds, engaged in the fur trade, and only cultivating enough of cereals and vegetables for their own use.

Between this point and the Lesser Slave Lake the line crosses the River Athabaska. This country has not been explored for the railway, but, from information gathered at the Hudson's Bay Post and the Mission, it appears to be rather rough and broken, with low hills and muskegs, but possessing intervals of good land.

The line would follow either the south or north shore of Lesser Slave Lake, as might be determined by the Surveys. After passing that Lake, it enters on a vast region of great fertility, extending far northward on both sides of the Peace River, and westward to Pine River, which falls into the Peace near Fort St. John.

By this route, what is termed the fertile belt, or wheat-producing country, extends nearly three hundred miles farther to the west before the Rocky Mountains are reached than by the route over the Yellowhead Pass; a corresponding reduction being made in the breadth of sterile country to be crossed in the Rocky Mountain district.

In crossing the Peace River country, the line is two degrees farther north than on the parallel district traversed by the line to the Yellowhead Pass; but the climate is much milder, horses wintering out on the natural pastures.

This may be due to several causes, the chief being the difference of altitude, which is here only about one-half that on the approach to the Rocky Mountains by the other line; probably, also, the warm currents of air from the Pacific ocean produce a favorable effect. Our surveys show that the Northern Passes in the Cascade and Rocky Mountains are less than 2,500 feet above the level of the sea.

The valley of Pine River, from the Lower Forks, for 50 miles up, is one to two miles wide; the soil is good, and suitable for agriculture and pasture.



This point is within 25 miles of Lake Azuzetta, near the summit, which is estimated at 2,440 feet above the sea level.

Here the valley is narrowed to half a mile, and is rather rough for about four miles on the east side. On the west side the line would follow the narrow, rocky valley of the Atunachi, about four miles, to where it joins the valley of the Misinchinca. The latter is a fine flat valley, one to two miles in breadth, thickly wooded and containing a considerable quantity of land fit for agriculture and pasture.

The line would follow down this to its confluence with the Parsnip, or south branch of Peace River, which at this point is about 800 feet wide, and 5 to 8 feet deep, with a current of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour. Crossing this and a tongue or high bench, in about eight miles the line would strike Lake Tutia, the lowest in a chain of Lakes, in the valley of the Chu-ca-ca or Crooked River, running nearly due north into the Parsnip. At Lake McLeod the line is within 50 miles of Germansen Creek, in the Ominica Gold District.

The line would follow up this valley, nearly south, for about 70 miles, to the head of Summit Lake, near the divide or watershed of the continent, which, at this point, is a swampy flat only 2,160 feet above the level of the sea; the distance being about three miles across to the Salmon River, which the line follows to a point near the Fraser, there joining the located line from the Yellowhead Pass.

The distance from the point where the two routes diverge at Northcote, by the Yellowhead Pass, to where they re-unite, is 1,081 miles.

By the Pine River route it measures a little more on the map, but there will, probably, be less curvature, and the apparent distance may possibly be reduced.

*Cost of Construction.*—It is difficult to form even an approximate estimate of the cost of construction without surveys, but the explorations across the Rocky Mountains show that a very great reduction can be made on the rock and earth excavations by the line through Pine River Pass as compared with the line by the Yellowhead Pass. On the summit there will be about eight miles of heavy work; and also on the east side, in crossing valleys of various mountain streams some heavy bridging will be required; but it is not expected that any rock cuttings or tunnelling will be necessary. On the west side of the pass, to the point of junction of the two lines, the works will be very light, and the cost probably not more than half that on the other line, mile for mile.

The bridging on both lines will be rather heavy in the central or prairie region, and on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, but the number of very large structures will be much greater on the southern than on the northern route.

We have sections of all the large rivers and valleys on the northern route, except Smoky River, which runs in a deep valley, near where it joins the Peace River, here 700 feet below the level of the surrounding country.

The valleys of the streams falling into the Peace River, however, decrease in depth towards the Rocky Mountains, and it has been ascertained that by following a valley on the east side, with an easy gradient, the Smoky River can be crossed at a low level, whilst a similar means of rising to the level of the plain on the west side will probably be found.

On the whole, the cost of the works of construction on this route may be safely

estimated, so far as our examination extends, as very considerably below that on the other route.

*Gradients.*—The gradients on all the three routes may be considered favorable for a mountainous country, the maximum being 1 per 100 or 52.80 feet per mile, with the exception of a portion of the Bute and Dean Inlet routes, in passing through the Cascade Mountains, where the gradients vary from 60 to 110 feet per mile. But as these stiff gradients are all concentrated within a space of 30 miles on each route, the extra tractive power required for heavy loads would not be very costly, and would be compensated for in the easier gradients after the high plateau is reached; the gradients, moreover, are falling in the direction of the heavy traffic.

It is unnecessary here to analyze the gradients on each line; but on the whole it is not considered that there would be any appreciable increase in the cost of working the traffic on these two latter routes on account of the gradients. In connection with this point, it may be here stated that the Central Pacific Railroad has a continuous stretch of about 90 miles, with gradients rising 66 feet to 105 feet per mile. The Baltimore and Ohio has gradients of 116 feet per mile, which are worked without difficulty.

*Harbors at the different Termini.*—The selection of a harbor for the terminus of the railway engaged much of the writer's attention during the four years he had special charge of the surveys on the Pacific Coast. Every harbor was examined with the assistance of the Admiralty charts; and from conversations on the subject with officers of the Navy and of the Hudson's Bay Company who have navigated these waters for years, much information was gained and communicated to the Engineer in Chief from time to time.

From the information thus obtained, it is the strong opinion of the writer that, by reason of the difficulty of access from the ocean, there is really no harbor on the coast of the mainland of British Columbia, with the exception of Port Simpson, eligibly situated for purposes of foreign commerce, and that in this respect, at any rate, they are all inferior to the American Port, known as Holmes' Harbor at the entrance to Puget Sound, to which it is probable that more than one American railway will be extended within a few years.

On the coast of Vancouver Island, however, there are several harbors better situated for commerce with Asia than any of the American harbors.

Of the mainland harbors, Port Simpson is easily approached from the ocean, and is the nearest to the coast of Asia of any harbor in British Columbia, whilst it is fully 500 miles nearer to Yokohama than Holmes' Harbor in Puget Sound. It has also been shown that the railway could be extended to it without much difficulty from a point in the surveyed line, west of the Rocky Mountains, to Bute Inlet; the line, however, would be 140 miles longer.—(*Vide* Report of the Minister of Public Works for 1877, Appendix, page 186.)

It should, however, be taken into consideration that the Japan current flows south-eastward, parallel with the coast; consequently, on the voyage from China, eastward, the current would be favorable, but on the outward voyage it would be the reverse. The steamers from San Francisco take the southern route out, following the bend of the current, though the distance is thereby greatly lengthened, but they return by the northern route.



Port Simpson is also too remote from the present industrial centres of the Province, and can only be looked upon as a station to which the railway may ultimately be extended if ever the competition for the trade with China and Japan should demand it.

Kamsquot Bay, Dean Inlet, is the next harbor for consideration. It has been shewn that the line to this point is the shortest that has been found across the continent, and its construction is estimated to cost \$4,000,000 less than any other that we have surveyed; it also lies very nearly on the direct route to the coast of Japan and China. It is situated about 7 miles from the head of Dean Inlet, on the south-east side, being a bay formed by a projecting point of the shore on one side, and a spit of land, well wooded, formed by the detritus brought down by the Kamsquot or Salmon River, on the other.

It is well sheltered from every wind, and has nearly two miles of frontage convenient for the construction of wharves and slips.

At a short distance from the beach, however, the bottom slopes rapidly down into deep water, leaving but a narrow belt for anchorage. Artificial moorings would, therefore, have to be provided to meet the requirements of a large fleet.

The inlet and channels leading to Millbank Sound, by which vessels would approach from the ocean, are from one to two miles wide, very deep and free from sunken rocks, affording good navigation for steamers. The distance to Millbank Sound is about 100 miles, over which sailing vessels would have to be towed. It is, however, a serious objection that there are no large bays or harbors near where sailing vessels could anchor if necessary. Several of the naval officers object to all these long inlets, on account of fogs. Our own experience has been that rain and mist drifting along the mountain sides are more prevalent in the northern inlets, and that the southern inlets, where the Straits are wider, are more subject to dead fogs. In severe winters ice sometimes forms from the head of Dean Inlet down to Kamsquot Bay, but not below it.

There is another serious objection to Kamsquot Bay as a present terminus. It cannot be reached from the settled portions of the Province, either on the mainland or Vancouver Island, without crossing Queen Charlotte Sound, which involves an exposure for a distance of 30 to 40 miles to the full swell of the Pacific Ocean, off a coast which, in a western gale, is well known as exceptionally dangerous.

This terminus, however, would be very convenient for the Queen Charlotte Islands, which are known to contain a large amount of mineral wealth, with some tracts well suited for agriculture.

Should the objections against this point as a terminus prevail, then the choice on the mainland will be limited to Waddington Harbor, Bute Inlet and Port Moody, or some other point on Burrard Inlet.

Waddington Harbor is formed by the silt and detritus brought down from the mountains by the River Homathco on the north, and the Southgate on the east. It stretches across the head of the Inlet about two miles. The anchorage in 4 to 18 fathoms, varies from 200 yards to half a mile in breadth; outside of this the bank slopes rapidly down into very deep water. The best anchorage is at the north-east angle, where it is widest and best sheltered.

It is obvious that this is not a suitable harbor for a large fleet; it could,

however, be made a good port by the construction of a pier, together with slips and wharves; there is abundance of timber and other requisite materials for such work close at hand.

Bute Inlet is about 45 miles long and two miles wide, it is completely shut in by high mountains on each side and by islands lying across its entrance, and is not exposed to gales; the channel by which it is entered is designated "Calm Channel" on the Admiralty chart.

Port Moody, at the head of the south arm of Burrard Inlet, is a snug, well sheltered harbor  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles long, and from a third to half a mile wide, with good anchorage; the hills enclosing it rise steeply from the water's edge to a height of 200 to 500 feet. There is no site for a town except a flat at the upper end, partly covered at high tide.

At Coal Harbor, just inside the first narrows, there is fair anchorage, but very limited in extent. There is a considerable area of flat land adjoining, suitable for a town site.

This arm of Burrard Inlet is about 15 miles long; the channel at the entrance is not over 200 yards wide, and the ordinary tidal current is four to eight knots an hour. In spring tides it is more rapid.

About half way up the Inlet are the second narrows, where the current is three to seven knots an hour.

English Bay, at the entrance to the Inlet, is free from these inconveniences; it has a considerable extent of good anchorage, and flat land adjoining, suitable for the site of a large commercial city. This Bay, however, is exposed to gales from the west, across a stretch of at least 40 miles of open water, being only partially protected by a spit of land called Spanish Bank which is covered at high water; it would consequently require extensive works to make it a safe harbor. There are also other difficulties more or less serious. Sand banks lie near its approach, and the neighborhood is notoriously subject to fogs.

But the most serious difficulty of all is one that affects alike both Bute and Burrard Inlets. The passage to the ocean by the north and south end of Vancouver Island is obstructed by a group of islands stretching right across the strait between Vancouver Island and the mainland.

The channels between these islands are in places narrow and crooked, and subject to strong tidal currents, difficult of navigation, even for steamboats, and often dangerous.

A list is before me of over sixty marine disasters that have occurred in these straits within a few years.

The group of islands commanding the channels in the southern passage is in possession of a foreign power, and the naval testimony shows that, in the event of any difficulty with that power, commerce by this passage would be liable to serious interruption.

In order to conduct the railway traffic from Burrard Inlet to Esquimalt, or to any port on Vancouver Island, it will be necessary to have two transshipments, as there are 30 or 40 miles of open water to be crossed, subject to heavy gales, which would render the adoption of a steam ferry carrying a railway train impracticable.

The railway could, however, be extended nearly due south, from a point near



Lake Sumas, in the valley of the Fraser, about 35 miles above New Westminster, in an almost direct line to Holmes' Harbor, which lies between Whitby and Camano Islands, at the entrance of Puget Sound. The distance is a little over 60 miles. The country is generally flat, and the railway could be constructed at less cost than from the same point to Burrard Inlet.

This is a large and excellent harbor, and it is proposed by the Americans to cut a canal from the Admiralty Inlet through a neck of land a mile and a quarter across, and rising 20 feet above the level of the water, so that sailing vessels may enter from the ocean without towage, except in the short length of the canal.

The Americans are thoroughly alive to the importance of this advantage, and the adjoining lands are held at a high value. The Northern Pacific Railway will doubtless be extended to this point, as well as other projected railways.

By referring to the map and Admiralty Chart accompanying this Report, it will be seen that near Lake Sumas the line to Port Moody takes a bend north-westwards, carrying the line farther away from the passage to the ocean, by the Strait of San Juan de Fuca, while the line to Holmes' Harbor leads directly to it. There can be no possible doubt that if the line comes down by the Fraser Valley route, this must inevitably be the ocean terminus. It is impossible to force commerce out of its natural channel for any length of time; it will find the most convenient route despite national boundaries.

The Canadian Pacific Railway would thus be placed in competition with the American Northern Pacific Railroad, for the commerce centering in Puget Sound; but the American citizens would be chiefly benefited. A large city would be built up by the aid of Canadian enterprise, while the main industries of British Columbia would receive no stimulus from the construction of the railway.

*Extension to Vancouver Island.*—The traffic of the railway could be extended from Waddington Harbor to Vancouver Island by a ferry, and ultimately by bridging, should the commerce ever become so great as to warrant the enormous expenditure. The main points in reference to this extension are so clearly stated in Mr. Fleming's Report of 1877, pages 72 and 73, that no apology is necessary for repeating his statements here.

'The connection may now be made by steam ferry, possibly accompanied by some inconvenience, and subject to occasional delays. The course of the ferry boats would be along Bute Inlet, to the south of Stuart Island, thence through the Valdez Islands to Elk Bay on Vancouver Island. The whole of this course is landlocked and smooth water. The distance is 64 miles. The chief difficulty is said to be a strong current for about two hours a day at one point; with this exception if the railway for the present terminated at Waddington Harbor, the water to Elk Bay could be as easily navigated as an ordinary canal.

'By extending the railway along the western side of Bute Inlet, and thence across to Frederick Arm—a feasible scheme, but one exacting a heavy expenditure—Nodales Channel, a completely sheltered and an easily navigated sheet of water, is reached. This channel is reported to be free from strong currents, shoals or other difficulties, and could be used by a railway ferry at all seasons of the year. The ferry navigation between Frederick Arm on the main shore and Otter Cove on Vancouver, is about 15 miles. The length of railway line from Waddington

Harbor to Frederick Arm is about 51 miles. The accompanying chart (sheet No. 2) shows the relative position of Nodales Channel, Vancouver Island and Bute Inlet.

‘ From Elk Bay, or Otter Cove, a railway could be carried to Esquimalt, or to a much nearer point—Alberni—at the head of the Alberni Canal; possibly to Nootka, or, perhaps, with still greater ease, to Quatsino Sound. Compared with Esquimalt the latter has the advantage of being fully 200 miles nearer the Asiatic coast. At Quatsino coal beds are reported to crop out at the water’s edge.’

It should be explained that the currents referred to are in the following channels, and run very strong for two or three hours each day at a certain state of the tide.

1. The Cardero channel between the mainland and the Valdez and the Stewart Islands. This is in the northern passage from Bute Inlet to the ocean.
2. A cross channel, not shown on the chart, which separates the Valdez Islands. This is in a line with Bute Inlet, and would be the channel taken for the ferry from Waddington Harbor to Elk Bay on Vancouver Island.
3. The Seymour Narrows, between Valdez Islands and Vancouver Island. This does not interfere with the ferry to Elk Bay or Otter Cove, but prevents its extension southward to the better harbor of Menzies Bay.

By constructing the line down the side of Bute Inlet and across by the Estero Basin to Frederick Arm, the rapids No. 1 are avoided, and there is a clear passage thence northward to the Ocean.

The Nodales channel between Frederick Arm and Otter Cove, Vancouver Island, is about 15 miles in length, a mile wide, with deep water, and no strong currents or sunken rocks; it is well sheltered, almost straight, and could be navigated at all seasons and in all weather by a steamboat carrying a railway train. A report on the subject of this ferry has recently been made by Admiral DeHorsey.

From Otter Cove the railway could be extended to several harbors on Vancouver Island, either north or south; of these the nearest is Stamp Harbor, at the head of Alberni Canal, Barclay Sound, the distance to which is about 100 miles.

On the first 15 miles along the shore of Discovery Passage, to Menzies Bay, the country is rocky; thence down the coast to the River Qualicum—70 miles—it is flat and very favorable for railway construction. From this point the line would bend away westward, across Vancouver Island to Alberni Canal, about 15 miles, and would require some stiff gradients, but not very heavy works, except for a short distance. The line could be ultimately extended from the River Qualicum to Nanaimo and Esquimalt, the distance to the latter being about 110 miles.

The district lying between Otter Cove and Esquimalt is one of the richest tracts of country in British Columbia. It comprises a considerable extent of excellent agricultural lands, overlying and adjoining vast beds of coal and iron ore. No less than five coal mines are now being successfully worked, the product ranking at San Francisco as superior to any on that coast. The iron ores from the main island and the Island of Texada have been assayed and are pronounced to be of exceptionally good character, while the close neighborhood of the coal beds offers opportunity for the establishment of iron works on an extensive scale. These advantages, added to its agricultural capabilities, sufficient for the mainte-



nance of a considerable population, the general beauty of the country, and the salubrity of the climate of Vancouver Island, give promise of a future of great prosperity.

Esquimalt and Alberni (Barclay Sound) are well known and excellent harbors, and have been already described in the Report of the Engineer in Chief for 1877, pages 308 to 311.

The Harbor of Esquimalt, at the south-east end of the Island, about 60 miles from Cape Flattery, at the entrance from the ocean, is one of the finest and most convenient harbors on the coast; and, with the aid of easy soundings and the present lighting, can be entered at all times. It affords excellent anchorage for ships of any size, and in no wind is the swell sufficient to create inconvenience. The Strait of San Juan de Fuca is 10 miles wide, and the Royal roads outside the harbor afford excellent anchorage for vessels awaiting towage for ports in the Strait of Georgia.

Stamp Harbor, at the head of the Alberni Canal, is about 36 miles from Cape Beale at the entrance to Barclay Sound, on the west coast. It affords ample accommodation for vessels of any tonnage, being about two miles in length and one in width, and having a depth of from 5 to 20 fathoms.

The channel from the entrance to the Sound is from a mile to a mile and a half wide, up to Uchucklisit Harbor, about 16 miles distant on the west side of the channel. This harbor affords good anchorage for vessels awaiting towage up the Alberni Canal, which varies from a half to three quarters of a mile in width. Sailing vessels sometimes go in with the tide, without towage, but it may be considered that, practically, the employment of tugs is necessary.

In conclusion, the writer is desirous of expressing his strong conviction, as the result of detailed investigation of the subject in all its bearings, that the line by the Pine River Pass to Bute Inlet, with extension by steam ferry to Vancouver Island, will prove the true route, whether regarded in its national or economic aspect. It traverses a far greater extent of good agricultural lands, and affords better communication with the chief gold and coal mining districts than any other route.

The fertile portion of the Peace River country, east of the Rocky Mountains, is about 400 miles in length and 300 miles in breadth.

From the reports of Professors Selwyn and Macoun, Mr. Horetzky, Hudson's Bay Officials, residents at the Mission Station and others, there is no doubt but that the prospects of this rich district lie in the development of its exceptional capacity for the production of cereals. Mr. Macoun says: 'As to the capability of the country for producing grain, the barley and wheat raised 59° north latitude, took the bronze medal at the Centennial, and the size and quality of all vegetable products is astonishing.' This can, undoubtedly, become the great wheat-producing Province of the Dominion. In aid of its development, it possesses a noble and navigable river, which runs through its centre, affording easy means of collecting its produce, and bringing it cheaply to some convenient point, where it could be received by the railway and carried to the seaboard. The distance from a point on Peace River, near the mouth of Smoky River, to Fort William, Lake Superior, is about 1500 miles, thence by lake and river

navigation to Quebec, 1,350 miles, giving a total of 2,850 miles to the Atlantic tide water. This route, however, it must be remembered, is open only six months in the year.

Westwards, to the Pacific coast, from Fort St. John on the Peace River by way of the Pine River Valley and Pass, the distances are as follows :—

To Dean Inlet, 480 miles	}	On the mainland.
To Bute Inlet, 540 miles		
To Alberni, Barclay Sound, 700 miles,	}	On Vancouver Island.
To Esquimalt, 810 miles,		

These ports are open throughout the entire year.

The question then arises, does not the Pacific seaboard, notwithstanding the greater length of ocean transit entailed, offer the best outlet for the products of the Peace River District towards the markets of Europe and Asia? In California and Oregon, immense quantities of wheat are grown yearly and exported even to England at a good profit—of wheat alone last year, San Francisco exported 4,929,690 quintals, valued at \$11,017,353.

There is no reason to doubt that the Peace River District could compete, though at some slight disadvantage in point of distance, with the wheat-growing lands of California and Oregon in trade with England, while it would be in a better position as regards the Asiatic trade.

For a distance of 300 miles from the coast, to the point where the Pine River route diverges, the line would be identical with that surveyed for the Yellowhead route. The remainder has only been explored in part; but, from the information thus obtained, it may be safely assumed that though the line would probably be somewhat longer, the cost of construction would be considerably less than on the parallel portion of the route by the Yellowhead Pass.

But, even were the cost of construction greater, the difference would be of minor importance in comparison with the advantages to be derived from a line of railway that would utilize the wonderfully productive powers which now lie dormant in this vast region.

Should this route meet with the favorable consideration of the Government, surveys will be required from Northcote *via* the Pine River Pass to the point of junction near Fort George, but an examination of the larger river crossings and other difficult points on this route, together with the data obtained from previous surveys, would afford sufficient information to enable companies to tender for the construction and working of the whole line from Lake Superior to the Pacific, as provided for by Act of Parliament.

Meanwhile, if desirable, construction could be commenced on that Division of the line between the Pacific coast and Fort George which will not be affected by these surveys.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) MARCUS SMITH, *Acting Engineer in Chief.*

F. BRAUN, Esq., Secretary,

Department of Public Works, Ottawa."



This report is extremely valuable. Irrespective of Mr. Smith's views on the route and ocean terminus it is a highly instructive and reliable document, containing, as it does, an authoritative account of the soil, productions and climate of the vast regions which the railway is to open up. Mr. Smith had the advantage of several years' active exploration in the country he so well describes, and he gives so full a statement of the geography, soil, and climatic character of these immense possessions, that little more can be needed to form an intelligent opinion on the vital questions of the route and Pacific seaport of the railway.

The strong points in Mr. Smith's scheme are two : First, that east of the Rocky Mountains his route would pass through the best of the fine arable land of the North West, and open up a tract of at least one thousand miles in length, having a varying width of from one hundred and fifty to about five hundred miles of land unsurpassed in the world for productiveness ; and, secondly, that it would form the most direct route from Japan and China to Europe. The first consideration is of supreme importance, for the primary object of the road is to attract immigration, and it is obvious that settlers would much more readily take up the rich lands of this route than the comparatively sterile lands of the route advocated by Mr. Fleming. The main line should form the centre of attraction, and from it there could be projected branch lines, as circumstances require.

In a detailed report accompanying this, Mr. Smith, in referring to his proposed route, uses the following language :—

“ In addition to the manifest advantages offered by this route, there is, further, the important consideration that in the place of a bleak, sterile country, wherein settlement is an impossibility for hundreds of miles, the line would traverse an area of remarkable fertility with but a few short intervals of country unfit for settlement. This route also passes between the vast mineral districts of Omineca and Cariboo. The extraordinary results of recent mining operations in the latter give promise, when their resources are more fully developed—as they can only be with the assistance of direct railway communication—of rivaling, if not surpassing, the far-famed gold and silver regions of the neighboring States, which lie in the same mountain zone.

Port Simpson may possibly be considered, at present, too far north for the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but it is important that the fact should be borne in mind that, by virtue of low altitudes and consequent easy gradients, together with the comparatively moderate character of the works required to reach it, this terminal point offers advantages which would enable a Canadian line to defy competition for the trade with China and Japan, Port Simpson being fully 500 miles nearer to Yokohama than Holmes' Harbor, at the mouth of Puget Sound, the proposed ultimate terminus of the Northern Pacific Railway, while the advantage it possesses over San Francisco is correspondingly greater.

But the Pine River Pass is not merely the key to Port Simpson; it affords comparatively easy communication with Bute Inlet, and all the intermediate inlets between that point and Port Simpson, the valleys of the rivers leading to these inlets radiating from the Stewart Valley, south-west of the Pass, with exceptional directness. Thus many of the difficulties in the way of reaching Bute Inlet and the inlets to the north of it, *viâ* the Yellowhead Pass, can be avoided, and this probably without increasing the length of the line."

The value of these reports will be much enhanced by the following one from Admiral De Horsey, who speaks with reference to the Imperial interests necessarily involved in the selection of the Pacific terminus :

“ ‘ SHAH ’ AT ESQUIMALT, 26th October, 1877.

SIR,—I request you will bring under the consideration of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the following observations, submitting my opinion relative to the best site for the ocean terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

2. With a view to forming an opinion on this subject I have carefully perused the reports of exploration of 1874 and 1877, made by Mr. Sandford Fleming, the Engineer in Chief, and I have had the advantage of personal interviews with Mr. Marcus Smith, Mr. Cambie, and other Engineers of the Survey. An ascent of the Fraser River, as far as Yale, and on to Boston Bar by land, has enabled me to form some idea of the difficulty of penetrating the Cascade range of mountains with a line of railway. I have further inspected Burrard Inlet, Haro and Georgia Straits (as well as the inner channels emerging at Active Pass), Discovery Passage and some of the channels in the vicinity of Valdes Island, including Seymour Narrows. An examination has also been made by their Lordships direction of the approaches to the Skeena River, the result of which has been reported in my letter, No. 326, of the 9th instant.

3. The question of site of ocean terminus should, it appears to me, be determined by two main considerations (besides feasibility in an engineering point of view) :—

1st. Its suitability for the interests and traffic of the populated parts of British Columbia, that Province having joined the Dominion upon the promise of a railway.

2nd. Its being situated at a convenient port for ocean steamers to take up, direct from wharf accommodation, the through traffic for Australia, China, Japan, and other places across the Pacific at all seasons of the year and in all weathers.

4. Bearing in mind these considerations, it appears desirable to reject all idea of a terminus on the coast between Vancouver and Queen Charlotte Islands. The navigation of that part of the coast, judging from the charts and from the reports of Admiral Richards and other naval officers, is decidedly unfavorable, and I should equally reject the vicinity of the River Skeena owing to the prevalence of fog, ice and other climatic causes incident to a high latitude, as well as to the difficulties of approach from sea.

5. If the above views are correct, the question of site for the terminus is narrowed to a choice between Burrard Inlet and a port in Vancouver Island.



6. Burrard Inlet does not appear suitable for an ocean terminus on account of difficulties of navigation to seaward. The tortuous channel from Burrard Inlet to sea through Haro Strait will frequently be unsafe on account of the strength of the tide, great prevalence of fog and absence of anchoring depth. Burrard Inlet itself also, although possessing a safe port in Coal Harbor, and a good anchorage in English Bay, has these objections, viz. : that the narrow entrance to Coal Harbor through the First Narrows is hardly safe for large steamers in consequence of the rapidity of the tide ; and that English Bay, although affording good anchorage, would not, in my opinion, be smooth enough during north-westerly gales for ships to lie at wharves, there being a drift of forty miles to the north-west.

7. Another grave objection to Burrard Inlet as the final terminus, is the possession of San Juan and Stuart Islands by a foreign power. These islands form the key of the navigation inside Vancouver Island. In case of war with the United States that power might readily stop our trade through Haro Strait. (San Juan was visited last month by General Sherman, I believe with a view to its fortification.)

8. Condemning Burrard Inlet for the above reasons, I conclude that the terminus should be in Vancouver Island, which may be reached in three ways :—

1st. By steam ferry carrying a train from Burrard Inlet to Nanaimo.

2nd. By bridging Seymour Narrows.

3rd. By steam ferry, carrying a train from Estero Basin (Frederick Arm) to Otter Cove.

9. The train, once landed on Vancouver Island, can, I understand, be carried without much difficulty either to Esquimalt or to Quatsino Sound, or perhaps to Barclay Sound, where Uchucklesit Harbor forms an admirable port.

10. The first method of crossing the Strait, that of a steam ferry from Burrard Inlet to Nanaimo, has three objections,—1st. The drawbacks above mentioned in navigating the First Narrows, and to going alongside a wharf in English Bay ; 2nd. The difficulty and certain frequent detention in mid-channel, owing to fog ; 3rd. The heavy sea with north-westerly and south-easterly gales, which would be at least inconvenient for the conveyance of a train across the Strait of Georgia. Another, and I think a cardinal objection, to the route by the course of the Fraser River and Burrard Inlet, is its passing within six or eight miles of United States territory, and its consequent liability to destruction when most wanted in time of war.

11. The second method, that of a line of railway across Valdes Island without water conveyance, would require very expensive bridging. Valdes is not one Island as shown on the Admiralty Chart, but consists of three or four islands.

The main difficulty, of course, exists in bridging Seymour Narrows, a distance of 2575 feet, in two spans of, respectively, 1200 and 1350 feet. To execute this work the middle pier has to be erected on a rock, said to be eighteen feet under water at low tide, with a velocity of tide over it of from five to eight knots. This would be a work of vast magnitude and expense, even if it be practicable to place a foundation on the rock, which I doubt, as there is hardly any slack tide. Nor must it be forgotten that bridging Seymour Narrows would, as regards large ships, obstruct the only practicable channel between Vancouver Island and the Main. This alone should, in my opinion, preclude its attempt.

12. The third method, and the one I recommend, that of ferrying a train from Estero Basin to Otter Cove, is, in my opinion, not only feasible, but perfectly simple. I have carefully examined this route, and find :—

1st. That Otter Cove is well adapted for a pile dock terminus for the steam ferry.

2nd. That the head of Frederick Arm, at the entrance to Estero Basin, is also well adapted for a pile dock terminus.

3rd. That the channel between the two is easy of navigation, being nearly straight, free from dangers, smooth as glass, sheltered from all winds, and having very little tidal stream.

13. The tide in this, the Nodales Channel, is noted on the chart as running from two to three knots, but I think it is much less.

I spent five hours in this channel during what should have been the strength of the tide, the day before the full moon, and found the tide scarcely perceptible.

The distance for steam ferry between the two ports is thirteen miles of still, clear navigation, and I consider it may, with proper signals, be safely traversed in a fog.

14. In advocating the route by Frederick Arm, it will be observed that I am assuming that the railway can be brought to that point.

This assumption is borne out by Mr. Fleming's report of 1877, in which he states it to be "a feasible scheme," but one exacting a heavy expenditure, which expenditure would, I suppose, be in part compensated by the route No 6, from Yellowhead Pass to the head of Bute Inlet, being estimated at two million dollars less than that by the Lower Fraser (No. 2) to Burrard Inlet.

15. From conversation with Mr. Marcus Smith (the principal officer of the survey, next to the Engineer-in-Chief), I am given to understand that the Rocky Mountains can be crossed at a comparatively low level, and that the line can be carried through a far less mountainous district by voiding Yellowhead Pass altogether, and selecting a route by Lesser Slave Lake and Pine River Pass, and thence in a more or less direct line to Bute Inlet. Should this prove correct, it will be an additional reason for ending the main land route at Frederick Arm rather than at Burrard Inlet, omitting, as I do, all consideration of taking water conveyance from the head of Bute Inlet on account of its length and tortuous passages, which would be impracticable in foggy weather.

16. Having thus come to the conclusion that the line should pass by Frederick Arm, and that the train should be conveyed by steam ferry through Nodales Channel, to Otter Cove, the extension to one of the good ports of Vancouver Island remains to be considered.

17. In future years, I imagine that, for the sake of more direct through ocean traffic, a line will be extended to Quatsino Sound, by bridging Quatsino Narrows, and thence on to a terminus at Winter Harbor.

18. But, for present wants, it seems that the line should be continued from Otter Cove past Bayne's Sound and Nanaimo to Esquimalt, there to make the ocean terminus. This port is easy and safe of approach at all times ; its dock (to take the largest ships) has been commenced, and there is reason to think that the line coming from the principal collieries and iron districts on Vancouver Island, ought to



pay itself in great part by the conveyance of minerals to Esquimalt for shipment. Not only for trade, but for the supply of coal to Her Majesty's Squadron at Esquimalt, a line of rail from Nanaimo would be advantageous, as the possession of San Juan might enable the United States, in case of war, to cut off our supply from the mines by sea.

19. Assuming, therefore, that a line of rail between Esquimalt and Nanaimo will be constructed, not only for the reasons above detailed, but because its construction appears to have been virtually promised by the Dominion Government in accordance with Lord Carnarvon's suggestion (a large portion of the rails are actually lying at Esquimalt), the chief difficulty connected with the Vancouver part of the through line will be overcome, for I understand that the extension of the line from Nanaimo to Otter Cove presents comparatively few difficulties.

20. It will be observed that I have omitted consideration of a terminus in Howe Sound. This is because the same objections in respect to difficulties of navigation to sea through Haro Strait, apply to Howe Sound as to Burrard Inlet, and with greater force. The route to Howe Sound is also, I observe, estimated to cost six million dollars more than that to Bute Inlet.

21. Finally, whilst submitting the foregoing remarks in accordance with their Lordship's instructions to me, of the 23rd August, 1876, I beg to express much diffidence in respect to such as are not strictly within the scope of the Naval Service. Viewing the shortness of my stay in British Columbia waters, this Report cannot pretend to deserve much weight; but it has, I submit, one merit, that of coming from an officer who, from his position, must be totally disconnected from all local interests.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) A. DE HORSEY,

*Rear Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.*

The Secretary to the Admiralty."

Parliament closed without anything more being said on the subject. As nothing more was said in the House, nothing was done out of it, and the feeling in British Columbia may be understood from the fact that at the Provincial elections held in May, the Local Government, which had been strongly in sympathy with the Dominion Ministry, was ignominiously defeated at the polls, and Mr. Walkem was brought back to power with increased strength. On the 19th July the new Ministers used the following strong language through the speech, at the opening of the House, of his Honor Lieutenant Governor Richards :—

"I regret to state that the railway question is still in a very unsatisfactory condition. By the advice of my Ministers, shortly after they assumed office, a telegram, followed by a despatch, was sent to the Secretary of State, strongly protesting against the steel rails being used or removed for purposes other than those for which they were designed when landed on the island in 1875. To this despatch, I have received no reply. In considering these and other railway papers, which will

be laid before you, I would remind you that the time has come when delay in the construction of the work both on the mainland or the island can no longer be justified. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to take measures much more decisive than the mere entry of protests, which, however firm and just, have been systematically disregarded by the Government of the Dominion."

In this unsatisfactory state the Canadian Pacific Railway now\* stands.

On the 27th February, their Excellencies gave their farewell ball in Ottawa, and as Parliament was in session, the attendance was very large, and the entertainment unusually splendid.

The Vice-regal set consisted, besides their Excellencies, of the Hon. Mrs. Mackenzie, the Hon. Mr. Anglin, Speaker of the Commons; Lieutenant General Sir Selby Smyth, Lady Tatton Sykes; Hon. Col. Littleton, Mrs. Hamilton; Captain Blackwood, Miss Patrick; Mr. Harvey, the Hon. Mrs. Littleton; Major Hamilton, Mrs. Stephenson; Mr. Stephenson and Miss Hamilton.

The Senate and Commons having resolved to present a united address to His Excellency, expressing their regret of the termination of his connection with the Government of Canada, the members of both Houses, on the 16th April, assembled in the Senate Chamber to witness its presentation. His Excellency and staff arrived at two o'clock, and were received and escorted to the throne by the Hon. the First Minister, Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, Hon. E. Blake, Hon. Mr. Tupper, Hon. Peter Mitchell, Hon. H. Langevin, Hon. Mr. Robitaille, Hon. Mr. Cartwright, Hon. Mr. Smith, Hon. R. W. Scott, Hon. J. Burpee, and the Hon. D. Mills, who formed a semi-circle in front of the throne, with Her Excellency and Lady Helen Blackwood in the centre. Mr. Mackenzie read the address, which was as follows:—

"To His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir FREDERIC TEMPLE, Earl of *Dufferin*, Viscount and Baron *Clandeboye* of *Clandeboye*, in the County Down, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, Baron *Dufferin* and *Clandeboye*, of *Ballyleidy* and *Killeleagh*, in the County Down, in the Peerage of Ireland, and a Baronet, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of *Saint Patrick*, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of *Saint Michael* and *Saint George*, and Knight Commander of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Governor General of Canada, and Vice-Admiral of the same, etc., etc., etc.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Senate and Commons of Canada, in Parliament assembled, beg leave

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\* October, 1878.



to approach Your Excellency with the expression of the deep feeling of regret which we experience at your approaching departure from Canada.

We feel it to be a duty to assure Your Excellency that the zealous devotion of your great abilities on all occasions to the public interests is held in high appreciation ; and that especially the visits to each of the Provinces and Territories of the Dominion by which Your Excellency has familiarised yourself with the character of the people and the resources of the country, and the eloquent speeches in which Your Excellency has enlarged on those topics have been attended with the most beneficial results in attracting attention to Canada.

We are highly sensible of the great degree in which literature and art and the industrial pursuits, have received encouragement from Your Excellency's efforts and liberality.

We venture to convey the assurance that Your Excellency and your distinguished Consort will bear with you on leaving us our warmest wishes for your future welfare and happiness ; that we rejoice in the conviction that, though Canada may no longer possess the advantage of Your Excellency's experience and knowledge of public affairs in so exclusive a degree as she has enjoyed them in the past, this country will continue to have in Your Excellency a friend and advocate ; and that it is our heart-felt wish that for many years the Empire at large may have the benefit of Your Excellency's ripe wisdom, experience and eminent abilities."

His Excellency replied in these words :—

"HONORABLE GENTLEMEN,—It is difficult for me to find befitting words in which to thank you for the signal and unprecedented honor which has been conferred upon me by this joint Address from your two Houses.

Regarding, as I do, the utterances of Parliament as the most august and authoritative expression of the popular sentiment, it affords me unmeasured satisfaction to be thus assured of the confidence and esteem of the inhabitants of the Dominion.

To win the good will of a nation is the greatest achievement open to human ambition, and to learn from you that I hold a place in the affections of the people of *Canada* is alike the highest triumph and the greatest pleasure I am ever likely to enjoy.

It would not become me to enquire how far this result is to be attributed rather to your own generosity than to any exertions upon my part. It is a happy principle rooted in the nature of Englishmen of all estates to content themselves with the simple discharge of those duties which lie to their hand, without considering too curiously to what degree their conduct may influence the personal estimation in which they are held by others, and their reward, when it arrives, is often as great a surprise as it is a satisfaction. All that I can say is that, from the moment I came amongst you, I have had but one thought—the desire to render faithful service to our Queen, to the Empire, and to *Canada*.

If there are no positive advantages to which I can point as having resulted from my administration, there is one boast I can fairly make. No act or word of mine has had a tendency to damp your personal devotion to the Crown, to discourage your attachment to the Empire, or to discredit the system of Constitutional Government under which you live.

I found you a loyal people, and I leave you the truest-hearted subjects in Her

Majesty's Dominions. I found you proud of your descent and anxious to maintain your connection with the Mother Country ; I leave you more convinced than ever of the solicitude of *Great Britain* to reciprocate your affection of her dependence on your fidelity in every emergency. I found you—men of various nationalities—of English, French, Irish, Scotch, and German descent, working out the problems of Constitutional Government with admirable success ; I leave you with even a deeper conviction in your minds that the due application of the principles of Parliamentary Government is capable of resolving every political difficulty, and of controlling the gravest ministerial crises, to the satisfaction of the people at large, and of their leaders and representatives of every shade of opinion.

When I resign the temporary Vice-royalty with which I have been invested into the hands of my Sovereign, I shall be able to assure her that not a leaf has fallen from her maple chaplet, that the lustre of no jewel in her transatlantic diadem has been dimmed.

Thanks to the opportunities afforded me by the liberality of Parliament, I have been enabled to traverse the fertile regions of your North West, to appreciate your inexhaustible resources, and to scan the vast expanse of your territories from the *Atlantic* to the *Pacific*. The speeches to which you refer in such flattering terms have been but the natural, the irresistible, exclamations evoked by the sights I have beheld.

Closely associated with me in the discharge of all my duties has been the lady to whom your address refers in so kind a manner. Moving amid a society, where the proverbial gallantry of Frenchmen combines with English and Celtic chivalry to create in every Canadian home an atmosphere of purity and refinement, she naturally regards the six years she has passed amongst you as one of the happiest periods of her life, and I am commissioned to convey to you her warmest thanks for the good wishes you have expressed in her regard.

In conclusion, allow me to assure you that I shall esteem it one of the greatest privileges of my future life to watch the progressive development of your prosperity, to advocate your interests in the British Parliament, and to confirm our fellow-countrymen at home in their conviction of the high degree to which *Canada* is destined to contribute to the welfare, the strength, and the renown of the British Empire."

A number of ladies, including the wives and daughters of members of the Privy Council, were on the floor of the Senate by invitation, also Senators, Judges of the Supreme Court, members of the Commons, and the principal officers of the Senate and Commons.

As their Excellencies drove away after the ceremony, they were loudly cheered by the large concourse who had gathered on this occasion.\*

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\* It was determined by the proper authorities that this address should be illuminated for presentation to the Governor General, and the clerks of the Houses, Mr. Lemoine and Mr. Alfred Patrick, were deputed to see the project carried out. Upon Mr. Patrick, who is an officer of the oldest standing in the Civil Service,



On the 1st, 2nd and 3rd days of May, Her Excellency assisted her children in holding a bazaar in order to pay off a debt on St. Bartholemew's Church, at New Edinburgh, the church which their Excellencies attended during their residence in Ottawa. As this was the last occasion which Her Excellency had of proving her solicitude for charitable work, in Ottawa, a short account is given of it:—

“The most amusing feature of the bazaar was Punch and Judy—Mr. Dixon, the young gentleman who did the manipulation, was kept very busy, for there was an incessant demand for tickets, and we know of some elderly gentlemen who visited the show more than once. ‘Punch and Judy’ are immortal, they will live as long as ‘Jack the Giant Killer.’ Mr. Brodie, the playman, was almost as amusing as the show itself. Dressed up in the proper costume of the character, with a huge drum suspended from his neck, he kept up a constant stream of visitors to the show room, and his intensely humorous face attracted the amused attention of the hundreds of people, old and young, who thronged Rideau Hall. It was not at all surprising that His Excellency took a sketch of him—as did also Mr. Russell Stephenson—and the water-color drawing of Mr. Brodie, by this latter gentleman, actually sold at auction for \$8.50. To Mr. Dixon and Mr. Brodie the visitors, and especially the young people, are much indebted for their excellent services.

The archery department was under the supervision of Captain Selby Smyth.

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and a gentleman of exceptional good taste, devolved the chief part of this duty, and he is to be sincerely congratulated on the result of his labors. A gentleman was found in Montreal, Mr. Cox, who had become proficient in the beautiful art of manuscript illumination, to carry out Mr. Patrick's design. The address is most elaborately engrossed in illuminated letters of gold and crimson, and blue and green, written in the mediæval styles. Around the arch at the top runs a wreath of maple leaves, emblematic of Canada, painted in the rich and brilliant autumnal tints peculiar to our foliage in the fall of the year, which to a European will seem garish, though they are in not the slightest degree over-colored. At the head of the arch is placed the Armorial Ensign of the Dominion, supported on either side by a lion and unicorn *couchant*. At each angle are globes, two of gold and two of sapphire, on each of which is placed an earl's coronet in gold. At the bottom of the arch, in an oval, is placed a view of the Parliament Buildings, from the Ottawa. On the left side, midway, is a view of the Falls of Montmorenci, and on the right, one of the Falls of Niagara. The remaining space is filled with flowers, and most intricate and elaborate tracings. The most brilliant and varied colors are used in the ornamentation, and the amount of labor expended is very great. The work is exceptionally beautiful, and the illumination is probably the finest specimen of the art yet executed in the Dominion, or possibly in the United States.

It was sent to Paris, Ont., for the signature of Hon. Mr. Christie, Speaker of the Senate, and to St. John, N.B., for that of the Speaker of the Commons, Hon. Mr. Anglin, when, after being framed, it was taken by Mr. Patrick, and formally presented to His Excellency at Quebec.

The fish pond was managed with success by Miss Griffin and Miss Scott. The visitors were supplied with flowers by Miss Mary Macdonald, a daughter of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario. This young lady was especially complimented for the charming manner in which she dispensed her beautiful wares at very moderate rates. Mr. Russell Stevenson had charge of the photographs of the characters in the late "Theatricals," and, as these really excellent pictures were sold at a fair sum, and as they formed admirable souvenirs of Her Excellency, they were largely bought.

Lady Dufferin herself took charge of the photographs of her family, including His Excellency and herself, and was a deservedly successful vendor. The general tables were attended by Miss Macdonald, and her sister Helen, daughters of the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, Miss Abbott, Miss Willson and Miss Ritchie. The various raffle lists were in the hands of the Hon. Mr. Littleton, the Misses Lewis, daughters of the Lord Bishop of Ontario, Miss Fellows, Miss LeMoine and Miss Stanton,—and it must in justice to these young ladies be said that though they were properly zealous in their work, they avoided that importunity which so frequently mars the pleasure of an attendance at bazaars, and which, in many instances, keeps visitors from them. The Hon. Colonel Littleton, being cashier, was kept very busy. A friendly contest was got up between Toronto and Ottawa, represented respectively by Miss Macpherson, daughter of the Hon. Senator Macpherson, Toronto, and Miss Patrick, of Ottawa, each striving to secure the larger number of votes, which were sold at the bazaar by Captain Hamilton, A.D.C., who had charge of the poll, where the voting was kept up with great spirit for three days. Nothing but the *ægis* of the Countess of Dufferin would have induced either of these young ladies, even seemingly, to pit herself against the other, but in reality this was not done. The plan was a very simple and innocent one of adding to the funds of an excellent charity. Her Excellency approved of it,—the young ladies, who, in common with hundreds of others, had been honored with her kindly notice, and had often enjoyed the graceful hospitalities of Rideau Hall, felt bound to second her ladyship's views in every possible way, and they entered into the friendly contest with the sole desire of adding interest to the bazaar; that the public approved of it is shown by the result, which was an addition of \$603 to the funds. Toronto was successful, but Her Excellency was so pleased with the admirable bearing of Ottawa's candidate, that the moment the sale was closed she sought her out, and in a few kindly words placed on her wrist a beautiful bracelet. It need hardly be added that this graceful and thoughtful recognition of Miss Patrick's services was received with deep feeling by the surprised recipient; for she doubtless felt that, though the gift was valuable in itself, its true and great value consisted in the gentle kindness of the gentle and kindly donor.

Lady Dufferin, by this bazaar, added one more brilliant to the diadem of usefulness which she has, with so much goodness and so unselfishly, been framing since her arrival in Canada. It is, perhaps, a small star, but it will never cease to shine, and, when she is far off in Britain, we shall see its long line of light tipping the waves of the Atlantic, bidding us to remember—what we never can forget—the gentleness, the kindness of the warm-hearted Countess of Dufferin."



The Session closed on the 12th May, but little had been done, and that little was of no great importance. Its chief interest centred in the fiscal and trade policy of the Ministry, and its principal work was found in defining with accuracy, and drawing with distinctness, the lines between the parties on this great issue. The Government were compelled to announce more positively than ever their firm adherence to their Free-trade opinions, while the Opposition were, on their part, compelled to express in clearer terms than ever how they proposed to deal with the antagonistic interests of the various Provinces in their proposed adjustment of the tariff. The debates were lengthy, for, as it was the last session of the Parliament, members were desirous of placing their views on record for use at the coming elections.

His Excellency attended, by invitation, the opening of the Sixth Annual Exhibition of the Ontario Society of Arts, at Toronto, on the 21st May. Previous to the arrival of Lord Dufferin the rooms were well filled with visitors, including a considerable number from a distance. Among whom were his Honor the Lieutenant Governor and Miss Macdonald, Archbishop Lynch, Hon. D. Christie, Speaker of the Senate, Hon. D. L. Macpherson, Hon. G. W. Allan, Rev. Dr. Scadding, Mr. Alpheus Todd, Librarian of Parliament, Rev. Mr. Mellen, Rev. Mr. Baldwin, Col. Gzowski, Hon. Wm. McDougall, Mr. Wm. Thomson, Mr. Joseph Leslie, and a large number of ladies.

Upon the arrival of His Excellency, Mr. W. H. Howland, the President of the Society, addressed him as follows:—

“In welcoming your Excellency on the part of the Ontario Society of Artists to our sixth annual Exhibition I desire to acknowledge the great indebtedness which the Society are under to you for what you have done in the past, both by supplying contributions from your own pencil and also by extending many courtesies at past Exhibitions. I also desire to express our blended feelings for the great honor you have done us in coming here to open this Exhibition, and I can only say to your Excellency that it is only like many other kindly acts which you have done in Canada during your reign over us as Viceroy. I may say freely that no Governor has ever left these shores bearing with him such a large meed of the devotion and regard of the people. (Hear, hear.) Many have left us bearing a very large measure of respect, but Lord Dufferin is the first Governor General that carries with him the personal and individual regard of every Canadian in Canada. (Applause.) I believe, Sir, that if it were in order that a petition should be submitted to Her Gracious Majesty to extend the term of your Administration, it would be signed by every man in the Dominion from Sandwich to Halifax. (Applause.) As that, however, cannot be done, all we can hope is that some fortuitous circumstance may

bring you back again among a people who hold you in such high regard. I have now to request your Excellency to open the Exhibition."

His Excellency said :—

"MR. HOWLAND, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I assure you that when I accepted an invitation to open this Exhibition I was quite unprepared for the reception you have given me, and still less for those very kind and gracious words to which Mr. Howland has just given utterance, and with which you have testified your acquiescence. I thought that my duty would be simply confined to coming here in company with Mr. Howland and my other artistic friends, and strolling among the pictures as a mere spectator. But under the present circumstances I cannot refrain from assuring you that I esteem it a very great privilege to have had an opportunity of paying this unexpected visit to Toronto, more especially in connection with an object of such importance to this community, and one that is so congenial to my own tastes and pursuits. Far be it from me, ladies and gentlemen, to trespass on your attention with any dissertation upon Art. That is a subject upon which everybody thinks himself competent to speak *ad infinitum*, but with regard to which few people can say anything very much to the purpose. Art is a subject rather of feeling than of science, and nothing is so difficult to render in words as those subtle sensations which objects of Art evoke within our breasts. All that I can say is, that I am happy to know that such a Society as that in whose gallery we are now assembled should have established itself in your midst ; and although its beginning may be considered modest, it cannot fail to fulfil a prosperous career. After all, we must remember that the Academy of Great Britain began pretty much like this Society, and now the corresponding ceremony in London to that which we are celebrating to-day is considered by everybody in Great Britain as one of the great festivals of the year, and the one public dinner in London which is always regarded as a source of pleasure to all those who are invited, and an invitation to which is coveted beyond measure, is the public dinner given by the Royal Academy to those distinguished gentlemen in the several lines of politics, literature, and art, who are in London during the season. I trust the time may not be far distant when this Society will find itself sufficiently strong, sufficiently popular, to establish something of a similar entertainment in Toronto. I have to congratulate the Society upon the very excellent display which it has exhibited on its walls. I trust it will not be presumptuous if I venture to hazard the opinion that that display indicates marked progress. In the first place there are a fewer number of pictures, and evidently the Society has been more severe in its selection of those works which it has thought fit to exhibit to the public. There is only one other topic in respect to which I would venture to detain you. I dare say there are present to-day many young artists who are members of the School of Art which is being so liberally sustained in connection with the Society itself. Let me say to those students, that although it may be perfectly true that they may feel themselves at a disadvantage in having to enter upon their career of study under less favorable circumstances than are enjoyed by their fellow-students in the great schools of London and of Paris, yet they should not feel discouraged, because, at all events at the outset of the study of Art, very little is to be obtained from the supervision of



a master. What they need is perseverance, industry, and, above all, modesty. The natural instinct of a student of art is to slur over and shirk the very thing upon which his future success will depend, namely, the severe study of outline drawing. One's natural instinct is to hurry into color. Now, let me tell these young persons that in the School of Art at Paris no student is allowed to touch anything but a piece of charcoal or a lead pencil for four entire years. For four years the student is kept strictly and rigidly to simple drawing with charcoal and with pencil. The result of that is that the French are almost the only people in Europe who draw. And yet it is obvious that good drawing is the very foundation of all excellence in Art. In England the course has not been quite so severe; and I do not say but that perhaps the French carry their discipline in this respect to too great lengths. In England I think the course is three years, but there is no doubt that the very first thing a student has to do is to tell himself that before he attempts to indulge in those brilliant fancies which adorn his dreams he must first learn to draw. It must be remembered that as beautiful a work of Art can be produced on a sheet of common letter paper with a common pencil as with anything else, if the artist only knows how to use his pencil. For instance, if you go to the great halls of Art in London, in Paris, in Dresden, or in Rome, you will find displayed sketches in pen and ink, charcoal, and pencil which would now sell for thousands of pounds. These studies have been left for the admiration of future generations by the great names of antiquity—by Michael Angelo, Raphael, Correggio, and the other artists of the several countries to which I have referred. And it must not be supposed that this severe discipline, if it is really encountered in the proper spirit, is devoid of the greatest satisfaction. On the contrary, if a really zealous Art student will condescend to shut himself up with what are called "blocks"—that is, with square, round, and hexagonal pieces of wood, he will be able to arrange these blocks in the most interesting forms, and he will discover in a little time that he is capable of enjoying the very greatest excitement in delineating these forms with correctness. And his success will convince him that this is not only a very great triumph, but one of the very best stepping-stones towards excellence in Art. Then he will proceed from drawing outlines to drawings in black and white, and perhaps eventually, if he has faithfully pursued this course, he will be permitted to indulge in a little color, and so he will go from step to step, all the time feeling that every day and every hour he is acquiring greater power and greater facility, until at last his pleasure becomes so great that words cannot describe it. And such a course has this further advantage—that it is as open to women as to men. Nowadays the attention of the world is very properly turned to the various respects in which women can take part with men in those more serious occupations which heretofore have been, perhaps too exclusively, confined to the male sex. Well, persons may differ in regard to several of the directions indicated as proper to be pursued by ladies, but all must be agreed that at all events Art is a field of labor in which they are equally entitled with men to compete and excel. There is in London an Artists' Society entirely confined to lady artists, and everybody will tell you that they compare most favorably with their brother artists. We must also remember that Angelica Kauffmann and Madame

Le Brun were members of the Royal Academies of their respective countries, and inasmuch as it is not a question of muscular power so much as of delicacy of touch and handling, in these respects women are pre-eminently endowed. Consequently, I am glad to observe that amongst the members of this Society there are to be reckoned several ladies; and I only trust that as time goes on their ranks will be still further recruited. Ladies and gentlemen, I now conclude these brief observations with, in the first place, wishing you and the Society every possible success, and in the next, with returning to you my warmest and heartiest thanks for the pleasant reception which you have given me, for the opportunity which you have afforded me of seeing again so many friendly and well-known faces, and above all things, for the extremely kind and touching expression with which Mr. Howland has been good enough to interpret your feelings towards myself and Lady Dufferin. (Loud applause.) One further duty I have to perform, and that is to declare this Exhibition open."

The formal ceremony of opening the Exhibition having been concluded, His Excellency spent some time in examining the pictures and in conversation with members of the Society and others who were present.

The Queen's birth-day (24th May) was celebrated at Montreal by a review of the whole of the volunteers of the district, at which His Excellency was present. In addition to the local volunteers which took part in the sham fight, which formed part of the proceedings of the day, were the "Queen's Own" from Toronto, and the Barlow Guards from St. Albans, Vermont. The spectacle of a body of American Volunteers taking part with a Canadian force in commemorating the birth-day of Her Majesty was one calling forth special mention, and His Excellency took occasion to address them as follows :—

"SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS OF THE GREAT AMERICAN REPUBLIC,—I cannot allow the opportunity to escape of expressing to you, both on my own behalf, on behalf of the Government and country, and on behalf of Her Gracious Majesty, whose representative I am, the extreme satisfaction which I experience in thus being able to welcome you as guests in the name of the people of Canada to the soil of the Dominion. (Cheers.) A greater compliment could hardly be paid by one country to another than that which you have been good enough to confer upon us by thus joining with our fellow citizens and soldiers in celebrating the birth-day of our Queen. (Loud cheers.) I accept the demonstration upon your part as an additional proof of that undisturbed friendship which I trust will always prevail hereafter between the two countries; and, furthermore, I have to congratulate you upon your admirable soldierly appearance. Although I am a civilian to-day, yet, once having occupied the position of Under Secretary for War in Great Britain, and from having had occasion to make myself acquainted more than most civilians with military affairs, it is scarcely presumptuous in me if I venture to pay you that well-merited compliment. I trust we shall be able to make your visit to the



city sufficiently agreeable to you, not only in such a manner as will please you while you remain with us, but that we may entice you to return, and not only yourselves but others of your countrymen to imitate your example upon future occasions."

In the evening a banquet was given by the officers of the Montreal Brigade at the Windsor Hotel. About three hundred persons sat down to dinner. The chair was occupied by Lieutenant Colonel Stevenson of the Field Battery. On the right of His Excellency were Col. Harwood; Hon. J. L. Beaudry, Mayor of Montreal; Mr. Smith, Consul General, U. S.; Colonel Dyde; Mr. Benjamin Lyman, and others. On His Excellency's left were Colonel Fletcher; Lieutenant General Sir Selby Smyth; Colonel Strange, B Battery; Hon. Colonel Littleton; Captain Smith, A.D.C.; Captain Hamilton, A.D.C.; Messrs. Andrew Robertson, Hugh McKay, Thomas White, E. G. Penny, Thomas Workman, M.P., and others. Speeches were delivered by General Dart and Captain Culver.

On the health of His Excellency being drunk, he acknowledged the toast as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I thank you most heartily for the cordial manner in which you have drunk my health. I should have felt I had lost one of the pleasures to which my office legitimately entitles me, had I been compelled to leave Canada without taking part in such a celebration as the present. During the whole term of my office, I have never had an opportunity of seeing myself surrounded by the representatives of our Canadian Forces. It is true, I have had the good fortune to come into individual contact with most of the distinguished officers of the Dominion, but until now I have never seen them gathered round me in their corporate capacity. On my arrival in Ottawa, six years ago, one of my first duties was to go to a review at Kingston, but since then, until to-day, I have never had a chance of seeing any large body of troops assembled in the field. My experience of the military *tenue* of Canada has been confined to Guards of Honor. (Laughter.) Of these, I have seen a greater number, and in a greater variety of places, than the Sovereign of the most military nation in the world; and, though a civilian, I have acquired as good an eye for criticizing this special and peculiar formation, as my friend, the Lieutenant General himself. (Laughter.) Last year, I endeavored to collect under my roof at Ottawa as many officers of our national army as I could lay my hands on, but an unfortunate accident prevented my receiving my guests in person. The spectacle, however, I have witnessed this morning—the scene which now meets my view—more than repays me for my previous disappointments. Anything more admirably arranged, more gratifying to the pride of Canadians, and to all the friends of Canada, than the performance of this morning, cannot well be conceived. (Cheers.) From first to last everything has passed on to my entire satisfaction, and I now beg to tender my best thanks, and I render this acknowledgment not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of my fellow-spectators, and

of the country at large—to the Lieutenant General, who has planned, to the Militia authorities who have organized, and to the officers and men who, at great personal sacrifice and inconvenience, have executed and carried out the triumphant celebration with which we have this morning saluted the birthday of our Most Gracious Sovereign. (Cheers.) It is not for me to indicate, even by praise, the professional excellencies of the manœuvres. That pleasurable task will be performed in due time by a more competent authority. But there is one characteristic of to-day's performances, at all events, which must have attracted everyone's attention—that is, the magnificent appearance, the patriotic enthusiasm, the spirited alacrity, the loyal sentiments which have been exhibited by each and all of the regiments that have paraded before us. Though I should be very far from wishing to depreciate the effects of training and discipline in producing efficiency, we must all admit—even the greatest martinets amongst us—that such a lively spirit of patriotism, such an exuberant alacrity in the performance of their military duties, as have been exhibited to-day by our soldiers, is the first step towards the formation of victorious battalions. Happily, the prospect of the Dominion being required to array itself in defence of its homes and liberties is remote. We have but one nation for our immediate neighbor, and with that nation we are united, by long tradition, by a community of interests, and by a continual interchange of courtesies,—in indissoluble friendship (hear, hear), while those foreigners who, under any unhappy circumstances, might attempt to assail us are remote and separated from our shores by leagues of sea. It is true, of late there have been heard a few vague and probably exaggerated rumours of a certain amount of Celtic effervescence (loud laughter) along our Southern frontier, but I cannot believe that such an unpardonable crime, as a second filibustering attack upon the sacred peace of Canada, can be in contemplation. I never have, and never will speak harshly or disrespectfully of my Irish countrymen (cheers), however wrong I may consider their opinions, or misguided their conduct. It is not by harsh or violent language we shall win them back to a friendlier frame of mind. (Hear, hear.) Undoubtedly, in past days, Ireland has suffered ill-treatment and injustice; but for generations England has strained every nerve to make reparation for those wrongs. (Hear, hear.) However disposed, therefore, we may be to make allowance for the circumstances which may have generated these inimical passions, if they take effect in acts of outrage and murder—if the peaceful homesteads of Canada are to be ravaged by bands of marauders, who can have no possible quarrel with her peaceable inhabitants, such violence—a violence which outrages every law recognized by civilized mankind—must be suppressed with unhesitating firmness (hear, hear); but, as I said before, I cannot bring myself to believe in the possibility of so great a wrong. During my various progresses through the country I have come into contact with hundreds and hundreds of kindly Irishmen, laboring in the field, the forest, by the river side, or in the mine, and never did I meet one who did not give me a hearty welcome, both as a fellow-countryman, and as the representative of the Queen. (Loud cheers.) Happily for Canada, these Irishmen are sown broadcast through the land, and are intimately associated with their fellow-citizens of French, English and Scotch descent. They are contented, prosperous and loyal. Yet it is these Irish homes—where the kindness, the hospitality, the wit and the



mirth of old Ireland lives again under such happy auspices—which are to be involved, together with those of their British and French neighbors, in these unnatural hostilities. (Hear, hear.) What cause of quarrel has the invader with the people of Canada which our own Irish fellow-citizens could not themselves allege, had they a mind to do so? (Hear, hear.) Nor are the Irish the only nationality within our borders who might, if they chose, translate historical wrongs into actual warfare. Half the population of Glengarry, I believe, fled to this country, if not from Cul-loden, at all events from their Highland homes, to avoid the tyranny of him whom they called a usurper, whose great-grand-daughter now sits upon the throne; yet where is there to be found a more loyal people in the world than the people of Glengarry? In considering, therefore, the possible occasions on which we may have to rely upon the valor of our gallant troops, I reject with horror from my thoughts the idea that they should ever be called upon to shed the blood of even the most inconsiderate or irreconcilable of our Irish fellow-countrymen. Nay, on a day of peril, if in the Canadian line of battle I could find a regiment more essentially Irish in its composition than the rest it would be to the keeping of that regiment I would by preference entrust the standard of the Queen and the flag of the Dominion. (Great cheering.) And, gentlemen, if this cloud—or rather, phantasmal exhalation be dispersed along our southern boundary, what is there behind it in that direction but illimitable sunshine, and the prospect of perpetual peace? (Hear, hear). It is true, even so, we are still liable to invasion, and to-day we have witnessed how soldier-like and martial is the array of our Southern neighbors. (Loud cheers.) But if they have forced the bulwarks of our land, if they have penetrated to the heart of our richest city, if they have established themselves within the precincts of our camp, it has only been to give us a fresh proof of the kindly feelings entertained for us by themselves and their fellow-countrymen in the States, perhaps to lay siege to the hearts of our young ladies (laughter) and to join with us in doing honor to our Gracious Queen. In the name, then, of all those who are present—of the Volunteer Army of Canada, of the people of Canada, I bid them welcome; and, inasmuch as it is the habit of every politic government to extend to deeds of military daring substantial rewards, I hereby promise to every American soldier-citizen who is now present, or shall ever after take part in our reviews, a free-grant farm within the Arctic Circle the day he takes the oath of allegiance. (Loud and continued laughter). But, though we have thus disposed in the most satisfactory manner of all possible foes within the circuit of our immediate vision, it is not the less necessary, on that account, that we should take those precautions which every nation since the world began has found requisite for its safety. Let us learn a lesson from the fate of the aboriginal inhabitants of this very continent. We read in the pages of Prescott how happy and careless were their lives, how destitute of fear, as they sported and slept beneath the umbrageous shelter of their tropical groves. War with them had ceased to be an imaginable contingency, every possible foe had disappeared from the limits of their isolated world, yet suddenly, unexpectedly, coming from whence none knew, there stood upon their shores steel-clad men, armed with the thunder-bolts of death, and in a few short years that harmless, flower-crowned people were annihilated—their altars, cities and temples laid waste and desolate. Happily, the repetition of such a

catastrophe in our case is impossible ; but, for all that, a war cloud seems to be gathering in Europe, which may involve the entire Empire in its dreadful shadow. As members of that Empire, as men of British descent, as subjects of Queen Victoria, it may be necessary for us to face the responsibilities which our nationality entails. You have seen by the papers the precautions your Government has taken to protect that—happily for us—restricted portion of our seaboard, which is within reach of an enemy's assault ; but I am proud to think that the spirit of Canadian patriotism has not confined itself merely to these exertions. Almost every mail has brought either to me, or to the Prime Minister, or to the Minister of Militia, the most enthusiastic offers to serve in the Queen's armies abroad in the event of foreign war. (Loud cheers.) These offers have represented not merely the enthusiasm of individuals, but of whole regiments and brigades of men. (Renewed cheers.) It has been my duty to transmit them to the Home Government, and to the foot of the Throne ; and I should be failing in my duty if I neglected to tell you that they have been duly appreciated, not only by the Queen's Ministers, but by the Queen herself. (Prolonged cheering.) It will, undoubtedly, require a great deal of consideration to determine to what extent, and in what manner, advantage is to be taken of such noble self-devotion. Happily the time has not yet arrived, and I trust to God it may never do so, for giving practical effect to the suggestions which have been received, but I feel that I could not have a better opportunity of recording and emphasizing facts so indicative of the martial and loyal spirit of the Canadian people as those I have indicated. No, gentlemen—God grant that many a long year may pass before the note of warlike preparation rings through the quiet hamlets, the sun-lit fields, and the prosperous cities of Canada. But, should the evil day arrive, let it find us prepared and ready to do our duty. (Hear, hear.) It is not by undisciplined levies, however enthusiastic, that the homes and liberties of a country can be guarded. Every day war is becoming a more complicated science, the problems of which can only be successfully dealt with by highly organized battalions and trained and scientific officers. Above all, remember, things are not with you as they were a few short years ago. British North America is no longer a *congeries* of disconnected Provinces, destitute of any strong bond of sympathy or mutual attachment. You are no longer Colonists or Provincials—you are the owners, the defenders and guardians of half a continent—of a land of unbounded promise and predestinated renown. (Hear, hear.) That thought alone should make men and soldiers of you all. Life would scarcely be worth living, unless it gave us something for whose sake it was worth while to die. Outside our domestic circle there are not many things that come up to that standard of value. But one of these you possess—a country you can be proud of ; and never should a Canadian forget, no matter what his station in life, what his origin or special environments, that in this broad Dominion he has that which it is worth while both to live for and to die for." (Loud and long continued cheers.)

On the 7th June, 1878, their Excellencies, family and *suite* left Ottawa. Arrangements had been made to present His Excellency with a farewell address, and on the day previous a large concourse of people attended the City Hall where the presentation took place.



On the arrival of their Excellencies they were received with great cheering, and were escorted to the Council Chamber by his Worship Mr. Mayor Bangs and the Aldermen of the city, when the Mayor read the following address :—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Ottawa, as civic representatives of the Canadian Metropolis, in which Your Excellency has now resided for six years, and where, therefore, your character may fairly be supposed to have been more fully manifested than in any other single locality in the Dominion, feel it a duty we owe to the country, no less than to yourself, to bear our humble testimony to the noble amenities which have uniformly distinguished your intercourse with the citizens of Ottawa.

We cannot but refer in terms of admiration to the special interest you have constantly exhibited in the progress and prosperity of the various educational institutions, now so happily flourishing in our midst. On many occasions it has been our privilege to listen to the enlightened and forcible views Your Excellency has publicly advanced on this subject ; and we are satisfied that they have not been barren of the desired fruit.

It has also been a subject of much gratification to us to learn from the public press of this and the other Canadian cities, as well as from that of the United States, that your deliverances on various great and important occasions have been accepted as words of wisdom and experience, distinguished by an eloquence which has proved you to be no degenerate descendant of the illustrious lineage to which you belong.

You came to us with a prestige which justified great expectations ; and on the eve of your Excellency's departure, it affords us unalloyed satisfaction to say that those expectations have been more than realized by the actual facts.

If it be not travelling out of our proper course we may state it as our conviction that, in the discharge of the more special duties of your high office, you must have been singularly successful, since both political parties are so ready to acknowledge that your Administration has been marked by every quality desirable in a Constitutional ruler, and we are assured that Her Majesty's Government will accord to you the credit due to eminent success in so onerous a task.

That the citizens of Ottawa will long and gratefully remember your stay amongst them, Your Excellency may assuredly accept as an undeniable fact ; and, while they cannot part with you without regret, they feel flattered by the conviction that the happy incidents connected with your sojourn in our northern land shall not be considered unworthy of a place in your memory in the green island home of your fathers.

The citizens of Ottawa cannot say farewell without an earnest prayer that both Your Excellency and your noble consort—who has contributed so much, by her delightful courtesy as a hostess, to their enjoyment—may long live in the possession of happiness and prosperity.

W. P. LETT,  
*City Clerk.*

C. W. BANGS,  
*Mayor.”*

Their Excellencies were much affected by these feeling remarks, and the Governor General replied as follows :—

“MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—I am moved more than I dare trust myself to say by the kind address with which you have just honored me, breathing as it does a spirit of personal regard and affection, rather than that of official compliment.

As you say, for six years my wife and I have lived amongst you, I might almost say in the intimacy of domestic intercourse. Our daily occupations, interests and amusements have been more or less identical with your own. Two of our children are your fellow citizens ; and no embellishment has enhanced the beauty and dignity of your lovely city that has not occasioned as much pride and pleasure to us as it could have done to you. Indeed, among the many regrets which our departure entails upon us, by no means the least is the thought that we shall no longer have the daily pleasure of admiring, and re-admiring, your Parliamentary Buildings, which, both as regards their site, their architectural splendor and picturesque and regal outline, excel all others that exist upon this continent.

It has been a deep regret to me to learn that, for the last two or three years, Ottawa has shared in that commercial depression which has been so severely felt, not only over the whole of this continent, but in every European country.

Happy should I have been had this cause of anxiety completely disappeared before my departure ; but though the sky be still overcast, already I think a lightening of the atmosphere can be discerned in various quarters, nor have I the slightest hesitation in predicting the fairest prospects for your future fortunes.

Independently of the lumber trade, which cannot fail shortly to revive, there are many circumstances which point to the inevitable increase in the wealth, importance and dignity of your city. I suspect that the mineral resources of the region which surrounds you will prove very considerable. You will eventually find yourselves on the shortest, the cheapest and most important of all the lines of railway between the Atlantic and the Pacific ; while the expanding power, wealth and energies of this great Dominion will necessarily stimulate the vitality, and enhance the importance of its legislative metropolis.

But it is not on these public topics I had intended to speak to you. It is not the Governor General of Canada who is addressing you, but your fellow-townsmen ; and speaking both on Lady Dufferin's behalf, and on my own, I can assure you that no two people can have ever passed six happier years than we have done beneath the roof of Rideau. The consciousness of the many friendships we have made, of the kindly feelings displayed to us by persons of all creeds, classes and professions, will serve to enhance for the rest of our lives the happy recollections of these times ; and I trust that from henceforth, not only shall I myself have many opportunities of being of use to you, both collectively and individually, but that it will remain a tradition in my house to love and serve Canada and her people.”

The Council Chamber was decorated with flags and flowers, and on a dais was placed a throne decked with the flags of Great Britain



and Ireland, Canada and France, with a profusion of flowers for a back-ground. A guard of honor was furnished from the Foot Guards, accompanied by their excellent band. After the presentation of the address, their Excellencies held a levee, at which a large number of citizens took their farewell.

On the next morning, at half-past seven o'clock, an immense number of people assembled at the dock to witness the departure of their Excellencies in the steamer *Peerless*. On the vessel, Mr. Richards, of the Quebec Bank, on behalf of a number of young gentlemen, presented Her Excellency with a magnificent bouquet and silver holder; and His Excellency presented a silver and bronze medal to the Dominion Day Celebration Committee, to be competed for in the sports on the national holiday. In saying "good-bye" to the Foot Guards in attendance, he said:—

"In saying these few words of adieu, though I address them to you, they are equally intended for all Her Majesty's troops in the Dominion, of whose good conduct, whose zeal, and whose devotion to Her Majesty's service I have so often had such unmistakeable, and such satisfactory proof."

The parting was a painful one. Their Excellencies had so wound themselves around the hearts of the people of Ottawa that the scene did not bear the impress of officials moving to another sphere of action, it was more like that of dear and warm personal friends parting forever. Her Excellency was deeply agitated, and tears were seen in the eyes of many, who could not have betrayed more emotion had they been saying "farewell" to those connected with them by the closest ties of affectionate relationship.

Similar scenes occurred at Montreal, on their way to Quebec, in which city His Excellency established his headquarters during the remainder of his stay in Canada.

## CHAPTER XI.

Degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on His Excellency at Harvard—His address on the occasion—Joint address of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Quebec to His Excellency, 22nd June, 1878—His reply in English and French—Settlement of the Northerly and Westerly boundary of Ontario by the award of Chief Justice Harrison, Sir F. Hincks and Sir Edward Thornton—Appointment of the Marquis of Lorne as Governor General of Canada—Work commenced on the "Dufferin" improvements in Quebec—Tour of their Excellencies through the Eastern Townships—His Excellency's speech at Granby—Address to Her Majesty by the British Columbia House of Assembly, praying permission to withdraw from the Union unless the Railway settlement of 1874 be carried out by 1st May, 1879—Departure from Canada of Her Excellency, 31st August, 1878—Address of the Municipalities of Ontario to His Excellency, 5th September—His Excellency's reply—Degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on His Excellency by Laval University, Quebec, 11th September, 1878—Address—Reply in English and French—Address of St. Jean Baptiste Society, Quebec—Reply in English and French—General Elections—The fatal 17th September, 1878—Causes of the upheaval—The Constitutional question, whether the defeated Ministry should resign before the meeting of Parliament—The Ministry resign 9th October—His Excellency opens the Provincial Exhibition of Ontario in Toronto—Arrival in Toronto, 21st September—He attends a musical festival at Adelaide Street Rink—Address from Curling Club, presentation by them, and His Excellency's reply—Opens the Exhibition, 25th September—Address of the Agricultural and Arts Association—Reply—Visit to the Cairn, marking the site of Fort Rouille, A.D. 1749—Visit to Horticultural Grounds—Address from the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society—St. George's Society—Public School Board, and Commercial Travelers' Association—Replies—Visit to Central Prison—Citizens' demonstration in Queen's Park—Address of Corporation—Reply—Address of York County Council—Reply—Address of the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Hamilton—Reply—Entertainment by the Ontario Society of Artists—Graceful speech of Mr. Howland, and His Excellency's reply—Letter to the Governor of the State of New York, suggesting an International Park at the Falls of Niagara—Fac-simile of a duplicate of this letter—Inspection of Police Force, Toronto—Levee in City Council Chamber—Visit to St. Michael's Palace—Address of the Archbishop and Bishop—Reply—Address of Horticultural Committee—Final departure from Toronto—Return to Montreal—Formation of the new Ministry—His Excellency's final departure from Canada, 19th October—Resumé of his administration.

In June, His Excellency attended the commencement exercises at



Harvard University, when the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him. He was the chief guest at the Alumni Association dinner. In addition to the customary speeches by the President of the University and His Excellency the Governor of the State, addresses were made by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Colonel Henry Lee, the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, and the Rev. Edward E. Hale. His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin spoke as follows :—

“ MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—Among the many privileges attaching to my high office as Representative of Her Majesty in Canada, there is none to which I have attached greater value than the opportunities which it has afforded me of cultivating friendly relations with the Government and the people of the United States (applause); but although ere now I have had opportunities of addressing American audiences, I have never found myself in the presence of a more august assembly than the present. Standing in a hall—itself an historical monument such as no European University can boast of—in the presence of many whose achievements as statesmen, as men of science, as poets, as historians, as lawyers, have won for them the admiration of the civilized world (applause)—environed by the effigies of your old Colonial worthies and Governors,—of the Winthrops and Endicotts of early days, as well as by those of the heroes of the Independence period, of the Adamses, Franklins, Jeffersons of the last century,—nay seated at the same board with the distinguished descendants of those famous men, I might well shrink from intruding myself upon your attention. At the same time I cannot help remembering that I now stand beneath the maternal roof, and can appeal to the indulgence of every one present in right of those brotherly relations which have been established between us. (Applause.) Encouraged by these considerations I should be wanting in courtesy if I did not seize the opportunity of expressing to the authorities of this University my very deep sense of the honor conferred upon me by their permitting me to enter the ranks of its alumni. (Applause.) The loving veneration with which I regard my own Alma Mater of Oxford is in itself a sufficient security that I duly appreciate the privileges to which I have been admitted. But I confess there is a further reason which leads me to pay every mark of reverence in my power to this University. My experience in Canada has taught me to prize at a higher value than ever, the influences which emanate from these centres of intellectual effort and moral vigor. Although civilization has been in possession of America for nearly 300 years—although its population has attained so enormous an expansion, our energies are for the most part of necessity still engaged in contending with the brute forces of nature, and in converting to our uses those endless tracts of territory which have passed into our possession. As a consequence I have observed that in Canada, and perhaps the observation may be equally applicable to this country, there is some little danger of the more ideal side of life being lost and forgotten,—of our attention being too exclusively turned to providing for the material well-being of society,—and of the successful accumulation of wealth becoming the principal title to social consideration. Now to such unfortunate tendencies and conclusions, these sacred workshops of the brain are the most powerful correctives;—for here we are taught to recognize the

existence of possessions more valuable than anything which either money or power can procure, and that the noblest aim of life is not merely to make a fortune, or to leave an estate to our descendants—though these may be perfectly legitimate and honorable objects of ambition—but to elevate the moral standard of our generation, to enlarge the limits and capacities of human thought, to restrain the encroachments of sin, sickness, poverty, ignorance, corruption, and dishonesty,—and to render our Fatherland a still more glorious home for our children even than it has been for ourselves. Such are the lessons that you teach, and when I remember that this nation,—so gifted by Providence with all the blessings which a bounteous Nature can confer, so successful in the arts of self-government, so removed from the disturbing influences of external forces, its social system so untrammelled by traditional anomalies,—is adorned throughout its length and breadth with many and many a noble seminary of learning, that, fired by your example, is rivalling your efforts, I cannot but hope that hand in hand with our own Canada it is destined to show the world by what sure and simple methods the happiness of the human race may be immeasurably increased. (Great applause.) But, gentlemen, it is not these considerations alone which move me to express my gratitude for the honor you have done me. I have long had the good fortune of knowing some of the most distinguished personages of New England—Mr. Adams (applause), Mr. Longfellow (applause), Mr. Emerson (applause), Mr. Holmes (applause), Mr. Lowell (applause), and I am now the guest of one whose own literary and political career has added fresh lustre to the name of the founder of your common-wealth, of whom he is the direct descendant and representative, and with whom I am happy to think I am entitled to claim close kinship. (Applause.) At home I have sometimes had the privilege of welcoming to my roof no lesser men than Prescott, Hawthorne, Story, Motley (great applause), and when I consider that through your grace I have been domiciled so to speak within the precincts of that same Alma Mater whence these great and noble men derived their inspiration, and where, during a youth of high endeavor and unceasing industry and self-sacrifice, they laid sure and deep the foundations of that world-wide fame which now reflects such honor upon the University which sent them forth, I am naturally deeply sensible of the privileges thus conferred upon me. (Great applause.) For while we, gentlemen of the outside world, have been merely occupied in those material pursuits which minister to the well-being of ourselves and families, each of these in their several lines of literary or artistic achievement, have endowed their country with what Thucydides with such proud prescience pronounced his history would prove a *‘Ktema es aerē*. In conclusion, gentlemen, I cannot sit down without expressing to you my warmest admiration of the scene at which I was permitted to assist this morning. The dignity and decorum of the ceremonial attending the granting of your degrees has made a most profound impression upon my mind. Above all, when I consider the amount of rhetorical ability, of philosophical acumen, of practical appreciation both of economical and political questions exhibited by those of your students to whose exertions we had the pleasure of listening, I cannot help saying to myself if the Young America of to-day is capable of so satisfactory an exhibition, what may we not expect from its maturer and more serious efforts in the time to come.” (Prolonged applause.)



On the 22nd June, a joint address of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec, was presented to His Excellency in the Chamber of the Council.

Upon the floor of the House were the usual dignitaries and officials, and besides them were the Very Rev. Mgr. Cazeau, V.G. ; Rev. Mr. Auclair of the Basilica ; Rev. Mr. Beaudet of the Quebec Seminary ; Rev. Dr. Cook, St. Andrew's Church ; Rev. G. V. Housman, Rector of Quebec ; Rev. M. M. Fothergill, Rector of St. Peter's Church ; Rev. W. B. Clark ; His Lordship Mr. Justice Taschereau, of the Supreme Court of Canada ; Mr. Justice Okill Stuart ; Sir Narcisse F. Belleau ; Hon. G. Ouimet, Superintendent of Education ; Dr. Miles, Dr. Giard, and a large number of ladies.

At three o'clock, His Excellency, accompanied by Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin, Mrs. R. Stephenson, and Capt. Hamilton, A.D.C., arrived at Parliament House. A strong force of B Battery, drawn up opposite the entrance of the House under command of Lieutenant Colonel Montizambert, formed the guard of honor ; and a detachment of police under the command of Captain Heigham was in attendance.

His Excellency was received at the entrance of the Parliament House by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, and conducted to the Legislative Council Chamber, attended by the following military staff :—Lieutenant Colonel Strange, Commander of the Garrison ; Lieutenant Colonel Forsyth, Lieutenant Colonel Lamontagne, Lieutenant Colonel Vohl, Lieutenant Colonel Amyot, Lieutenant Colonel Colfer, Major Slous, Major Morgan, Capt. Price, Capt. Dart, Capt. Prévost, Capt. Imlach, Capt. Charlewood, Capt. LeSueur, Capt. Ahearn, Capt. Levasseur, Dr. Neilson, Lieutenant Norris, Paymaster Balfour, and others. The staff was joined in the Speaker's room by M. Rustain Effendi, of the Ottoman Legation, Washington, and M. Bluhdorn, of the Austrian Legation.

Having taken his seat on the Throne in the Council Chamber, seats were provided on his left for Her Excellency, the Misses Letellier, and Mrs. Stephenson ; a seat on his right was occupied by his Honor Mr. Letellier, the Lieutenant Governor, who was attended by Capt. Gauthier, A.D.C.

The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod then proceeded to escort the Speakers and Members of the two Houses into His Excellency's presence. The President of the Council, the Hon. Mr. Starnes, addressing himself to the Governor General, who stood in front of the

Throne, read in English, and the Hon. Mr. Turcotte, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, in French, the joint address, as follows :

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, Her Majesty’s faithful and loyal subjects, and the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec, now in Parliament assembled, embrace this opportunity of expressing the feelings of esteem and of high regard which we entertain towards you.

The pleasure which we experience in welcoming your Excellency to our ancient Capital is mingled with profound regret caused by the saddening reflection that the day of your departure from these shores is rapidly approaching.

During the fleeting years of your Administration you generously and unreservedly devoted to the interests of Canada all the affections of your heart, and all the powers and resources of your intellect, seeking after every possible means to blend into one harmonious whole the heterogeneous or discordant elements of which our nationality is composed, encouraging us to know each other better, and thus to cement our mutual friendship and esteem. More than any other you have aided to cause Canada to be better known and appreciated abroad, and every where, on your recent journey from the Atlantic to the Pacific you have left memories which nothing can obliterate.

Besides your inappreciable services rendered to the whole Dominion, it has pleased your Excellency to become the patron of letters, of science, and of art.

To you the city of Quebec is indebted for your endeavors to preserve her diadem of ramparts which recall to our Canadian hearts the brightest pages of our history, and remind us of duties which we may yet be called upon to fulfil.

You have embodied in plans the fine conception of your imagination respecting them, and, so long as Quebec sits on a rocky throne, so long with them will your name be associated and revered.

While offering our heartfelt good wishes to your Excellency, we cannot forget one, who, by her grace and affability, has endeared herself to all of us. The amiable and accomplished Countess of Dufferin has won all hearts.

To her and to yourself we tender our respectful homage, and we respectfully trust that, wherever duty may call you, the name of our Province will revive recollections of a people whose sympathies and affections are entirely yours.”

His Excellency read in English and French the following reply :—

“HON. GENTLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN.—To say that I am deeply moved by the Address with which the two Houses of the Quebec Legislature have honored me, is to express but very little of what I feel, for at such a moment I cannot help remembering that it was when landing on your shores six years ago I was made to feel for the first time amongst what a loyal, cultivated and generous people I had come to take up my abode. Certainly no Viceroy could have entered upon his career under happier auspices than those you had prepared for me.

Since that time Lady Dufferin and myself have had the happiness of frequently revisiting our summer home within your lofty Citadel, and at each return that home has become endeared to us by ever brightening associations, and the cementing of closer friendship.

Year by year, I have had better opportunities of appreciating the devotion of



the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec to the throne and government of the Queen, and to the interests of the Empire ; and nothing has given me greater pride than to observe when a cloud of war recently threatened Great Britain that Her Majesty's French Canadian subjects were not a whit behind their English, Scotch and Irish fellow-citizens, in testifying their willingness to rally to the defence of Her Dominions.

It is quite true that the distinctions of race which exist within the borders of Canada complicate to a certain degree those problems of Government with which the statesmen of the country are periodically called upon to deal, but the inconveniences which may sometimes arise from this source are more than counter-balanced by many advantages which ensue from it. I do not think that ethnological homogeneity is an unmixed benefit to a country. Certainly the least attractive characteristic of a great portion of this continent is the monotony of many of its outward aspects, and I consider it fortunate for Canada that her prosperity should be founded on the co-operation of different races. The inter-action of national idiosyncrasies introduces into our existence a freshness, a variety, a color, an eclectic impulse, which otherwise would be wanting ; and it would be most faulty statesmanship to seek their obliteration. My warmest aspiration for this Province has always been to see its French inhabitants executing for Canada the functions which France herself has so admirably performed for Europe. Strike from European history the achievements of France—subtract from European civilization the contributions of France,—and what a blank would be occasioned !

I am very sensible of your goodness in referring in such flattering terms to my humble endeavors to promote the embellishment of your City, by the preservation and adornment of its picturesque and world-famous battlements. Though various circumstances have postponed the execution of the project, I am happy to be able to announce that, ere many days pass by, a commencement will have been made, not without advantage, I trust, to those of our fellow citizens who in these recent times of distress have found a difficulty in obtaining employment.

In conclusion allow me to express to you in Lady Dufferin's name, her deep sense of the compliment paid to her in your address. In no part of the Dominion has she met with greater courtesy, with more chivalrous and considerate attention, than in the City of Quebec, and never will its picturesque outlines, or the lovely scenery which surrounds it, fade from her memory or from mine."

HONORABLES MESSIEURS ET MESSIEURS,—Vous dire que je suis profondément touché de l'adresse dont les deux chambres de la Législature de Québec m'ont honoré, serait n'exprimer que faiblement ce que j'éprouve, car, en un pareil moment, je ne puis m'empêcher de me rappeler que, en débarquant sur vos rivages, il y a six ans, je ressentis pour la première fois combien est loyal, fidèle, cultivé et généreux le peuple au milieu duquel je venais fixer mon séjour. Nul vice-roi ne pouvait, certainement, voir s'ouvrir sa carrière sous de plus heureux auspices que ceux que vous m'aviez ménagés.

Depuis lors, Lady Dufferin et moi, nous avons eu la bonne fortune de revenir fréquemment à notre résidence d'été, dans les murs de votre fière citadelle, et, à chaque retour, ce lieu nous est devenu plus cher par l'éclat de la société et les liens que l'amitié resserrait sans cesse d'avantage.

D'année en année, j'ai eu occasion d'apprécier l'attachement des habitants de la Province de Québec au trône, au gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine, ainsi qu'aux intérêts de l'empire, et, lorsque, tout récemment, un nuage portant la guerre dans ses flancs menaçait la Grande-Bretagne, rien ne me causa plus de légitime orgueil que de voir que les sujets franco-canadiens de Sa Majesté ne restaient pas d'un iota en arrière de leurs compatriotes écossais et irlandais dans l'expression de leur désir de se rallier pour la défense de ses possessions.

Il est bien vrai que les différences de races qui existent au Canada, compliquent, jusqu'à un certain point, les problèmes que les hommes d'état ont à résoudre de temps à autre, mais les inconvénients qui peuvent quelquefois en résulter sont plus que contrebalancés par plusieurs avantages qui en dérivent. Je ne crois pas que l'homogénéité ethnologique soit un bienfait sans mélange pour un pays. Il est incontestable que le côté le moins attrayant du caractère social d'une grande partie des populations de ce continent, est le cachet d'uniformité que présentent plusieurs de ses aspects, et je pense qu'il est heureux pour le Canada de pouvoir compter sur la coopération de différentes races. L'action réciproque des idiosyncrasies nationales introduit dans notre existence une verdure, une fraîcheur, une variété, une couleur, une impulsion ecclésiastiques qui, sans cela, ferait défaut ; il serait d'une très-mauvaise politique que de chercher à les faire disparaître. Mes plus chaudes aspirations en faveur de cette province ont toujours été de voir ses habitants français accomplir pour le Canada les fonctions que la France elle-même a si admirablement remplies pour l'Europe. Enlevez de l'histoire de l'Europe le rôle de la France—retirez de la civilisation européenne la part que la France y a contribué—quel vide se produira !

Je suis très-sensible à la bonté que vous avez eue de parler en termes aussi flatteurs de mes humbles efforts pour favoriser les embellissements de votre cité, en préservant et décorant ses pittoresques créneaux, connus du monde entier. Quoique diverses circonstances aient retardé l'exécution de ce projet, je suis heureux de vous annoncer que, sous peu de jours, on en verra le commencement, non sans profit, je l'espère, pour ceux de vos concitoyens qui, dans ces derniers temps de pénurie, ont eu de la difficulté à se procurer de l'emploi.

En terminant, permettez-moi de vous exprimer au nom de Lady Dufferin, combien elle est touchée des compliments que renferme votre adresse. Dans aucune partie de la confédération, elle n'a rencontré plus grande courtoisie alliée à plus d'attention chevaleresque et réfléchie, que dans la cité de Québec dont les pittoresques contours et les délicieux paysages qui l'environnent ne s'effaceraient jamais de sa mémoire, ni de la mienne."

The northerly and westerly boundary of the Province of Ontario had never yet been authoritatively settled. Commissions had been appointed from time to time, but nothing was done until 1878. On the 29th July, the Commissioners the Hon. R. A. Harrison, Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench of Ontario ; Sir Francis Hincks ; and Sir Edward Thornton, British Minister at Washington, met in the Supreme Court Room at Ottawa, for the purpose of hearing Counsel and adjudicating upon the case. The Ontario Government was represented by the Hon. Mr. Mowat, Attorney General for the Province,



and Mr. Hodgins, Q.C.; the Dominion, by Mr. MacMahon, Q.C., of London, and Mr. Monk, Q.C., of Montreal.

The case was fully argued by these gentlemen, and the Commissioners on the 3rd August made the following award :—

“TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME :—The undersigned, having been appointed by the Government of Canada and Ontario as arbitrators to determine the northerly and westerly boundary of the Province of Ontario, do hereby determine and decide that the following are and shall be such boundaries, that is to say :—commencing at a point on the southern shore of Hudson Bay, commonly called James Bay, where a line produced due north from the head of Lake Temiscaming would strike the said south shore, thence along the said south shore westerly to the mouth of the Albany River, thence up the middle of the said Albany River and of the lakes thereon to the source of the said river at the head of Lake St. Joseph, thence by the nearest line to the easterly end of Lac Seul, being the head waters of the English River, thence westerly through the middle of Lac Seul and the said English River to a point where the same will be intersected by a true meridional line drawn northerly from the International monument placed to mark the most north-westerly angle of the Lake of the Woods by the recent boundary commission, and thence due south, following the said meridional line to the said International monument, thence southerly and easterly following upon the International boundary line between the British possessions and the United States of America into Lake Superior. But if a true meridional line drawn northerly from the said International boundary at the said most north-westerly angle of the Lake of the Woods shall be found to pass to the west of where the English River empties into the Winnipeg River, then and in such case the northerly boundary of Ontario shall continue down the middle of the said English River to where the same empties into the Winnipeg River, and shall continue thence on a line drawn due west from the confluence of the said English River with the said Winnipeg River until the same will intersect the meridian above described, and thence due south following the said meridional line to the said International monument, thence southerly and easterly following upon the International boundary line between the British possessions and the United States of America into Lake Superior.

Given under our hands at Ottawa, in the Province of Ontario, this third day of August, 1878.

ROBT. A. HARRISON,  
EDWARD THORNTON,  
F. HINCKS.

Signed and published in the presence of  
THOS. HODGINS,  
E. MONK.”

On the 27th July, it was officially announced that the Marquis of Lorne had been selected as the successor of Lord Dufferin. Canada received the news with mingled feelings. Vague hopes had been indulged in that His Excellency would be offered a new term of office. Such an act of the Imperial Government would have been hailed with pleasure by every Canadian ;—but when it became known that he

was to be followed by the husband of a daughter of Her Majesty, the feeling of deep regret at losing the Earl of Dufferin was tempered by that of delight at securing a ruler so nearly connected with our beloved Queen. Canada felt that a graceful compliment had been paid her, and that her rising importance in the scale of nations was, in this appointment, significantly recognized. During a long and imperial succession of British Premiers not one had ever before distinguished the colony by devoting to its service one of the Royal family. The appointment was considered as one of those deep and far-seeing projects of the Earl of Beaconsfield, which have placed him at the head of the statesmen of the age. Imperial policy had seen that the unswerving affection of the Canadian people to the British Crown deserved some marked acknowledgment, and Her Majesty gracefully presented one of her own daughters as a gift to her affectionate subjects in her North American possessions. The undeviating consideration shown to Canada in all the fiscal and political relations of the Empire,—the studious avoidance of all undue interference with her internal affairs,—the unselfish desire to see her rise in the world,—and the tender care with which Britain spread over her the powerful protection of her great name, have long and often been gratefully acknowledged by Canada; and when, in addition to all these material advantages, England conferred upon her the distinguished honor of appointing a scion of one of the noblest of the great houses of Britain, and the husband of a favored daughter of Her Majesty to the governorship of Canada, her warmest feelings of affection for the Mother Country were intensified, and the ties which bound them together were strengthened a hundredfold. The Marquis of Lorne will receive, upon his arrival, a most hearty welcome from Canada, and the Princess Louise will be greeted with an enthusiasm which will surprise no one who can fathom the deep love which Canadians bear to her royal Mother.

In August, Lord Dufferin had the satisfaction of seeing the work of construction actually commenced on the "Dufferin Improvements" in Quebec.\* He received from Her Majesty a handsome contribution to the expense of that portion of the scheme known as the "Kent" Gate, which is to be erected in honor of her father, who spent many years within the walls of the historic old city. It is gratifying to all Canadians now to be able to believe that the scheme which has been

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\* In compliment to His Excellency one of the gates has been called "Dufferin" Gate.



fully noticed in a former part of this work will be warmly encouraged by the new Governor General and the Princess Louise, and it is to be hoped that, during their sojourn in the Dominion, the crowning work—the contemplated *Chateau St. Louis* will be erected.

On the 12th August their Excellencies left Quebec on a tour through that beautiful portion of the Province known as the “Eastern Townships,” in the course of which they visited Danville, Richmond, Sherbrooke, Lennoxville, Massawippi Lake, Compton, Coaticooke, Hatley, Stanstead, Lake Memphremagog, Granby, Waterloo and St. Johns. The tour was, as usual with their Excellencies, an ovation. Though on the eve of their departure from Canada, they were everywhere received with an enthusiasm as warm and heartfelt as if they had just landed on her shores. Among the replies to the many addresses presented to His Excellency during this tour, the address of the Corporation of Granby on the 20th August, is important, as it points to an evil in our social system which cannot be too frequently noticed or too vigorously combated,—the tendency of our young people to prefer the occupation of a small shopkeeper to the nobler and more independent one of a tiller of the soil. He said:—

“MR. MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It would require far greater ingenuity than even an accomplished speaker might possess, to vary those expressions of delight and satisfaction to which every Governor General must desire to give utterance, when making an official tour through any part of Canada, so cordial, so universal, so loyal is the reception he meets with in every hamlet, village, town or city through which he passes. Indeed I must fairly admit to you that my vocabulary of felicitation and panegyric has been almost exhausted by the never-ending evidences I meet with of the contentment and patriotism of the Canadian people. And yet, in almost every new district I traverse there are nearly always to be found some peculiar and novel features, affording fresh and unaccustomed grounds upon which to congratulate its inhabitants. Certainly nowhere do these exist in greater abundance than in the Eastern Townships, which seem to comprise within their area all the advantages which one would desire to congregate within the circuit of an ideal Kingdom (applause): beautiful scenery, where mountain, hill and dale, woodland, lake and river, are mingled together in the most picturesque confusion; convenient means of communication with the adjacent centres of population both in Canada and the States; breadths of agricultural land of the best quality, and such pastures as have enabled those enterprising gentlemen who devote themselves to the raising of cattle, to bring to market beasts which vie, both in reputation and the prices they fetch, with those produced by the most noted breeders in England (hear, hear); while the entire population seems to be animated by a spirit of energy and enterprise which is determined to do more than justice to the material advantages placed within its reach. In fact, the conditions of this peculiar and beautiful region are so remarkable that it is here, I venture to prophesy, will be

developed a phase of our many-sided Canadian existence, which, though now in its infancy, cannot fail eventually to assume considerable proportions, and to add greatly to the well-being and happiness of a large proportion of the community. (Applause.) Hitherto, in Canada, a sharp line has divided the occupations of the urban from those of the rural population. (Hear, hear.) The farmers of Canada have constituted a class by themselves, nor as a rule have our successful traders and merchants been often tempted to remove with their accumulated wealth into the country, from the neighborhood of those marts and haunts of commerce which witnessed their early struggles and ultimate success. As a consequence, the prospects and advantages supposed to be connected with a mercantile career have become invested with a prestige and importance which experience does not always prove to have belonged to them, and our farmers' sons, instead of being contented to stick to agricultural pursuits, have been thus tempted—with insufficient capital, scant experience, and defective training—to set up as small traders, to their own ruin, and the great disadvantage of the country. (Hear, hear.) Now this undoubtedly is an evil. Important and essential to our wealth and greatness as may be our mercantile and manufacturing industries, agriculture must, almost of necessity, constitute for many a long day the chief resource and employment of the major part of the community,—and it is to our agricultural population that we must look for the settlement of the North West, the general enlargement of our borders, the increment of our bulk, and the advancement of our importance as a far-spreading nation. (Applause.) Any circumstance, therefore, which even in an indirect manner gives a higher character to our agricultural system, which elevates its reputation as a lucrative enterprise, which develops its amenities, or adds value to its products, will prove of immeasurable advantage. (Hear, hear.) To this end I believe the peculiar characteristics of this region will powerfully contribute. (Applause.) With such attractive scenery, within so short a distance of Montreal, possessing every charm and advantage which a country life can offer, it will be impossible for our wealthier citizens much longer to content themselves with that suburban-villa life—only broken by a few weeks trip to some watering-place—which they now affect. Following the wise example set them by Sir Hugh Allan, Senator Cochrane, by Mr. Brown, by Mr. Christie and others, they will create for themselves, instead, a rural Paradise beside the lovely lakes and rivers which decorate your neighborhood, and I am very much mistaken if the rich lands by which they will find their residences surrounded will not arouse within their breasts that instinctive love for the cultivation of the soil which is the primeval passion of mankind. (Applause.) Hence we shall see established amongst us what will prove by no means an undesirable adjunct to our present social system, the Canadian country gentleman, setting an example to the whole neighborhood—by the judicious application of his capital to the land—of what a highly scientific agriculture can accomplish, and inoculating, so to speak, every country side with a strain of thoroughbred horses, cattle, sheep, and swine, which will still further stimulate the nascent trade we have recently established in live and dead stock with the Mother Country. (Hear, hear.) So many poets have so sweetly sung of the delights of a rural life that I will not expatiate upon them. Agriculture, 'the invention of gods, and the employment of



heroes,'—as Lord Beaconsfield once described it, is still undoubtedly a most honorable and agreeable pursuit. (Hear, hear.) If it does not promote the accumulation of individual wealth so rapidly as other kinds of industry, it distributes it more equally, especially when, as is the case in this country, almost every cultivator owns the land he tills; nor can it be doubted that the establishment here and there throughout the country districts, of a class of persons blessed with means, leisure, education, and trained intelligence, and at the same time united, by a community of pursuits, tastes, and interests, with the mass of the population which surrounds them, would have a most beneficial effect in stimulating the general advancement, intellectual, moral, and material, of the entire rural community. (Applause.) Upon the advantages which they themselves would derive from such methods of existence I need not dilate. They would discover a fresh interest in life, fresh beauties in nature, while the happy, healthful influences amid which their children would grow up, the simplicity of habits they would engender, could not fail to prove a blessing to every succeeding generation. (Applause.) I believe that the noblest virtues and the best characteristics possessed by Englishmen are to be traced to their love of a country life, and certain am I that English young women would not be half so nice, so rosy, so frank, so beautiful, so robust, so modest, so simple as they are, if they were not for the most part 'country-bred. (Hear, hear.) Although, therefore, the change may not be immediate, I think you will see from the allusions I have made that the beautiful and fertile districts you inhabit are destined to be a powerful factor in promoting the well-being of the country, and, were I granted a wish, I do not know that I could make a better choice than to ask for the privilege of re-visiting this lovely district some fifty or a hundred years hence, to see its rolling plains and woodlands carved out, as I am sure they will be, into innumerable parks, homesteads, farms and villas, justly entitling it to be called the Garden of Canada, while here and there shall rise in frequent clusters the augmented spires, roofs and chimneys of those prosperous little towns, through whose bright pavilioned streets we have recently held our triumphal way. (Loud applause.) Such, at least, gentlemen, is the destiny I anticipate for you and your neighbors, and, if affectionate wishes were of any avail, if a magic wand in grateful hands could work the miracle, the picture I have drawn should become a reality this very minute. But, alas! to labor and to wait is the lot of mankind. It only remains, therefore, for me to bid you go on and prosper in loyal fidelity to those blessed traditions which have already secured to you peace and order, freedom and self-government, honor and renown, within the wide circuit of that glorious Empire, of which you are by no means the least pleasing ornament. (Loud applause.) Gentlemen, I will conclude by telling you a story: You know that Bostonians are not supposed to fail in the virtue of self-appreciation. Well, a school inspector from that city was visiting a certain seminary in New England, and, after describing to his young audience a little boy whom he once knew as possessing every possible juvenile virtue, such as never being late for school, never blotting his copybook, never telling a story, or omitting an exercise, he concluded by asking the children in solemn tones: 'And where do you think he is now.' With one acclaim the little boys cried out: 'In Heaven, Sir.'

(Great laughter.) With a somewhat disconcerted visage the school-master replied : 'No! No! not exactly in Heaven; but—he is keeping a store in Boston.' (Great laughter.) Well, gentlemen, for 'keeping a store in Boston,' I would have substituted: 'he is at the plough-tail in the Townships.'" (Tremendous applause and laughter.)

In the course of the tour their Excellencies were hospitably entertained by Sir Hugh Allan, at his charming country seat on Lake Memphremagog.

On the 30th August, the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, by a vote of fourteen to nine, passed an address to Her Majesty on the Pacific Railway difficulty, which concluded in these words :—

"To prevent, if possible, the repetition in the future of the disasters of the past, your petitioners with great regret feel compelled, in defence of the interests of the Province, to resort to the unavoidable alternative forced upon them by the conduct of the present Dominion Government, and to therefore humbly pray that, in the event of the Dominion Government failing to carry into effect the settlement of 1874 on or before the first day of May next, Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to order and direct that British Columbia shall thereafter have the right to exclusively collect her customs and excise duties, and to withdraw from the Union; and shall also in any event be entitled to be compensated by the Dominion for losses sustained by reason of past delays, and the failure of the Dominion Government to carry out their railway and other obligations to the Province."

This address was the natural result of the late elections in the Province. The Local Government had been in sympathy with the Dominion Administration, but so intense had been the popular feeling against Mr. Mackenzie's treatment of the Province in the Railway matter, that, when the General Elections gave them an opportunity, the people expressed their strong disapprobation of it by inflicting on the Ministerialists a crushing defeat at the polls. Mr. Walkem, the uncompromising champion of the rights of the Province, was re-called to the head of the Local Government, and the Assembly lost no time in addressing to Her Majesty the solemn determination of the people, that, rather than longer submit to Mr. Mackenzie's treatment, they would leave the Union. It may be said that this was only a threat which British Columbia had no intention to carry out, nevertheless, it is a deep stigma on the honor of the Dominion, that the policy of her Ministry should have brought forth so strong a protest; and it is a matter of very serious import that a Province should be kept year after year in a state of constant discontent and ferment. The common interest of the Dominion and of British Columbia is injured by such a course; but it is consoling to reflect that the result of the General Elections, held on the



17th September, have deprived the late Dominion Government of the power of giving further annoyance to this fine portion of Canada ; and that now, under the rule of Sir John Macdonald, a new and satisfactory policy will be pursued towards her.

On the 31st August, Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin departed from Canada.

Matters of a private nature led to the sudden resolution to leave the country before His Excellency. This was deeply regretted, for, in the demonstrations with which it was intended to distinguish his final leave-taking, it was fully expected that Lady Dufferin would appear. She had deeply impressed the Canadian heart, and when it became known that she would be unable to receive the loving homage of the thousands who had proposed to be eye-witnesses of the "Farewell" scene at Quebec, a sincere sadness was felt throughout the Dominion. Her Excellency, accompanied by Lord Dufferin and by the Hon. Colonel and Mrs. Littleton, who sailed with her, drove from the citadel shortly before nine o'clock in the morning, and was heartily cheered by the people on her way to the steamer. The party were escorted by the B Battery, headed by its band. Numbers of the leading citizens congregated on the dock, to witness her departure, among whom were the Lord Bishop of Quebec, the Hon. Mr. Joly, Premier of the Quebec Government, and a large number of ladies. As the ship moved off, a salute was fired, the crowd cheered, and the band played "Auld Lang Syne." The parting was extremely painful, and many were affected to tears.\*

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\* The following notice, from a local journal, of Her Excellency's departure is a fair expression of the universal feeling towards her held by the people of Canada :

"Saturday, the last day of August, was one of the hottest days felt in Quebec this summer. But hot as it was, it did not deter hundreds of people turning out to get a last good-by look at the lovely Countess of Dufferin, who sailed that morning per SS. "Sardinian" for Ireland. As we stood upon the steamer and looked upwards towards the city we saw crowds of people clustered here and there upon the rocks above us. Durham Terrace was black with them. High up at the Citadel flags floated, and good-by signals were being made from her late home, which the Countess responded to with many a tear and friendly wave of her handkerchief.

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The departure of Lady Dufferin is a source of unfeigned regret to the people of Canada. No lady who ever held her position here, did it with the rare grace, the untiring industry and the unselfishness she did ; she was a marvel of hard work, as back and forth she travelled, accompanying His Excellency wherever duty called or kindness directed him ; standing for hours to receive addresses, and hold

An imposing mode of expressing the feeling of regret which pervaded all classes at the approaching departure of His Excellency was now carried out. Mr. J. P. McMillan, one of the councillors of the town of Guelph, suggested that a number of the Municipalities of Ontario should unite in one address to His Excellency, and that a deputation, consisting of the chief officers of each, should proceed to Quebec, and make a formal presentation of it. That gentleman communicated with each Municipality of the Province, and, the suggestion meeting with a warm approval, the necessary arrangements were immediately made. The 5th September was fixed for the day of presentation, and Quebec—the ancient capital—the place. The following gentlemen formed the deputation :—

London—R. Lewis, Mayor ; Belleville—A. Robertson, Mayor ; Brantford—Ald. Charles B. Heyd, representing both the city and county ; Kingston—Ald. R. Carson and Ald. T. R. Dupuis ; Guelph—Geo. Howard, Mayor ; Dennis Coffee, J. P. McMillan, and Fred. Biscoe, Councillors ; Stratford—T. M. Daly, Mayor ; A. W. Robb, A. G. Mackay, Councillors, and A. Grant, Inspector Public Schools ; Woodstock—T. H. Parker, Mayor ; W. Nasmith, Councillor ; Listowel—J. W. Scott, Mayor ; Berlin—W. H. Hoare, Mayor's delegate ; Bothwell,—John Crotty, Mayor ; W. Roseburgh, Councillor ; Chatham—W. Gray, Mayor ; Dresden—Charles Livingstone, Councillor ; Galt—R.

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receptions, with a brightness and charm which won all hearts—with a condescension and a tact so exquisite that it lost the appearance of condescension itself, and made people feel as if they conferred a favor rather than received one. Brought into contact with all classes, many a rough and ready specimen of humanity has shaken Her Excellency by the hand, and no breach of etiquette has ever been marked or noticed so as to bring a blush to the cheek of the ignorant offender. The difficult position which Lady Dufferin has had to fill she has filled as a helpmeet to her noble husband. We can give her no higher praise. Lord Dufferin without Her Ladyship would, clever statesman as he is, admirable Governor as he has been, scarcely have reached the hearts of the people as he has done. Of her the wise man's words will always be singularly appropriate : 'Her husband is known in the gates when he sitteth among the elders of the land.' Many were the sorrowful prayers that went up yesterday, both publicly and privately, that God would watch over and bless her, give her of the fruit of her hands, not only in the warm love and gratitude of the people of Canada, but wherever, in the Providence of God, she might be led.

If duty done—duty nobly and faithfully done—should earn gratitude, then Lady Dufferin is enshrined forever in that of the Dominion of Canada.

*Quebec, September 2nd."*



Scott, Deputy Reeve ; Waterloo—G. J. Colquhoun, Councillor ; County of Simcoe—David Dunn, Warden ; Col. Banting, Clerk ; County of Oxford—S. Burgess, Warden ; H. B. Brown, Treasurer ; W. Carlyle, Inspector Public Schools ; County of Kent—A. Trerice, Warden ; County of Lambton—D. Naughton, Warden ; County of Haldimand—Arthur Boyle, Warden ; F. Stevenson, Clerk ; Village of Arthur—W. Wallace White, Clerk ; Village of Norwich—Seneca Pitcher, Reeve, and D. W. Millar, Councillor ; Village of Oakville—John Barclay, Councillor ; Village of Watford, Col. Campbell, Reeve ; Township of West Oxford—Gordon H. Cook, Reeve ; F. Cody, Deputy-Reeve ; North Oxford—H. Golding, Councillor ; East Oxford—W. Peers, Reeve ; Township of Scarboro'—D. G. Stephenson, Reeve ; W. Tredway, Deputy Reeve ; George Morgan, Councillor ; Township of Sarnia—W. Ireland, Deputy-Reeve ; Township of Bosanquet, R. Rae, Reeve ; Village of Dayton—F. S. Proctor, Clerk.

At three o'clock, on the appointed day, the delegation, headed by three Highland pipers, Wm. Gunn, of Embro, George Gordon Fraser, of Woodstock, and O'Keil J. Cameron, of Glengarry, dressed in the tartans of their respective clans, entered the Citadel, and proceeded at once to the Governor's Terrace, where it was to be received. The band of the garrison played at intervals during the proceedings. A more magnificent sight than this or a finer day could not possibly have been. The Governor's Terrace, as all the visitors to Quebec will remember, is situated off the Officers' Department, at present the Vice-regal residence, and the highest part of the citadel. It was on this spot, Lord Dufferin very aptly said, the former Viceroy of Canada, under the ancient *régime*, received deputations from the wilds of the then unknown West. Immediately at the foot of the rock fortress is the city of Quebec, with its winding streets and quaint architecture, and its wharves and busy life. Beside it rolls the magnificent St. Lawrence, bearing on its bosom towards the sea stately vessels laden with the produce of Canada's forests ; and across the river is Point Levis, with its prosperous town, thrown into bold relief by the towering hills to the rear, crowned with the new fortifications. Still farther south, as far as the eye can reach, stretches the fertile soil of the counties of Levis, Dorchester, and Beauce, until a faint glimpse of the mountainous frontier of the State of Maine is had through the haziness of the distance. Down the river the Island of Orleans, formerly called Bacchus, and the Falls of Montmorenci, are plainly visible, while on the left the valley of the St. Charles and the Laurentian mountains add fresh

attractions to the scene, making as a whole a landscape which could not fail to contribute dignity and *éclat* to the proceedings. On the platform were His Excellency Lord Dufferin, whose only ornament was the insignia of the Order of St. Patrick ; Mr. and Mrs. Russell Stephenson, Captain Hamilton, A.D.C., Col. Strange, and Captain Duchesnay.

Mr. Daly, Mayor of Stratford, was introduced to the Governor General by Captain Hamilton, and in turn introduced the delegation. Mr. Daly explained that the honor conferred upon him was to introduce to His Excellency the gentlemen present as representing the Municipal Corporations of Ontario, and who bore with them a joint address from those bodies. He had scarcely need to say that the fact of the departure of His Excellency for Great Britain, and the near severance of the ties which bound him to this country, had led to this expression of esteem. While they felt a pleasure in thus doing honor to the Representative of Her Majesty, yet it was mixed with sadness, feeling that its immediate cause was the one assigned. Without further preface he introduced Mr. McMillan, who had organized the deputation, and to whose services all praise is due.

The title page of the address was framed and beautifully illuminated. The text was supported on each side by scroll work, capped by the arms of the Governor General. At the head were the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa and the Royal arms. At the foot a beaver and maple leaves formed the centre, supported to the right by a view of Niagara Falls and Goat Island lighthouse, and to the left by a view of Lachine Rapids. The title page read thus :—

1872.

## JOINT ADDRESS

OF THE

## MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS

OF ONTARIO, TO THE

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DUFFERIN,

Upon his departure from Canada,

1878.

1878.

To His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin, Viscount and Baron Clandeboye of Clandeboye in the County Down in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, Baron Dufferin and Clandeboye, of Ballyleidy and Killeleagh in the County Down in the Peerage of Ireland, and a Baronet-Knight of the most illustrious Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, and Knight-Commander of the most Honorable Order of the Bath, Governor General of Canada and Vice Admiral of the same, etc.



The address itself was engrossed on separate leaves suitable for binding, and was handsomely got up. It was read by Mr. McMillan as follows:—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the delegates from the various municipal Corporations of Ontario, loyal subjects of Her Majesty, charged with the agreeable duty of conveying to your Excellency and the Countess of Dufferin a parting memorial of the affection in which you are held by the people of Ontario, crave audience of your Excellency.

Permit us to assure you that our mission is a sad, but also a pleasing one; sad, inasmuch as we are mindful that the ties which have linked you in affectionate union with us for the past six years are about to be severed; and pleasing, in that we have the opportunity ere you leave of placing in your hands the evidence that those whom we represent are not forgetful of their duty as loyal people towards the Viceroy whose rule has been signalized by so many examples of enlightened statesmanship and executive ability. To indulge in expressions of fulsome adulation, or address you in terms capable of being construed as meaningless flattery, would be but a doubtful compliment to your superior intelligence. We desire rather in the simple but eloquent language of the heart to tender your Excellency, on behalf of the people of Ontario, their unqualified approval of your career as Governor General of Canada, accompanied with the warmest personal regard for your Excellency and the amiable Countess of Dufferin.

While admiring the tact, firmness, and efficiency displayed in the discharge of your important State duties, we have not failed also to appreciate the lively interest you have taken in whatever was calculated to promote the prosperity of the several Provinces, or aid in the material and intellectual improvement of the people. It has been your study to become thoroughly acquainted with the character and the resources of the country, and the requirements of all classes therein, and the kindness of heart which you have manifested in visiting the habitations of the poor, even in the most remote territories, has won for you golden opinions.

Our scientific and educational institutions, encouraged by your generous bounty, have acquired fresh vigor from the impetus which a liberal appreciation of their merit is always sure to impart; and we cannot but advert to the fact that innocent amusement, so essential to the preservation of “a sound mind in a sound body,” has received your Excellency’s endorsement.

We feel convinced that many real blessings to our country will be the outgrowth of your zeal, eloquence, and administrative talent.

Be pleased to bear with you our sentiments of profound attachment to the Throne and person of Her Majesty the Queen, and our best wishes for the continued health and happiness of yourself and your distinguished consort.

Although about to be deprived of the advantage of your great mind in the future guidance of Canada’s destiny, yet we shall always feel that in your Excellency our Dominion will have a friend and powerful advocate, and Britain a statesman worthy of her incomparable renown.

With feelings of unfeigned regret we bid your Excellencies farewell.

R. LEWIS, *Mayor city of London.*

- ALEX. ROBERTSON, *Mayor city of Belleville.*  
 ROBERT HENRY, *Mayor city of Brantford.*  
 T. M. DALY, *Mayor of Stratford.*  
 JOHN CROTTY, *Mayor of Bothwell.*  
 A. TRERICE, *Warden of county of Kent.*  
 JNO. RAE, *Warden of county of Wellington.*  
 ARTHUR BOYLE, *Warden of Haldimand.*  
 WM. GRAY, *Mayor of Chatham.*  
 WM. MACK, *Warden of United Counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry.*  
 T. H. PARKER, *Mayor of Woodstock.*  
 S. S. BURGESS, *Warden of county of Oxford.*  
 J. W. SCOTT, *Mayor of Listowel.*  
 DAVID DUNN, *Warden of county of Simcoe.*  
 R. T. BANTING, *County Clerk of county of Simcoe.*  
 C. J. MATTICE, *Mayor of Cornwall.*  
 JOHN G. HAGERMAN, *Warden of Northumberland and Durham.*  
 JOSHUA LEGG, Jr., *Warden of the United Counties of Leeds and Grenville.*  
 C. LIVINSTONE, *for Dresden.*  
 W. CHADWICK, *Mayor of Ingersoll.*  
 PAUL ROSS, *Mayor of Walkerton.*  
 W. R. AILSWORTH, *Warden of Hastings.*  
 GEO. HOWARD, *Mayor of Guelph.*  
 J. P. McMILLAN, *of the Guelph Town Council.*  
 C. FRANCIS, *Reeve of Trenton.*  
 W. A. WEBSTER, *Reeve fo Front Leeds and Lansdowne.*  
 W. D. McNAUGHTON, *Warden of the county of Lambton.*  
 ROBERT RAE, *ex-Warden of Lambton.*  
 ROBERT CAMPBELL, *Reeve of Watford.*  
 W. IRELAND, *ex-Warden of Lambton.*  
 W. PEERS, *ex-Warden of Oxford and Reeve of East Oxford.*  
 G. H. COOLE, *ex-Warden of Oxford and Reeve of West Oxford.*  
 THOMAS BROWN, *ex-Warden of Oxford and Reeve of Ingersoll.*  
 F. CODY, *Deputy Reeve of West Oxford.*  
 SENECA PITCHER, *Reeve of Norwich.*  
 D. W. MILLAR, *Councillor of Norwich.*  
 W. NASMITH, *Councillor of Woodstock.*  
 T. R. DUPUIS, *Alderman of Kingston.*  
 R. J. CARSON, *Ald rman of Kingston.*  
 W. K. SCOTT, *Alderman of Kingston.*  
 E. C. PALMER, *Councillor of Norwich.*  
 JOHN N. TUTTLE, *Reeve of Iroquois.*  
 F. S. STEVENS, *Clerk of county of Haldimand.*  
 CHRISTOPHER EDMONDSON, *Warden of Brant.*  
 C. R. HEYD, *Alderman of Brantford.*  
 R. SCOTT, *Deputy Reeve of Galt.*  
 J. TAMBLYN, *Deputy Reeve of Clark.*



- H. GOLDING, *Councillor of North Oxford.*  
 T. KILMER, *Councillor of Walkerton.*  
 T. WHITEHEAD, *Councillor of Walkerton.*  
 J. HUNTER, *Councillor of Walkerton.*  
 D. MOORE, *Councillor of Walkerton.*  
 J. BARCLAY, *Councillor of Oakville.*  
 DENNIS COFFEE, *Councillor of Guelph.*  
 ANDREW W. ROBB, *Deputy Reeve of Stratford.*  
 D. G. STEPHENSON, *Reeve of Scarboro'.*  
 GEORGE MORGAN, *Councillor of Scarboro'.*  
 W. ROSEBURY, *Councillor of Bothwell.*  
 M. TREDWAY, *Deputy Reeve of Scarboro'.*  
 JACOB CUERIER, *Clerk of Sandwich West.*  
 FRED. BISCOE, *Councillor of Guelph.*  
 G. J. COLQUHOUN, *Councillor of Waterloo.*  
 W. W. WHITE, *Town Clerk and Treasurer of Arthur.*  
 FRED. O. PROCTOR, *Clerk of Drayton.*  
 GEORGE TAYLOR, *Reeve of Gananoque.*  
 CHAS. E. BRITTON, *Deputy Reeve of Gananoque.*  
 J. A. RAMSDEN, *Deputy Reeve of Humberstone.*  
 W. BUCKNER, *Warden of Welland.*  
 FRANCIS ROE, *Reeve of Oshawa.*  
 ALEX. MCKELLAR, *Warden of Middlesex.*  
 H. GRANT, *Inspector of Public Schools, Stratford.*  
 A. G. MACKAY, *Councillor of Stratford.*  
 JOHN LANDERKIN, *Reeve of Drayton.*  
 HUGO KRANTZ, *Mayor of Berlin.*

His Excellency replied in the following terms, and was frequently and loudly applauded :—

“GENTLEMEN,—I hardly know in what terms I am to reply to the address I have just listened to, so signal is the honor which you have conferred upon me. That a whole Province as large, as important, as flourishing as many a European Kingdom should erect into an Embassy the Mayors of its cities,—the delegates of its urban and rural municipalities,—and despatch them on a journey of several hundred miles, to convey to a humble individual like myself an expression of the personal good will of the constituencies they represent, is a circumstance unparalleled in the history of Canada, or of any other Colony. (Loud applause.) To stand as I now do in the presence of so many distinguished persons, who must have put themselves to great personal inconvenience on my account, only adds to my embarrassment. And yet, gentlemen, I cannot pretend not to be delighted with such a genuine demonstration of regard on the part of the large-hearted inhabitants of the great Province in whose name you have addressed me (loud applause), for, quite apart from the personal gratification I experience, you are teaching all future administrators of your affairs a lesson which you may be sure they will gladly lay to heart,—since it will show them with how rich a reward you are ready to repay

whatever slight exertions it may be within their power to make on your behalf. (Applause.) And when in the history of your Dominion could such a proof of your generosity be more opportunely shewn? A few weeks ago the heart of every man and woman in Canada was profoundly moved by the intelligence, not only that the Government of Great Britain was about to send out as England's representative to this country one of the most promising among the younger generation of our public men, but that the Queen herself was about to entrust to the keeping of the people of Canada her own daughter. (Great applause.) If you desired any illustration of the respect, the affection, the confidence with which you are regarded by your fellow-subjects and by your Sovereign at home, what greater proof could you require than this, or what more gratifying, more delicate, more touching recognition could have rewarded your never-failing love and devotion for the Mother Country and its Ruler? (Cheers.) But though Parliament and the citizens of Canada may well be proud of the confidence thus reposed in them, believe me when I tell you, that, quite apart from these especial considerations, you may well be congratulated on the happy choice which has been made in the person of Lord Lorne for the future Governor General of Canada. It has been my good fortune to be connected all my life long with his family by ties of the closest personal friendship. Himself I have known, I may say, almost from his boyhood, and a more conscientious, high-minded or better qualified Viceroy could not have been selected. (Great applause.) Brought up under exceptionally fortunate conditions, it is needless to say he has profited to the utmost by the advantages placed within his reach, many of which will have fitted him in an especial degree for his present post. His public school and college education—his experience of the House of Commons, his large personal acquaintance with the representatives of all that is most distinguished in the intellectual world of the United States—his literary and artistic tastes, his foreign travel, will all combine to render him intelligently sympathetic with every phase and aspect of your national life. (Great applause.) Above all, he comes of a good Whig stock, that is to say of a family whose prominence in history is founded upon the sacrifices they have made in the cause of constitutional liberty. (Cheers.) When a couple of a man's ancestors have perished on the scaffold as martyrs to the cause of political and religious freedom, you may be sure there is little likelihood of their descendant seeking to encroach, when acting as the representative of the Crown, upon the privileges of Parliament or the independence of the people. (Loud cheers.) As for your future Princess it would not become me to enlarge upon her merits—she will soon be amongst you, taking all hearts by storm by the grace, the suavity, the sweet simplicity of her manners, life and conversation. (Tremendous applause.) Gentlemen, if ever there was a lady who in her earliest youth had formed a high ideal of what a noble life should be, if ever there was a human being who tried to make the most of the opportunities within her reach, and to create for herself, in spite of every possible trammel and impediment, a useful career and occasions of benefiting her fellow creatures, it is the Princess Louise, whose unpretending exertions in a hundred different directions to be of service to her country and generation, have already won for her an extraordinary amount of popularity at home. (Applause.) When to this you add an artistic genius of the highest order, and innumerable other personal gifts and



accomplishments, combined with manners so gentle, so unpretending, as to put everyone who comes within reach of her influence at perfect ease, you cannot fail to understand that England is not merely sending you a Royal Princess of majestic lineage, but a good and noble woman, in whom the humblest settler or mechanic in Canada will find an intelligent and sympathetic friend. (Cheers.) Indeed, gentlemen, I hardly know which pleases me most, the thought that the superintendence of your destinies is to be confided to persons so worthy of the trust, or that a dear friend of my own like Lord Lorne, and a personage for whom I entertain such respectful admiration as I do for the Princess Louise, should commence their future labors in the midst of a community so indulgent, so friendly, so ready to take the will for the deed, so generous in their recognition of any effort to serve them, as you have proved yourselves to be. And yet, alas! gentlemen, pleasant and agreeable as is the prospect for you and them,—we must acknowledge there is one drawback to the picture. Lord Lorne has, as I have said, a multitude of merits, but even spots will be discovered on the sun, and unfortunately an irreparable, and as I may call it a congenital defect attaches to this appointment. Lord Lorne is not an Irishman! (Great laughter.) It is not his fault—he did the best he could for himself (Renewed laughter)—he came as near the right thing as possible by being born a Celtic Highlander. (Continued laughter.) There is no doubt the world is best administered by Irishmen. (Hear, hear.) Things never went better with us either at home or abroad than when Lord Palmerston ruled Great Britain (cheers)—Lord Mayo governed India (cheers)—Lord Monck directed the destinies of Canada (cheers)—and the Robinsons, the Kennedys, the Laffans, the Callaghans, the Gores, the Hennesseys administered the affairs of our Australian colonies and West Indian possessions. (Loud applause.) Have not even the French at last made the same discovery in the person of Marshal MacMahon. (Laughter and applause.) But still we must be generous, and it is right Scotchmen should have a turn. (Laughter.) After all, Scotland only got her name because she was conquered by the Irish (great laughter)—and if the real truth were known, it is probable, the House of Inverary owes most of its glory to an Irish origin. (Applause.) Nay, I will go a step further—I would even let the poor Englishman take an occasional turn at the helm (great laughter)—if for no better reason than to make him aware how much better we manage the business. (Renewed laughter.) But you have not come to that yet, and, though you have been a little spoiled by having been given three Irish Governor Generals in succession, I am sure that you will find your new Viceroy's personal and acquired qualifications will more than counterbalance his ethnological disadvantages. And now, gentlemen, I must bid you farewell. Never shall I forget the welcome you extended to me in every town, village, and hamlet of Ontario when I first came amongst you. It was in travelling through your beautiful Province I first learnt to appreciate and understand the nature and character of your destinies. (Applause.) It was there I first learnt to believe in Canada, and from that day to this my faith has never wavered. Nay, the further I extended my travels through the other Provinces, the more deeply my initial impressions were confirmed; but it was amongst you they were first engendered, and it is with your smiling happy hamlets my brightest reminiscences are intertwined. (Great applause.) And what transaction could better

illustrate the mighty changes your energies have wrought than the one in which we are at this moment engaged. Standing, as we do, upon this lofty platform, surrounded by those antique and historical fortifications, so closely connected with the infant fortunes of the colony, one cannot help contrasting the present scene with others of an analogous character which have been frequently enacted upon this very spot. The early Governors of Canada have often received in Quebec deputies from the very districts from which each of you have come, but in those days the sites now occupied by your prosperous towns, the fields you till, the rose-clad bowers, and trim lawns where your children sport in peace, were then dense wildernesses of primeval forest, and those who came from thence on any errand here, were merciless savages, seeking the presence of the Viceroy either to threaten war and vengeance, or at best to proffer a treacherous and uncertain peace. Now, little could Montmagny or Tracy, or Vaudreuil, or Frontenac, have ever imagined on such occasions, that for the lank dusky forms of the Iroquois or Ottawa emissaries, would one day be substituted the beaming countenances and burly proportions of English-speaking Mayors and Aldermen and Reeves. (Applause.) And now, gentlemen, again good-bye. I cannot tell you how deeply I regret that Lady Dufferin should not be present to share the gratification I have experienced by your visit. (Great applause.) Tell your friends at home how deeply I have been moved by this last and signal proof of their good will, that their kindness shall never be forgotten, and that as long as I live it will be one of the chief ambitions of my life to render them faithful and effectual service." (Tremendous applause.)

The scene was then photographed so that His Excellency might have a memento of the event. After that proceeding had been satisfactorily accomplished, the delegation partook of a slight repast, and afterwards embarked on board a river steamboat and enjoyed a sail on the river to Montmorenci Falls. On the vessel His Excellency exercised the most unreserved manner towards his guests, and made himself personally acquainted with every member of the party, thus displaying to the last that determination of placing himself on a level with the humblest of those over whom he presides which has made himself so popular in Canada. Before landing cheers were given for the Queen and Lord and Lady Dufferin. In reply to the wish expressed that he would visit Canada again at some future time, Lord Dufferin informed the delegates that two members of his family were native Canadians, and undoubtedly he would have to accompany them in visiting their native land. As might be expected such a response elicited prolonged cheering, and thus terminated the official proceedings of the delegation.

The ladies presented to His Excellency were Mrs. J. W. Scott, Listowell, upon whose presentation His Excellency, being aware that she was a niece of Dr. Livingstone, said that he had great pleasure in



meeting her ; Mrs. T. M. Daly, Mrs. Whitehead, Mrs. Livingstone, Mrs. T. P. McMillan, Guelph ; Mrs. Colquhoun, Mrs. John McRea, Guelph ; and Mrs. and Miss Davidson, Guelph.

On the 11th September, the opening of the term of Laval University, Quebec, took place with the usual ceremonies.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the conferring of the Degrees of Doctor of Laws and Doctor of Letters on His Excellency Lord Dufferin, took place. The vast hall of promotion was crowded with the *élite* of citizens.

His Honor Lieutenant Governor Letellier came into the hall, attended by his A.D.C., and a few minutes afterwards the mace-bearer of the University made his appearance, leading the way for His Grace the Archbishop, Visitor of the University and Apostolic Chancellor, and Right Rev. Monseigneur Cazeau, who were accompanied by the distinguished recipient of the honors of the day, Lord Dufferin ; these were followed by the Rector and Professors of the University, and a brilliant staff, including Colonel Duchesnay, Colonel Lamontagne, Colonel Colfer, and Captain Hamilton, A.D.C., the band of B Battery, which was stationed in the gallery, playing " God Save the Queen." Their entrance was the signal for a burst of applause. Lord Dufferin wore his academical robes, and also the badge of the illustrious order of the Knight of Saint Patrick. Amongst others present there were Mr. Chief Justice Meredith, Mr. Justice Taschereau, of the Supreme Court ; Mr. Justice A. Stuart, the French, Spanish and American Consuls, Drs. Marsden, Ledroit, Garneau, and a large number of clergymen, both from town and country. The hall was decorated with wreaths of immortelles and the British, Papal and Dominion flags.

After the band had played a selection, the Very Rev. Rector addressed the assembly in French, of which the following is a translation :—

"YOUR EXCELLENCIES, MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Encourage and reward—such is the ordinary object of University Degrees ; but the value of such encouragement and recompense is not always the same. The value of Academical degrees differs with their names ; so that the Bachelorate, the first to be acquired, whilst a recompense, is also an invitation to a continuance in the pursuit of knowledge. The Doctorate itself is, in its highest signification, a recompense of constant and unremitting study ; but it ceases to be a simple encouragement and becomes an acknowledgment of merit when conferred on one whose labors have helped to add to the general store of scientific knowledge. If, then, we consider the Degree of Doctor for example, in the different Universities throughout the civilized world, the value of the degree depends in great measure upon the importance of the

establishment conferring it; the years it has numbered; the fidelity with which it has adhered to sound traditions, and the firmness with which it has refrained from betraying the interests of true science,—in a word, of the rank which it occupies in the world of literature and the confidence which its diplomas inspire. From this point of view our University, is evidently at a disadvantage, because it has not yet had time to establish this value as have those others with such a long and glorious past. Doubtless, honors conferred after examination have their value, when such examination is carried out with severity and impartiality. But it is not the same with honorary degrees; the value of these latter must depend on that possessed by the institution so conferring them. Circumstances may occur where the conferring of the Doctorate, without ceasing to be an honor to him on whom it is conferred, becomes moreover an honor to the institution conferring it. (Applause.) So it is where the conferring of the degree on a person well and incontestably known in the republic of letters cannot add to his reputation, but, on the other hand, his acceptance of it is a strong evidence in favor of the institution. In this case it is the high reputation of the recipient that reflects credit on the donor. And such to-day, ladies and gentlemen, is the happy lot of Laval University. (Loud applause.) The two most distinguished personages in the Dominion of Canada, His Excellency Lord Dufferin (applause)—representing in our midst our most Gracious Sovereign, from whom we hold the charter civilly erecting the University, and His Excellency Doctor Conroy, Delegate Apostolic, representing the highest religious authority, both condescended to accept the modest diploma of Laval University. Their Excellencies consented to be present on the same solemn occasion, and we had the joyful hope of being able to place the humble testimony of our respectful esteem at one and the same time at the feet of the two most prominent personages connected with our country, who, by a happy disposition of Divine Providence, were united by the ties of friendship and reciprocal esteem before meeting in this country, and both charged with the most delicate mission which brought them together on common ground far from their native land. We had hoped to be here witnesses of the sight, always so pleasing, of the highest religious and the highest civil authority in the personages of their highest representatives, united on the common ground of Letters, Sciences and Laws. (Applause.)

Alas! Death, but death only, prevented that which both their hearts had agreed upon. About the middle of the vacation, the terrible news came like a thunder clap, and spread from one end of the country to the other, that a career yet young, but already full of honor and a future full of the brightest prospects, had been brought to an end. His Excellency Monseigneur Conroy, in the midst of a mission of peace, full of delicacies, having already surmounted the greatest difficulties, was called by the Sovereign Judge to render an account of his short but fruitful administration. We know now with what calmness he faced the sacrifice he was called upon to make; with what confidence, like a new St. Paul, he viewed the crown of justice which was to be to him the reward of his works, his fatigues, his obedience and his submission to the Holy See. Let us not then regret too much his departure, no matter how bright may have been the prospect for him here below, because we cannot begin to compare the rewards of this lower world with the Heavenly ones that awaited him above. Nevertheless, we desire to express our



acknowledgment of his goodness on this solemn occasion ; of the many rich qualities which he naturally possessed, developed in such a wonderful manner, as they were, by study and reflection, at a comparatively young time of life. Monseigneur Conroy knew the sentiments of our hearts, and he carried the knowledge of them with him to the tomb. My Lord, I am sure you will not find fault with me for thus trespassing on your time in speaking of one who was honored with your friendship. Possibly, your Excellency would not be disposed to pardon me had I remained silent on this point. Thanks to Divine Providence, however, all is not mourning here below, and if God strikes us betimes, He also knows how to cause us to be joyful. Yes, we are indeed glad to see His Excellency Lord Dufferin condescend to take a place amongst us (applause), and by this distinguished mark of his benevolence, give to our young institution not only encouragement, but, allow me to say it, an increased value in the world of letters. At the same time His Excellency's presence has its disadvantages. How can we, under the circumstances, give expression to all that we would desire to say in his regard, at the same time giving voice to the sentiments that prevail amongst this large and distinguished audience? Refined and delicate minds are ever more at their ease under criticism than when hearing their own praises pronounced. Praise becomes tiresome, and out of respect to this pardonable susceptibility we can here only make passing allusion to the universal esteem in which His Excellency is held. (Applause.) We would like to testify how his delicacy and ability in the management of public affairs, and of matters with opposing interests, have been recognized. This was not confined to the oft-times complicated matters of details of administration, but extended to everything concerning the welfare, material and intellectual, of the people. We would fain speak of him while he encouraged, with royal munificence, the more serious studies in colleges and universities, he condescended to inform himself of the progress of the children in the humblest schools (loud and continued applause ; himself at the head of literature the most distinguished, he created by his example in his writings a taste for an intellectual career which cannot fail to have a lasting effect. From the St. Lawrence to the far away Pacific all have manifested their admiration and attachment to the illustrious Statesman who so worthily represents our Sovereign. These manifestations, all spontaneous, were from the hearts of the people, and express better than can human words how dear he has become to the Canadian people over whose destinies he has presided for nearly seven years with so much wisdom. Let us concentrate in our very souls all these *souvenirs*, and the sentiments which they engender ; leaving to history the glorious privilege of completing that, the richness of which we know in advance. It will not fail to endow it with its greatest perfection in the person of her who is at once the model of women and of mothers (loud applause) without ceasing to be, with her illustrious husband, the idol of society. (Loud applause.)

My Lord, awaiting those days of acknowledgment, Laval University to-day solicits of your Excellency the honor of being allowed to confer upon you, as a slight mark of esteem, attachment and respect, and begs your acceptance of the double title, so well merited, of Doctor of Letters and Doctor of Laws. This diploma, which confers still more honor on this institution than on your Excellency, will always, no matter where the interests of the Sovereign or of the people may

call you, be a reminder of the ineffaceable impression you have made on the Continent of America and particularly in Canada, and that Laval University is proud to count you within its ranks in carrying out the mission conferred upon it by the Church and by the State. The ties thus created between you and it shall ever be an encouragement to Professors and Students in their labors, and a sure and certain gage of success.”

The Reverend Doctor resumed his seat amid loud applause, when His Excellency replied as follows :—

“RECTOR, YOUR GRACE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In the eloquent and graceful address to which I have just listened, the Rector has condescended to imply that in entering your learned confraternity the Representative of the Queen confers more honor than he receives, but both in my own name, and in the name of our Gracious Sovereign, I must demur to any such suggestion. It is true the actual birth of this University is of recent date, but the antecedents which ushered in, the conditions which surrounded that auspicious event were of a nature to stamp the University of Laval with a prestige and dignity such as are possessed by few seminaries of learning upon this continent, and when I look around upon this august assembly—when I remember what influences are at work to stimulate your exertions,—how promising is the intellectual field it is your mission to cultivate,—how rich you are in working power, I rejoice in being entitled to acknowledge that there is no name, however illustrious, which would not acquire fresh dignity by its enrolment upon your books. (Loud applause.) Such being my sincere conviction, it is scarcely necessary I should assure you that I am deeply grateful for the honor you have done me, and that I shall always cherish with grateful satisfaction the remembrance of this day’s ceremonial. (Cheers.) But great as is my personal gratification, I cannot help confessing that to me, as to you all, the pleasure of the occasion is more than marred by the sad reflection that the illustrious Prelate, hand in hand with whom I had hoped to have entered your gates, has been prematurely and unexpectedly taken from amongst us. It would be out of place for me to expatiate upon the many qualities of the late Apostolic Delegate. My relations with him were of course only those of personal friendship, but apart from my appreciation of his delightful qualities as a companion, I am entitled, both as a fellow countryman and as the head of this Government, to bear testimony to his claims upon our reverence and admiration as a Christian Bishop, and a Dignitary of the Catholic Church. And now, Rector, your Grace, ladies and gentlemen, it only remains for me again to express to you my deep and constant sympathy with you in the labors in which you are engaged. When one reflects upon what human learning and scientific research have already achieved for the benefit of mankind, for the advancement of civilization, for the mitigation of suffering, one has difficulty in finding sufficiently sober language in which to convey one’s anticipations of the good such an institution as this can effectuate. (Applause.) A University founded in the midst of an intelligent community is like an instrument of irresistible power and all-embracing energy in the hands of a giant. There is nothing scarcely which it cannot accomplish. In its natal hour it becomes seized—it enters at once into possession—of everything that the intellect of past gener-



ations has created or acquired—its jurisdiction immediately attaches to the whole domain of human thought; and spread abroad through the vast unknown—stretch endless territories of unattained knowledge over which it is as well entitled to stretch forth its sceptre as is any rival institution. (Great applause.) Alexander sighed for fresh worlds to conquer, but to the philosopher no such cause of sorrow need arrive, for the confines of space and time can alone arrest his potential achievements. Let but the lamp of genius be lit within your precincts, and it will disclose to you undreamt of realms and kingdoms lying about your feet. (Applause.) Such are the possibilities within your reach, and remember in working out your auspicious destiny, you are expanding the moral power, the mental activity, the intellectual grasp of the community amongst whom you labor. At this moment the French Canadian race to which you belong is engaged in a generous struggle with their English fellow-subjects to see which shall contribute most to the advancement of the moral, material, and political welfare of their country. (Applause.) There is not a student, a man of business or of science, a politician or an author of either origin, who does not feel the inspiration of this noble rivalry. Cheers.) Upon the success of your exertions, upon the efficacy of your discipline and training, upon the character of the mental and moral atmosphere you create within your walls, will in a great measure depend the issues of the conflict. (Applause.) In that conflict I can heartily wish you success without compromising my impartiality, for it is a struggle wherein the defeated reap laurels as untarnished—benefits as universal—as those which crown the winners, since it is round the brows of Canada the wreath of Victory will be twined, and into the lap of Canada the prizes of the contest poured.” (Loud applause.)

The Very Rev. Rector presented His Excellency with the diploma and addressed him in a few well-chosen words, bidding him farewell, and assuring him of the lasting remembrance of all, but particularly of the Rector, Professors and Students of Laval.

The following is a French version of His Excellency's reply :—

“MONSIEUR LE RECTEUR, MESSEIGNEURS, MESDAMES ET MESSIEURS,—Dans l'éloquente et gracieuse adresse que je viens d'entendre, M. le Recteur a bien voulu exprimer l'idée qu'en devenant membre de votre savante association, le représentant de la Reine confère plus d'honneur qu'il n'en reçoit. Je dois, tant en mon nom qu'au nom de notre Gracieuse Souveraine, déclarer qu'il m'est impossible d'accepter ce compliment, tout flatteur qu'il soit. Il est vrai que l'origine de l'Université comme telle, est de date récente; mais les antécédents qui ont préparé sa fondation, les conditions dans lesquelles s'est réalisé cet heureux événement, ont été de nature à imprimer à l'Université-Laval un tel prestige et une telle dignité que peu de sanctuaires de la science sur ce continent pourraient en réclamer de semblables; —et lorsque je porte mes regards sur cette auguste assemblée, lorsque je rappelle à ma mémoire les influences qui contribuent à stimuler vos efforts, la fécondité et les espérances du champ intellectuel que vous avez pour mission de cultiver, les ressources puissantes de votre organisation, je dois reconnaître, et j'éprouve un

véritable plaisir à proclamer que le nom le plus illustre ne pourrait manquer de recevoir un nouvel éclat par son association à cette Université.

“ Comme c’est là mon intime conviction, il est à peine nécessaire de vous assurer que je vous suis profondément reconnaissant de l’honneur que vous m’avez fait, et que je chérirai toujours avec gratitude et satisfaction le souvenir de la solennité de ce jour.

“ Mais, quelque plaisir que je ressente personnellement, je ne puis m’empêcher d’avouer que, pour moi comme pour vous tous, une triste pensée vient troubler la joie de cette fête. J’avais espéré d’entrer dans l’enceinte de votre institution côte à côte avec l’illustre Prélat qu’une mort prématurée et soudaine vient d’enlever d’au milieu de nous. Il ne me conviendrait pas de m’étendre sur les nombreuses qualités du Délégué Apostolique. Mes relations avec lui n’étaient que des relations d’amitié personnelle ; mais, outre que j’ai pu apprécier ses précieuses qualités comme ami, mon double titre de concitoyen et de chef du gouvernement canadien me fait un devoir de reconnaître ses droits à notre respect et à notre admiration comme évêque chrétien et comme dignitaire de l’Eglise catholique.

“ Et maintenant, M. le Recteur, Messieurs, Mesdames et Messieurs, il ne me reste qu’à vous exprimer ma profonde et constante sympathie pour vous dans les travaux qui font votre continuelle occupation. Quand on considère ce que les connaissances humaines, ce que les recherches de la science, ont déjà fait pour l’avantage du genre humain, pour l’avancement de la civilisation, pour le soulagement de la souffrance, on a de la peine à trouver des termes assez justes pour rendre ce que l’on peut augurer de bien d’une institution comme celle-ci. Une université au milieu d’un peuple intelligent, c’est un instrument d’un pouvoir irrésistible, d’une énergie sans bornes, entre les mains d’un géant. Il n’y a, à vrai dire, rien qu’elle ne puisse accomplir. Dès les premiers instants de son existence, elle entre aussitôt en pleine possession de tout ce que l’intelligence des générations passées a pu créer ou acquérir ; sa juridiction embrasse le domaine entier de la pensée humaine, et s’étend même au-dessus de l’inconnu et de l’immensité ; elle aspire à la possession des champs immenses des connaissances qui restent encore à acquérir, et sur lesquelles elle a autant de droit d’étendre son sceptre qu’aucune autre institution rivale. Alexandre soupirait après de nouveaux mondes pour les conquérir ; mais le philosophe n’aura jamais un tel sujet de tristesse : les limites de l’espace et du temps peuvent seules mettre un terme au perfectionnement de ses connaissances. Que la lampe du génie brille dans le domaine confié à vos soins : elle vous découvrira des régions et des royaumes inespérés, et qui cependant sont à vos pieds.

“ Telles sont les conquêtes qui s’offrent à votre ambition, et rappelez-vous qu’en poursuivant votre destinée sous des auspices aussi favorables, vous établissez l’influence morale, vous développez l’activité et les facultés intellectuelles du peuple au milieu duquel vous vivez.

“ En ce moment, la race canadienne-française à laquelle vous appartenez livre un combat généreux avec ses compatriotes d’origine anglaise, afin de connaître ce qui pourra procurer plus sûrement l’avancement du bien-être moral, matériel et politique de son pays. Il n’y a pas un étudiant, pas un homme d’affaires ou de science, pas un homme politique ou un auteur, de l’une ou de l’autre origine, qui ne ressente l’inspiration de cette noble rivalité. Du succès qui couronnera vos efforts, des



résultats de votre enseignement et de l'éducation que vous donnez, de la nature de l'atmosphère intellectuelle et morale que l'on respire dans vos murs, dépendra en grande partie l'issue de ce combat.

“Je puis donc, dans cette lutte, vous souhaiter le succès de tout cœur, sans compromettre mon impartialité, puisque c'est une lutte où les vaincus recueilleront des lauriers aussi purs, des avantages aussi universels que ceux qui seront le prix des vainqueurs : car c'est sur le front du Canada que brillera la couronne de la victoire, c'est sur le sol du Canada que pleuvront les récompenses du combat.”

On the 12th September, the St. Jean Baptiste Society presented a farewell address to His Excellency in the Music Hall, Quebec. The hall was elaborately decorated for the occasion. In front of the stage was a *parterre* of natural flowers ; and the sides were decorated with the banners of the Society, the arms of Lord Dufferin, and the British and French flags intertwined. The galleries bore on their front the time-honored inscription.—“*Nos institutions, notre langue et nos lois.*”

The guard of honor was furnished by 60 men of the 9th Battalion, the officers in command being Captain Garneau and Lieutenants Dionne and Chinic. At eight o'clock, His Excellency entered, accompanied by His Grace the Archbishop, Monseigneur Cazeau and other clergymen, his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, and a brilliant staff, the band of the 9th playing “God Save the Queen.”

After the National Anthem the President read the address, to which His Excellency replied as follows :—

“MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT ET MESSIEURS,—Il est inutile pour moi de vous exprimer tout le plaisir que j'éprouve en me retrouvant encore une fois au milieu de vous, pour prendre part à ces fêtes distinguées et artistiques, dont la race française aime à occuper ses loisirs ; aujourd'hui, surtout, où je me vois au milieu des membres patriotes et loyaux de la Société St. Jean-Baptiste.

Un des traits caractéristiques de votre nationalité, a toujours été celui d'égayer les occupations sérieuses de la vie, et d'introduire comme contraste, à côté de l'ombre monotone des labeurs de chaque jour, cette diversité et cet éclat de couleurs qui donnent un cachet unique à vos relations sociales.

Cette heureuse disposition de votre caractère s'étend non seulement sur votre existence sociale, mais se retrouve partout où vous avez passé ; dans votre architecture, dans votre littérature et dans votre histoire qui brillent d'une individualité toute sympathique.

L'éclat, la puissance dramatique et une inspiration chevaleresque sont les traits dominants qui, dès le commencement, ont donné aux annales du Canada ce cachet romanesque que l'on ne rencontre nulle part ailleurs sur ce continent.

Le génie de Washington Irvine et de Hawthorne a sans doute essayé d'accomplir pour la Nouvelle-Angleterre et les contrées voisines ce que Sir Walter Scott

avait fait pour son pays, mais chacun de ces auteurs a été obligé d'imaginer des décors presque fantastiques ; et, grâce au charme de leur style, ils ont pu un moment faire illusion. Fermez leurs livres, et vous vous éveillez en face de la réalité, qui hélas ! est loin d'être ce qu'ils ont décrit.

De fait, plusieurs influences ont concouru à décider nos voisins de l'autre côté de la frontière à se séparer complètement de leur passé anti-révolutionnaire, et à laisser dans l'oubli les sombres annales des premiers jours de leur colonie.

Mais chez vous, la chose est toute différente. Votre passé n'a pas voulu mourir, n'a pas voulu s'effacer ; sa vitalité était trop exubérante, il est trop riche d'œuvres splendides, trop sonore, trop brillant, trop rempli des exploits des grands seigneurs, des créations des hommes d'état, du martyre des saints missionnaires, du dévouement de femmes héroïques ! Tout cela ne pouvait rester enseveli dans l'oubli des âges, ou être étouffé dans le bruit des événements qui se succédaient.

Bien que l'arrivée de vos compatriotes anglais parmi vous et les changements politiques qui ont accompagné leur établissement à Québec, eussent pu élever une barrière entre le présent et le passé du Canada, la solution de la continuité historique a été bien moins marquée dans ce pays qu'elle ne l'a été aux Etats-Unis.

Et sans vouloir faire du changement de régime une époque à part dans l'histoire de cette colonie, le gouvernement et le peuple anglais, par un sentiment qui les honore autant qu'il vous honore vous-mêmes, a préféré adopter votre passé, à condition que vous partagiez leur avenir ; et il n'y a pas, de nos jours, un canadien d'origine anglaise, qui n'éprouve autant d'orgueil et de plaisir que n'importe quel canadien-français à la vue des exploits militaires des capitaines français du 17<sup>e</sup> et 18<sup>e</sup> siècle,—des découvertes héroïques et périlleuses des Pères Jésuites ; des entreprises et des efforts qui furent couronnés par la fondation de Québec et de Montréal ;—des splendeurs semi-féodales de vos vice-rois. De plus, dans le charmant poème d'*Évangéline* ; dans les romans émouvants de Fenimore Cooper ; dans les pages pittoresques, dramatiques et si bien écrites de Parkman, on voit que c'est au Canada, que le poète, le romancier et l'historien, même des Etats-Unis, doivent recourir pour trouver le sujet de leurs romans et l'intérêt de leurs récits.

Quant à moi, je puis vous assurer, que chaque fois que je parcours la plateforme garnie de canons de votre citadelle, ou que je fais le tour de vos remparts, ou encore, quand je passe devant vos maisons, ayant "pignon sur rue," je me crois, instinctivement, aussi bien le successeur direct de ces braves et chevaleresques vice-rois qui ont présidé à l'origine de votre colonie, que je suis le successeur de Lord Lisgar, Lord Monk ou Lord Elgin

Comment donc pourrais-je ne pas apprécier l'honneur que vous me décernez, en unissant mon nom d'une manière aussi flatteuse que vous le faites aujourd'hui, à la mémoire de ces hommes illustres ? Et quelle douce certitude pour moi que d'apprendre que votre affection me conservera une place dans ces annales honorables ! Il est vrai que mes prétentions à tel honneur sont bien moindres et moins engageantes que les leurs.

Ce sont eux qui vous ont conduits sur le champ de bataille et vous ont rendus victorieux. Ce sont eux qui ont partagé vos souffrances, et qui, dans mille occa-



sions, dans les temps d'épidémie et de famine, de siège et d'invasion, ont exposé leur vie pour vous.

Tout ce que j'ai pu faire pour vous, a été de vous prouver mes sympathies pour vos aspirations, mon respect pour votre caractère et votre génie ; mon espoir dans votre avenir, selon que les circonstances l'ont permis.

Mais croyez-moi, en quittant ce pays, et en énumérant les divers motifs de reconnaissance que je dois au peuple canadien, la courtoisie, la bienveillance, l'hospitalité dont j'ai été l'objet de la part de mes concitoyens canadiens-français, ne s'effaceront jamais de ma mémoire et je suis fier de penser, que sous mes auspices et à mon humble suggestion, les remparts de Québec sont destinés à renaître à une nouvelle splendeur, et à perpétuer le souvenir de la tendre solitude que j'ai toujours portée à la plus belle cité de ce continent et à ses aimables citoyens."

The following is a translation of this reply :—

"MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It is needless for me to assure you with what pleasure I again find myself taking part in those refined and artistic relaxations with which the French race delight to solace their leisure, and surrounded by the loyal and patriotic members of the St. Jean Baptiste Society. It has been one of the happy peculiarities of your nationality that you have ever known how to enliven the serious occupations of life by a graceful gaiety, and to introduce a brilliancy of color amid the sombre shadows of our dull work-a-day world. This happy temperament not only sheds its benign influence over your social existence, but it has invested everything you have touched,—your architecture, your literature, your history, with a most attractive individuality. Brilliancy, picturesqueness, dramatic force, a chivalrous inspiration,—these are the characteristics which have thrown over the early annals of Canada a glamour of romance, which attaches to the history of no other portion of the continent. The genius of Washington Irving and of Hawthorne have indeed endeavored to do for New England and its neighborhood what Sir Walter Scott accomplished for his own land, but though the magic of their style may for the instant delude the fancy, the moment you close the page, you awake to the unreality of what they have depicted. Various influences in fact have induced our neighbors across the line to break completely with their ante-revolutionary past, and to suffer oblivion to envelope the musty, arid, and ascetic records of their old colonial days. But with you the case has been different. Your past has refused to die, or to efface itself. Its vitality was too exuberant, too rich with splendid achievement, too resonant, too brilliant, too replete with the daring and gallantry of stately seigneurs—the creations of able statesmen—the martyrdoms of holy men and women, to be smothered by the dust of ages, or overwhelmed by the uproar of subsequent events. Though the advent of your English fellow citizens, and the political changes which accompanied their establishment amongst you, might have been expected to have built up a partition wall between the past and present of Canada, the solution of historical continuity has been really much less marked in this country than in the United States, and far from wishing to erect the change of regime into an Era, the English Government and the English people, with an instinct as honorable to themselves as to you, have preferred to adopt your past, on condition you will share their future ; and there is no English-

Canadian of to-day who does not take as great a pride in the martial achievements of the French captains of the 17th and 18th centuries, in the heroic and adventurous explorations of the Jesuit Fathers, in the enterprise which established Quebec and Montreal, in the semi-feudal splendors of your early Viceroy, as any Frenchman amongst you all. Nay, in the lovely poem of 'Evangeline,' in the thrilling tales of Fenimore Cooper, in the picturesque, dramatic and clever pages of Parkman,—we see that it is to Canada the poet, the novelist and the historian even of the United States are obliged to come for the subject matter of their tales, and an interesting theme. Speaking for myself I can truly say that whenever I pace the frowning platforms of your Citadel, or make the circuit of your ramparts, or wander through your gabled streets, I instinctively regard myself as much the direct successor of those brave and courtly Viceroy who presided over your early destiny, as I am the successor of Lord Lisgar, Lord Monck or Lord Elgin. How then can I fail to appreciate the compliment you have paid me in linking my name in so flattering a manner as you have done to-day with the memories of those illustrious men—or what more delightful assurance could I desire than that your affections will hereafter preserve a place for me on that honorable register. It is true my claims to such an honor are far weaker, far less imperative than theirs. They led you to battle and to victory, they shared your privations, and on a thousand occasions—in seasons of plague and famine, of siege and invasion—risked their lives on your behalf. All that I have ever been able to do for you has been to give you such proofs of my sympathy with your aspirations—of my respect for your character and genius—of my faith in your future—as circumstances permitted. But, believe me, in quitting this country, and in counting up the various respects in which my gratitude is due to the Canadian people, the courtesy, the kindness, the hospitality I have received at the hands of my French-speaking fellow-subjects will never be forgotten, and proud am I to think that under my auspices and at my humble suggestion, the ramparts of Quebec are destined to rise in renovated splendor, and to remain an enduring memorial of the loving solicitude with which I have ever regarded this the most beautiful city upon the American continent, and its kindly inhabitants."

The 17th September, 1878, will long be remembered in the annals of Canada. In February, 1874, the Liberal party had conquered at the polls. Mr. Mackenzie met the new House with the overwhelming majority of over seventy. The Conservatives had been completely submerged. The wave of popular indignation at the Pacific Railway matter had passed over the great party which recognized Sir John Macdonald as its leader, and had swept it almost out of sight, many supposed, out of existence. Sir John, with but a corporal's guard, encountered the jubilant host, headed by Mr. Mackenzie. The Liberals had ridden into power with banners flying, inscribed with such mottoes as "Purity," "Retrenchment," "No Coalition," "Wise Legislation," "Honest Administration," "Down with Jobbery," "Destruction to



Bribery and Corruption." But before a year had expired, every one of these pledges, implied by these mottoes, had been broken. The Election Courts had unearthed a mass of corrupt practices on the part of Liberals which disquieted all fair-minded men. Seat after seat was declared void for bribery, and the truth was now established, in the presence of the highest legal dignitaries of the Dominion, that the garb of purity, so ostentatiously exposed to the public gaze by the Liberal party, was a covering only for the most impudent cant and the most barefaced hypocrisy. The party had with the most sanctimonious faces called down the maledictions of Heaven on the alleged impurities of the late Ministry ; they had made the Dominion resound with their demands for special legislation against bribery and corruption. Sir John had met the demand by preparing the bills, which he was prevented from carrying through the Houses by his resignation in 1873 ; these were taken up by Mr. Mackenzie and became law. The Liberals now affected to be jubilant over the possession of a machinery which would effectually prevent the Conservatives from packing the Legislature with men dishonestly elected, and yet, when the acts were put in force the pharisaical brawlers were instantly unmasked. The records of the courts soon proved that where one Conservative was unseated for corrupt practices ten Liberals were cast under foot, and some were branded with personal bribery, and declared disqualified for re-election. The masses of the people took note of all this, and the conviction soon spread itself, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, that the leaders, at least, of the Liberals formed an impure and hypocritical organization,—and that though the Conservatives could not establish their absolute purity, yet, of the two parties they were the more manly and the more honest.

Mr. Mackenzie was not fairly established in office before he was surrounded by a host of hungry politicians, who, having been in opposition for twenty years were now ravenous for place, contracts, and favors. A general raid was made on the capacities of Government to supply material benefits. Mr. Mackenzie did a most injudicious thing. He took the portfolio of Public Works, the most arduous of all the Departments. This threw directly into his hands an immense amount of patronage, the disposition of which, had he been wise, he would have shunned. The Dominion was then engaged in very extensive public improvements, and to their number were soon added others of great importance. The first Minister was

approached in every possible way, and was doubtless led, by the pertinacity of his followers, into measures which he found it impossible successfully to justify before Parliament or the country. The "Steel Rails" matter, the Georgian Bay Railway, the Fort Francis Lock, the Kaministiquia and Neeling Hotel affairs, though perhaps of no very serious import individually, yet fastened on him a suspicion, at least, of weakness in administration. Without being corrupt himself, the conviction became general that he had permitted the public money to be wasted, and the public interest to be jeopardized by a too lax supervision over the acts of political friends. This was, of course, magnified into personal turpitude by portions of the Conservative press, but, without going thus far, it is undoubted that the "*prestige*" for purity which had heretofore been enjoyed by him was being day by day seriously shaken in the public mind. Mr. Mackenzie, too, was unfortunate in some of his Ministers. The exigencies of party, perhaps, controlled him. He took into his Cabinet men whom the just and pure-minded of the people looked upon with well-founded distrust and dislike. Their public lives had been condemned, and the *morale* of the Ministry was lowered by their entrance into it.

The Anglin matter was a serious blow to the Government as a Ministry, and to Mr. Mackenzie personally. It is impossible to defend his conduct in permitting the daily breach of one of the most important provisions of the Election Laws. He saw Mr. Anglin week after week, and month after month, occupying the high position of Speaker of the Commons when he must have known that he was doing so in violation of one of the very safeguards against corruption which he and his party had, while in opposition, so vehemently demanded. The goddess of purity which Mr. Mackenzie had so ostentatiously raised up for the worship of the people of Canada was being gradually discovered to be no goddess, but a very indifferent mortal.

Mr. Mackenzie's readiness to take into his Ministry men who had but a few days before been known as pronounced Conservatives was another abnegation of the principle so frequently advocated by him of resorting to coalition only in extreme cases. He took power in 1873, and met the House in 1874 with a very large following of men who had been consistent in their political course, many of whom were quite competent to discharge the duties of Ministers, yet he passed them by, and honored with seats in his Cabinet men, who by their acceptance of them, forfeited forever the respect of every honest man.



He doubtless expected to gain strength by this policy, but he really secured only weakness.

If Mr. Mackenzie was unfortunate in some of his Ministers, he was singularly unfortunate in himself. Nature had denied him the geniality and courtesy which must always be important essentials in the character of every leader of men. His coldness and his iciness of manner, doubtless often mistaken for *hauteur*, had a very damaging effect. His want of sympathy with others betrayed him into remarks which wound men of finer organization or of higher culture, and his inaptitude in catching the ease and suavity of official life caused him a serious loss of popularity. There are men who often mistake ruggedness of manner and causticity of speech for sterling honesty of character and independence of thought,—John Knox and Mr. Mackenzie were of these. Some men are able to meet their political opponents with a genial smile, others are unable to cordially meet their friends, and Mr. Mackenzie was one of these unfortunates. Some men can refuse a request without hurting the feelings of the petitioner, Mr. Mackenzie was very apt to hurt the susceptibilities of the suitor even in granting the favor. Some men can disarm an antagonist by courtesy, Mr. Mackenzie gave him additional strength by its want. It is claimed for him that these damaging characteristics are but the outcome of an honest heart and a firm mind,—but, possibly, Mr. Mackenzie will have time, during the years of rest from the cares of state which he will now enjoy, to ponder on the fact that a man may be honest and yet genial, firm and yet courteous. No public man can afford either to be haughty or to appear so. The great powers even of leading English statesmen if attended with *hauteur*, do not secure them from the loss of much valuable support, and, where they fail, Mr. Mackenzie could hardly expect to succeed. Even were Mr. Mackenzie the man of that strict political integrity which some declare him to be, his coldness would still be a serious defect.

The want of these personal qualities which draw men to a leader, and which form so conspicuous elements of power in the character of Sir John Macdonald, was felt far more among the Liberals themselves than by their opponents. To be popular, a man must be loved. It is in vain that he be able,—in vain that he be pure,—he gains respect by these characteristics, but to be popular he must win the hearts of the people, and this can be done only by suavity of manner and geniality of bearing. Hence the immense popularity of Lord Dufferin and of

Sir John Macdonald. It may safely be averred of the latter that much of his success as a public man is to be attributed to his exceptionally winning manners. Mr. Mackenzie's general bearing had a most disastrous effect on his own followers, from his highest associates in the Ministry to his humblest supporter in the constituencies. They all felt its chilling influence, and when danger surrounded him they were found slow in their movements for his defence. Men are moved much by their principles, more by their interests, but most by their feelings, and when the hearts of the thousands of Mr. Mackenzie's friends became lukewarm, their arms became weak. His position, as Minister of Public Works, threw him into daily contact with business men, most of them political supporters, and hailing from all parts of the Dominion. The numbers of these gentlemen amounted to thousands within the year, and it may safely be asserted that a very large proportion of these thousands left his office, many angry, more displeased, and all disappointed and discontented, for their feelings had been unnecessarily hurt, and their susceptibilities injured by the coldness, or the austerity, or the superciliousness of the First Minister ; these defects in his character had a serious effect when the day of reckoning arrived, as it too certainly did on the fatal 17th September. Some of his friends frequently urged Mr. Mackenzie, for this very reason, to take the portfolio of President of the Council, where his duties would have brought him into direct contact only with his Ministers, but his love of power overcame the good judgment of his wisest friends, and he steadfastly refused to give up the department of Public Works.

The willingness of the leaders of the Liberals to sacrifice even the great principle of Constitutional Government which requires the Executive to be guided by the advice of his Ministers was clearly shown in the gross attacks made on His Excellency in the "Pacific Railway Scandal," and, subsequently, by their silence on the "Quebec Crisis." These instances would be, of themselves, sufficient to convince any unprejudiced mind that the party was governed by no fixed principles ; that when in office its leaders exercised an arbitrary and unregulated power, and, when out of it, no act of the Government, however correct or constitutional, escaped their censure. Therefore, their friends, and especially the Reformers of the Baldwin School, had their confidence in their integrity and ability much shaken.

In addition to these causes of general dissatisfaction there was another one which exerted a powerful influence throughout all the



constituencies of the Dominion. The Mackenzie Administration, during its five years of power, had disappointed the hopes of the people. It had done nothing. It seemed incapable of doing anything. It appeared to have no definite policy, no distinct object. The feeling soon appeared in the country that its interests had been confided to men unable to advance them. Soon after Mr. Mackenzie took office, the trade depression assumed serious proportions; then, if ever, was the opportunity for the exhibition of ability. Then it was that the urgencies of the times demanded a legislation calculated to alleviate the general distress. But nothing was done, and each year added strength to the growing opinion that the Ministry was incapable. The public works were stopped, or very much curtailed. Thousands of immigrants passed through the country, to enrich the Western States of the Union, with their money and their industry. They used Canada as a road on which to travel to distant wealth, shutting their eyes to the advantages she offered them, and their ears to the self-deprecating tone of her Government, which asked them to remain in so inhospitable a manner that they hurried on with increased speed to their American destination. In alleviation of these disheartening scenes, the Ministry did nothing, attempted nothing, and declared that nothing could be done.

These disintegrating forces eventually undermined the strength of the Liberal party. They would not, possibly, of themselves have worked the destruction of the Government, but they had produced a luke-warmness among the rank and file of the party which, combined with one other great cause, which worked with powerful effect in the leading Province of Ontario, led to the terrible overthrow of the 17th September.

Sir John Macdonald retired from office in November, 1873, leaving the Dominion in a fairly prosperous condition. She was doing as well as her neighbors, and there was no discontent. But within two years the country was overtaken by the wave of trade depression which rising in Europe had flowed over the United States. Mr. Mackenzie had deeply committed himself to the principle that no protection should be given to any industry. He held that the tariff should be purely for revenue purposes; that not a cent of duty should be imposed on any article of foreign manufacture more than was absolutely essential to create a revenue; and that it was wrong in principle and suicidal in practice to foster any

Canadian manufacture or industry by imposing a duty on foreign competition. When the depression became so great as to threaten the very existence of many of the most important Canadian industries he was asked to stem the torrent of disaster by protecting them against foreign importations, but he steadfastly refused to do so. He saw Canadian manufacturing houses crumble under the weight of American capital and the amplitude of American appliances, but he turned a deaf ear to the cries of the suffering manufacturers, and watched them fall one by one under a weight of American competition too heavy for them to bear. The Conservative party had always supported a protective policy, but they were powerless. Mr. Mackenzie had a large majority in the House, and every effort of the Opposition to obtain a modification of the fiscal policy of the Government was defeated. The question became the dividing line between the two great parties. The Liberals were called "Free-traders," the Conservatives "Protectionists," though both names are inaccurate designations, since neither party advocates either absolute free-trade or absolute protection. The distress increased each year, and the more grinding it became the more unbending did Mr. Mackenzie become. Mr. Cartwright, the Finance Minister, at each opening of his budget, exhibited a falling revenue and an increasing deficit. He complacently told the House and the country at each session that he saw no remedy for the distress but patience. He promised the starving horse that if he would wait he should have grass. He was beseeched to increase the duties on the American goods which were underselling our manufacturers and destroying our trade. But the fiscal policy of the Ministry would not permit this, and during 1876, 1877 and 1878, the state of the country grew worse and worse. The Opposition made great use of the inaction of the Government. Into the merits of the complicated question the masses, of course, did not, and could not enter, but the broad and painful fact was clear that they were growing poorer every day, and the Ministry was making no effort to assist them in their distress. This alone would have been sufficient to destroy any Government. Their sin, in the popular mind, was not that they did nothing, but that they attempted nothing. Mr. Mackenzie, sitting with folded arms on the river's bank, said to the drowning man, "I cannot help you," but the people of Canada, indignant spectators of the scene, said, "You make no effort," and instantly determined to punish him. Mr. Cartwright, with an infelicitous-



ness which he did not perhaps intend, described the Government as "a fly on the wheel;" the people added: "The wheel is sugar, and you are content to sip the sweets of office so long as we will keep the wheel revolving."

The Ministry was truly "a fly on the wheel," and it was neither a useful nor an ornamental fly. It did nothing, attempted nothing; and the popular indignation against the Government which had broken every pledge, violated every principle, acknowledged itself unable even to alleviate the general distress, and which stood stolidly by watching the country drifting further and further out to sea, at last burst forth on the fatal 17th September.

The depth of the national feeling was not properly estimated by either party. There is no doubt that Mr. Mackenzie confidently reckoned on a good working majority of at least twenty, while the most hopeful Conservative did not look for a majority on his side of more than fifteen, or possibly twenty. There had been no expression of exceptionally strong feeling among the people. The public political meetings of 1878 had been, as compared with those held in 1877, but few. The discussions in the press were not marked by any peculiar bitterness. There was apparently a languor of the public mind. A comparative stillness prevailed, but it was the stillness which precedes and forecasts the tornado. The people were terribly in earnest, but they showed little demonstration of their deeply settled purpose. They felt that the Ministry was unfit to govern the country, and determined to have a change. It would not be within the scope of this work to discuss the questions of Free-trade and Protection. It is of no consequence, in indicating the reason for the defeat of the Ministry, whether the people were right or wrong in their views; it is sufficient to know that in some important sections they were impressed with this idea; they said: "The Ministerial policy is, in our opinion, wrong; we must have a change; we can be no worse, and we may be better."

Thousands who had consistently supported the Liberal party for years now determined to sacrifice partisan feeling to what they conceived to be the good of the country. But the ballot system enabled them to subvert the Government without disclosing their intention. Liberals were unwilling to declare their resolve to their political friends, and were, of course, still more unwilling to disclose them to their political enemies, hence the leaders of both parties were misled.

Mr. Mackenzie had no conception of the secret defection going on in his camp; neither had Sir John Macdonald any idea of the secret increase to his supporters. The one was therefore as much astonished as the other at the upheaval of the 17th September: Mr. Mackenzie at there being any at all, Sir John Macdonald at the vastness of its proportions.

It must not be supposed that the desire for a change in the fiscal policy of the country was the ruling constituent in the defeat of the Ministry in any Province other than Ontario. That part of the Dominion is the centre of its manufacturing and trading interests, and, doubtless, the majority of about forty which it gave to Mr. Mackenzie in 1874 was changed to a majority of about fifty against him in 1878, by the prevailing conviction among his own former supporters that his policy was an error. When it is recollected that Ontario sends eighty-eight members to the House of Commons, the revolution indicated by these figures is astounding. Combined with the minor reasons already pointed out, there can be no doubt that the dissatisfaction with the trade policy of the Government was the dominant cause of its fall in that Province.

And this may, in a qualified way, be said of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. The fate of the Ministry was sealed in the Province of Quebec by the minor causes already adverted to with a slight introduction of the fiscal element. The great trade centre of Montreal went *en bloc* against the Government. The people had come to the point of looking upon the Ministry at Ottawa as "incapables." They seemed to them intent only on commanding the ship, unable to direct its course, and heedless of its destination. It was simply drifting, and they were apparently content to drift with it. To this feeling, however, must be added the consideration of the religious element. The Roman Catholics in Quebec have for many years, as a rule, supported the Conservative party in the Dominion contests, and they had remained faithful to their allies. It was generally supposed that the *coup d'état* of Mr. Letellier in May, projected doubtless for the purpose of aiding Mr. Mackenzie in the struggle of September, would have materially assisted him, but it proved of little value, and, possibly, it was an injury to his Government. It should have been if it were not. The local elections which gave Mr. Joly's Ministry a majority of one, in the person of Mr. Turcotte, who, and until one hour before his nomination as Speaker, had been a pledged adherent of the Opposition, turned upon



purely local questions, and were really no indication, or at least a very slight one, of the temper of the people as regarded the Dominion Ministry. The Roman Catholics of Quebec have always found in the Conservative party a willingness to deal with them in a tolerant and just spirit, while the leading organs of the Liberal party have never ceased to carry on a war against what they consider their religious rights. Protestants are sometimes charged with a willingness to taunt their Roman Catholic brethren with intolerance, and possibly the charge is sometimes too true, but it will be found that the Conservative principle of dealing tenderly with the religious feelings of the people is the true one. The Liberal party, though professing in opposition a broad tolerance in all matters, civil and religious, have become distinguished when in power for a narrow intolerance in all matters civil and religious. Hence their unpopularity in Quebec, and hence, to a large extent, their defeat in that Province on the 17th September, 1878.

In the Maritime Provinces the case again assumes a different phase. In that portion of the Dominion the fiscal policy enunciated by Sir John Macdonald, and notably there by his unexceptionably able supporter, Dr. Tupper, was received with coldness and distrust. The chief wants of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are cheap bread, as they grow no wheat, and a market for their coal, of which they produce immense quantities. Ontario, the great consumer of coal, having none of her own, imports from the Americans, a tax on coal, therefore, would be unpopular in that influential Province, while it would be essential to the two Provinces in the East. Ontario produces a large surplus of wheat, and, therefore, desired a duty on the American grain, while Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island produce but little, and therefore desire free flour, which has heretofore been supplied by the Americans. Similar remarks may be applied to other articles, and the general result is that the fiscal policy of Sir John Macdonald, if it please Ontario, may possibly displease the Maritime Provinces. The doubt hanging over the subject was sufficient to eliminate from the contest, in those sections of the Dominion, that the "Protection" question was a dominant one. It doubtless had its effect, but, while it worked to the advantage of the Conservatives in some localities, it did not do so in others. Here, then, the Ministry were condemned on their general character, irrespective of their trade policy. In the Island of Prince Edward their condemnation was particularly striking, for she produces no coal and imports most of her flour. She was removed almost entirely out

of the circle of the trade influences, which operated so powerfully in Ontario, and yet she had a majority of 5 to 1 for the Opposition. It is possible that local influences were, to some extent, at work, but it may safely be said, that, the Ministry were destroyed in the Island by the feeling of general dissatisfaction which its incapacity and unfitness had so universally spread over the whole Dominion, added, perhaps, to a weak desire for protection, under the idea that it would enforce reciprocity with the United States.

In Manitoba and British Columbia, it cannot be said that the fiscal system of the Ministry was the primary cause of its defeat in those divisions of the Dominion. These Provinces declared almost *en bloc* against Mr. Mackenzie, and the overwhelming strength of the Opposition there is to be attributed to his unsatisfactory dealings with the Pacific Railway. In British Columbia this feeling was, as has already been shown, very bitter, and, though Manitoba had not suffered so much as her sister Province from this cause, yet the want of railway accommodation had long been severely felt, and the oft-repeated promises of the Dominion Ministry to supply her with, at least, a road to Lake Superior had encouraged enterprises, which ended in disaster, caused by what the people termed the breach of faith at Ottawa.

To sum up, it may be said that in Ontario the chief cause for the upheaval of September was the fiscal policy of the Government. In Quebec it operated to a limited extent. In New Brunswick the "Free-trade" principles of the Ministry were approved, but this feeling of approbation was overwhelmed by the general feeling of dissatisfaction with the Government, and their want of principle and ability. In Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island the trade policy of the Opposition was approved to a limited extent, but the dominating cause of their pronounced condemnation of the Ministry was the conviction that it was impure and incapable. In Manitoba the people were favorably inclined to the fiscal policy of Mr. Mackenzie, but his course on the Railway projects largely counterbalanced that influence; and in British Columbia the deep feeling of animosity engendered by his dealings with the Pacific Railway dominated every other consideration.

To the intelligent Canadian the utterances of many of the leading newspapers of Britain and the United States on the result of the elections would be amusing, if they were not such painful exhibitions of ignorance of the Dominion—its people, policy, and



interests. The *London Times* tells us, in the tones of ponderous wisdom it so much affects, that Mr. Mackenzie was beaten in one constituency though he was returned in another—the fact being that he was nominated in one only, and for that he was elected. It tells us, also, that Mr. Blake was the Minister of Justice,—the fact being that he resigned that position in September, 1877, when he took the portfolio of President of the Council, which he resigned in January, 1878, and that since then he has held no office whatever. It tells us, besides, that Mr. Mackenzie met with an intolerant Protectionist spirit; the fact being, as has already been shewn, that this spirit was very weak in every Province but Ontario, and there the desire is, not for protection in the English sense, but for a simple re-adjustment of the tariff. It informs us also that the Conservative victory is the victory of Protection over Free-trade; the truth being that it is a victory over the obstinacy of the Ministry who refused so to re-distribute the burdens of duties as to take them off the raw material which Canada wanted to make up, and place them on those she produced herself. It seems impossible for English or American thinkers to judge of Canada from any standpoint other than their own. They assume that the policy which may suit their countries must suit ours, and that what is unfitting for them must also be unfitting for us.

Other journals express the fear that the re-action may result in annexation, and the leading organs of the late Ministry in Canada do not hesitate to charge Sir John A. Macdonald, and the great party he leads, with the criminal intention of gradually sapping the loyal feelings of the people by erecting a trade policy so hostile to Britain, and so favorable to the United States, as eventually to lead either to independence or annexation. The people of Canada treat these assertions with the contempt they deserve, for they well know them to be the outpourings of a defeated enemy, who is careless whether he injures his country, if he but attain his object of injuring an opponent. The people of Britain may rest well assured that Lord Dufferin was perfectly correct when he described the loyalty of the Canadians as a "passion;" and when they see Canadians insulted either by their own or by foreign journals, with the assumption that they will be tempted to sacrifice this "passion" they may, with perfect safety, repel the foul aspersion with honest indignation. There is absolutely no disloyalty in Canada. The annexation feeling has entirely disappeared. The two great parties are both intensely loyal. The Liberal is as proud of the connection with Britain as the Conservative, and each

would repel with equal scorn the slightest imputation on this national characteristic. The Conservative party will never dream of establishing any fiscal or other policy of which Britain may disapprove ; and were the Liberals replaced in power to-morrow they would declare the same determination. It is not impossible to reconcile Imperial with Colonial trade interests ; and though the *claqueurs* of the defeated party will doubtless vilify even their own country if in the process they can injure their opponents, yet, both the British and the American people may rest perfectly assured that no step will be taken which will lessen the parental feeling of Britain to her greatest Colony, or diminish the intensely warm feelings of love and admiration which glow in the heart of Canada for her great Mother across the sea.

But besides the reasons already enumerated for the downfall of the Ministry, there was another which operated very powerfully on the Conservative party. They would have fought the battle with their accustomed energy and skill under any circumstances, but their zeal was intensified by the scandalous and unjust persecution with which their leader, Sir John Macdonald, had for five years been mercilessly pursued by the Liberals. The attacks of their press had been so wanton, the charges so untruthful, and the abuse so violent that a deep sympathy for Sir John had been created among the more moderate of his political opponents, while the determination of the Conservatives to stand by their leader at all hazards and under all circumstances was increased to an intensity never before equalled in the history of Canada. Sir John had done nothing which his traducers had not also done, and he was acknowledged by universal consent to be the ablest statesman in Canada. No one charged him with cant or hypocrisy ; and many thought he had expiated the errors which had caused his downfall in 1873. The Conservative party therefore saw in him, whom they were delighted to honor, a man superior in purity, ability, geniality, courtesy and tact, to his traducers. These considerations fired the Conservative's heart, and nerved his arm. The result was a party vote heavier than ever before polled, and this, added to the defections from the Ministerial ranks, produced a wave which strewed the Dominion from ocean to ocean with the stranded wrecks of the Liberal party.

The elections for Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island were held on the 17th September, those for Manitoba on the 29th September, and for British Columbia on the 22nd October. The result was an estimated majority in the House



against the Ministry of over eighty, and of this fifty are given by Ontario.

This very large majority immediately gave rise to the question whether or not, by constitutional practice, the Ministry would be warranted in retaining office until the House met. It was urged that it was proper for them to meet the representatives of the people in Parliament, explain the reasons for their resignation, and return the trust they had received from them. In support of this view the following from Mr. Todd's work \* was cited :—

“The verdict of the country having been pronounced against Ministers at a general election, it is, nevertheless, competent for them to remain in office until the new Parliament has met, and given a definite decision upon the merits; for the House of Commons is the legitimate organ of the people, whose opinions cannot be constitutionally ascertained except through their representatives in Parliament. It is necessary, however, and according to precedent, that the new Parliament should be called together without delay.

“Under such circumstances, it is usual to take the earliest opportunity to obtain a decisive vote upon the fate of a Ministry. A suitable occasion is afforded by the Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne, to which an amendment may be moved, to declare that the advisers of the Crown do not possess the confidence of the House. The motion, if agreed to, will lead to an immediate resignation of the Ministry.”

Some of the Ministerial journals quoted these passages as justifying the retention of office by Mr. Mackenzie until the House met. The quotations express neither Mr. Todd's present opinion, nor the constitutional law of Britain, as now understood by British statesmen. Mr. Todd wrote these sentences in 1868, before the resignation of Mr. Gladstone in November of that year, and of course before the resignation of Mr. Disraeli, under similar circumstances, in February, 1874. He expressed the true doctrine as it was understood before these notable occurrences, but they have effected a radical modification of the old rule. Mr. Edward A. Freeman, who is looked upon as a leading authority on British Constitutional Law, wrote an article for the *International Review*, which was published in its number for May, 1875, entitled “The difficulties of Republicanism in Europe.” In contrasting the powers of the President of the United States with those of the Monarch in England, he used this language :—

“Of the vast powers which the written law of England still vests in the King, some are never exercised at all; the rest are exercised only under the advice of Ministers, who can hold office only so long as the House of Commons approves of

\* Todd's Parliamentary Government, Vol. 2, page 414.

them. If the House of Commons disapproves of their conduct, it can, at any moment, by a process informal, indeed, but practically most effectual, remove them from office. But since 1864 some public steps have been taken in the development of the unwritten Constitution of England. In England everything goes by precedent, and since 1864 a most novel and important precedent has been set. It has long been known that the Ministers of the Crown are, though not formally, yet practically, appointed and removed by the representatives of the people. It has been shown that there are circumstances in which they can be, in the same practical though informal way, appointed and removed by the people themselves. It is not too much to say that, in November, 1868, Mr. Gladstone was chosen Prime Minister by the electors of the United Kingdom in their polling booths. He was as truly chosen by the popular vote as any President or other elected magistrate could be. Indeed, I should doubt whether a President of the United States is often called to power so directly by the voice of the people as Mr. Gladstone was then. Mr. Gladstone was not the choice of any caucus or convention; nor was he, for he had never been at the head of the Government before, the conventional chief of the Liberal party. The people of the United Kingdom, as by a sudden inspiration, chose Mr. Gladstone to be the practical ruler of the Kingdom. The existing Government of Mr. Disraeli acknowledged and bowed to their choice—they did not wait to face the newly-chosen House of Commons, but resigned office before Parliament met, in deference to the unmistakable demand of the constituencies. The precedent thus set by Mr. Disraeli has since been followed by Mr. Gladstone. In February, 1874, the voice of the electors was as distinctly given against Mr. Gladstone as in November, 1868, it had been given for him. Just as Mr. Disraeli had done, Mr. Gladstone did not wait for the meeting of Parliament, but resigned, in deference to the voice of the constituencies. I ought to add that, in my private opinion, I did not look upon the course taken by either Minister as necessary or dignified. I held that a Minister ought to receive his doom from the House of Commons only, and should not resign office on account of what is, after all, merely a surmise as to what a newly-chosen House of Commons is likely to do. But the thing has been done; a course first adopted by Mr. Disraeli and then followed by Mr. Gladstone will undoubtedly be looked on as a precedent, and will be followed by future Ministers. It will become one of the principles of the unwritten Constitution of England, that the electors in their polling booths can appoint and remove a Minister as well as the House of Commons in the Palace of Westminster. \* \* \* \* \*

In this way it is plain that since 1864 precedents have been set which have brought a new principle into the unwritten Constitution of England. The direct action of the people, as distinguished from the action of the representatives in the House of Commons, is now acknowledged in a way in which it was not acknowledged before."

It may, therefore, be now considered as an established rule of constitutional practice, that when the people express at the polls an unmistakable disapprobation of the Ministry of the day, it is the duty of that Ministry instantly to resign. An English statesman would, in



the circumstances in which Mr. Mackenzie found himself on the 17th September, disdain to keep an official position which the people have declared him unfit to retain.

But if this new rule be good and salutary for Britain, it is of much higher consequence in Canada. In England, Parliament can be called together to receive the resignation of Ministers at a small expense, and without much inconvenience. In twenty hours all the elements of the House may concentrate in London. One night's session may suffice to receive the explanations of the outgoing Ministers and the policy of the new ones, and the members may again, in a few hours, be at their homes. But in Canada, a session of the Dominion House is a serious tax on the time and pockets of members. The representatives of British Columbia must travel 2000 miles to reach Ottawa, and those of Manitoba and the Maritime Provinces very great distances. To call the House together immediately after the Ministerial defeat would be inconvenient—and the new Ministers would not have had a reasonable time to prepare their measures. Convenience and economy, therefore, united in pointing out immediate resignation as the proper course for Mr. Mackenzie to pursue. When to these reasons were added the constitutional usage of the high-minded statesmen of Britain, his retention of office, would be a grave violation of the principles of Constitutional Government, for which he would have been held to strict account.

Mr. Mackenzie wisely determined to resign without calling the House together, and on the 9th October, the resignation of the Ministry was placed in the hands of the Governor General.

His Excellency having been invited to open the Provincial Exhibition, to be held in Toronto, he proceeded thither from Quebec, arriving on Saturday night, 21st September, at about eleven o'clock. It was generally understood that this would be the last opportunity of hearing His Excellency, at all events in Ontario, and it was supposed that his last words to the people of Canada would be uttered on this occasion. This, with the exception of a few informal remarks made on his final departure from Quebec, proved to be the case. Every exertion was made to render his visit to the beautiful capital of Ontario as striking as possible. Every honor within the power of the citizens to bestow was heaped on him, and they with the thousands who visited the city during his stay did their utmost to express their affection for the Governor General.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, a large assemblage were in waiting to receive His Excellency, who had travelled from Quebec by a special train. On his arrival His Excellency was loudly cheered and was met by the Reception Committee, composed of his Worship the Mayor, Mr. Morrison, Hon. G. W. Allan, Hon. D. Christie, Mr. Thomas Stock, President of the Agricultural and Arts Association, Mr. Shipley, ex-President, and Mr. Ira Morgan.

The Vice-regal party immediately drove to the Queen's Hotel, where suites of rooms had been prepared. The hotel was handsomely illuminated with variegated lamps which formed a border around the central device :—

#### V. WELCOME. R.

On the next day, Sunday, His Excellency attended Divine Service in the Church of All Saints.\*

The first portion of the programme in connection with the visit of the Governor General was carried out on Monday morning. It was of an informal character, and consisted of the presentation to His Excellency by the Council of the Agricultural and Arts Association of the badges of the Association, commemorative of his visit.

His Excellency was waited upon at the Queen's Hotel at noon by Mr. Thomas Stock, President of the Association, Hon. David Christie, Mr. Ira Morgan, Mr. Wm. Roy, of Owen Sound, Mr. Otto Klotz, Mr. Stephen White, Mr. Charles Drury, Mr. Benjamin Hopkins, Mr. W. H. Howland, and Professor Bell, who were introduced to His Excellency by Captain Hamilton.

The introductions having been completed, Mr. Stock presented the badges.

His Excellency, addressing the deputation, said he was glad to have this opportunity of expressing his extreme regret that it was impossible for him to arrive in Toronto at two o'clock on Saturday afternoon, which was the time suggested to him by telegram. The facts of the case were simply these. When the deputation called upon him the suggestion was made that he should come not later than Monday ; but, he had said of his own accord that perhaps it would suit his own convenience better to be here on Saturday, so that he

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\* The author is indebted to the *Toronto Mail* for much of the account now given of His Excellency's reception in Toronto.



might have Sunday to look about him. He mentioned that fact in order that those present might know that had he made any promise in the matter—no matter what it might have cost him, and no matter what the inconvenience—he would have kept it. It was only by telegram that the suggestion was made that he should arrive at two o'clock on Saturday. But it unfortunately happened that, in the first place, in consequence of recent political events, he had a great deal of correspondence to occupy his time; and, in the next place, he had a French fleet on his hands, the officers of which it was his duty to entertain with hospitality. Consequently, when he came to look upon the matter, he found it was impossible to arrive at two o'clock on Saturday, and, with very great regret, he telegraphed to that effect. He regretted it extremely, and he would now beg to repeat the very great disappointment which he underwent in not being able to take part in the sports of the afternoon, and more especially in not being able to enjoy the beautiful spectacle which he understood had been prepared for him on that occasion.

Mr. Stock said that, though the Art Association might feel disappointed at the inability of His Excellency to arrive on Saturday afternoon, that disappointment was counterbalanced by the gratitude which every one felt at His Excellency's kindness in being present to open the Exhibition.

The deputation then withdrew.

In the evening His Excellency attended a musical festival at the Adelaide street rink. The festival was the first of the kind ever given in Toronto. The performers were children, of whom there were several hundreds, and, in addition to the choruses which they sang, exercises in calisthenics and simultaneous recitations were given. The choruses were assisted by two organs and a piano, and were conducted by Mrs. Marian A. White, of London. The children, or rather the performers, occupied positions on a platform or stage which had been erected at the north end of the rink, and from one of the galleries the reflection of the calcium light was thrown on them, which made the scene exceedingly brilliant. The proceedings commenced at eight o'clock, at which hour there was a very large audience present.

Lord Dufferin, accompanied by Captain Hamilton, A.D.C., Captain Ward, A.D.C., Mr. J. Kidd, his Worship the Mayor, Hon. G. W. Allan, Mr. J. S. Russell, Mr. David Walker, Mr. W. Rennie, Captain Perry, Mr. Jas. Pringle, and Mr. R. Crawford, arrived just

as the curtain was raised. His appearance was the signal for loud cheering from the audience, and for the singing, by the children, of the following verses to the tune of the National Anthem :—

Welcome, Lord Dufferin !  
 In thee our noble Queen,  
     We hail elate ;  
 We bless the happy day,  
 That brought thee here to sway  
     Her regal state.

Through many coming years,  
 As time thy name endears,  
     We'll sing thy praise,  
 Thou ruler just and bland,  
 With voice and heart and hand,  
 Governing all the land  
     In righteous ways.

Now, when we say farewell,  
 With grief our bosoms swell,  
     Our hearts are torn ;  
 Throughout our weeping land,  
 The curlers' orphan'd band  
 With drooping besoms stand,  
     And all *for-lorn*.

Tell Lady Dufferin,  
 Our prayers shall rise to Heaven  
     For her and thee ;  
 That you have earthly bliss  
 With peace and happiness,  
 And at the end possess,  
     Felicity.

Several very pleasing selections were sung, after which Mr. J. S. Russell presented His Excellency with the following address on behalf of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club :—

“ Address accompanying testimonial presented by the members of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club to their distinguished Patron Sir Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin, Viscount and Baron Clandeboye, Baron Dufferin and Clandeboye, of Ballyleidy and Killeleagh, and a Baronet, K.P., K.G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Governor General of Canada, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—On the eve of your departure from Canada, at the close of your high office as Governor General of the Dominion, the office bearers and members of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club unite most heartily with their fellow-countrymen in expressing to your Excellency their high sense of the distinguished success with which you have discharged the onerous



duties of your exalted position—maintaining the most perfect impartiality in your relations to the various races, creeds, and parties which are found in this Canada of ours—preserving the dignity becoming the representative of the Royalty of Great Britain—promoting the prosperity of the entire Dominion by visiting in person, not only our cities and towns and old settled districts, but also the new and rougher settlements in our backwoods and prairies, and speaking words of kindness and cheer to the hardy pioneers of industry and civilization, and by discoursing on the material resources of Canada, and the competence and comfort which reward the industrious toilers in her varied fields of labor. And, in their own peculiar sphere as curlers of Ontario, they have to acknowledge specially the high honor you have done them in accepting the office of Patron in the Ontario Branch of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club, from its organization in 1874, and the impetus you have given to their ancient and noble game by your annual gifts of prizes for competition, and by your enthusiastic participation in the game, proving yourself a

‘Brither curler, keen and true.’

And, as a humble acknowledgment of favors received, and as a memento of Canada, of many pleasant hours of absorbing interest spent there in exciting contests of skill on the ice, ‘among the stanes and besoms,’ they desire your Excellency’s acceptance of this testimonial—the product of a Canadian mine—manufactured by a Canadian craftsman, and bearing engraved the following words: ‘Presented by the members of the Ontario Branch of the Royal Caledonian Club to their Patron, His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin, Governor General of Canada, etc., etc., on the eve of his departure from Canada, at the completion of the term of his high office, September, 1878.

‘Better lo’ed ye canna be!  
Will ye no come back again?’

And intended to be, not only suggestive of our loved Canada, and of our royal game of Curling, but also of the sister recreation of skating, which has been equally honored and promoted by the patronage and example of Her Excellency the Lady Dufferin, whose numerous graces have given to Canadian life a charm before unknown.

And now, in bidding farewell to their first and distinguished Patron, the curlers of Ontario would assure you that they will follow your future course with the deepest interest, and with the most cordial wishes for the prosperity of your Excellency, Lady Dufferin and family; and they pray that at a far distant day the record of your life may be—‘a good stone, well and truly played, “*per vias rectas*,” and at rest, in the Ring—on the Tee—victorious.”

J. S. RUSSELL, *President*.  
DAVID WALKER, *Secretary*.

TORONTO, 23rd September, 1878.”

During the reading of the address the testimonial was handed to Lord Dufferin. It was a silver hot-water kettle, the body of which is in the shape of a curling stone; the handle of the curling stone forms

the handle to the lid of the kettle, and with the stone an artist's liberty has been taken and a spout has been added. The kettle is supported by cross brooms or besoms; and the crossing on one side is covered by the Dufferin coat of arms in silver, and on the other by a copy, in silver, of the seal of the Ontario Branch of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club. The silver out of which the kettle is made is from the Silver Islet mines, and the only wooden part about it—the handle—is of walnut. This wood was used in order that every part of the testimonial might be of Canadian production. The kettle is very handsome, and weighs 130 ounces.

His Excellency replied to the address as follows:—

“MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I find it difficult to express my sense of the honor you have done me, not only in preparing for me so noble a reception, but in accompanying it by circumstances so grateful to my feelings. When I accepted your invitation, I was unaware of the surprise which was in store for me, and now, when the whole extent of your goodness has been revealed, I find difficulty in returning you adequate thanks. I am deeply sensible, Mr. President, of the kind appreciation you have extended to me as the representative of our Queen, and as the head of the Government of this country, because, although in their moments of leisure, there are no persons who better know how to enjoy themselves than the curlers of Canada, I am well aware that they reckon among their numbers men of the highest intelligence and great political influence, to whose experience and wisdom Canada is indebted for the prosperous direction of her affairs. (Applause.) But I am particularly touched by the kind way in which you have addressed me as a brother curler. In looking back upon the six years and a half I have spent in this country, which include, I may say, some of the happiest hours of my life (applause), there are few amongst them which I shall regard with more satisfaction than those which I have passed upon the ice with my brother curlers. Whether as victor or as victim (laughter) in those friendly contests, my satisfaction has been untarnished by any disagreeable or unpleasant reminiscence, for wherever I have gone—upon every rink—I have found myself greeted with the greatest cordiality, and sometimes overwhelmed with an embarrassing hospitality. (Applause.) In conclusion, allow me especially to express my deep thanks for this beautiful present which you have given me. I really cannot tell you how much I appreciate the delicate ingenuity and sense of artistic beauty which devised this lovely ornament. That ornament will be preserved not only during my life, but I trust for many generations amongst those who come after me, as a memorial of the kindness which their ancestor received in the Dominion of Canada at the hands of its curlers. (Cheers.) And I am pleased to think that whenever it makes its appearance on the breakfast table, Lady Dufferin will be there to share with me the reminiscences it calls to mind, and to talk over all the pleasant hours we have passed in your company. (Applause.) There is only one thought which strikes me in connection with this present, which I might hesitate to express, and that is that it would seem as though the curlers of Canada



were determined to keep my wife and myself in hot water the remainder of our lives." (Loud laughter and applause.)

His Worship the Mayor then stepped forward. He said that, as a curler of the city of Toronto, and as Mayor of the city also, he desired to express his high appreciation of the distinguished services rendered by the Earl of Dufferin to the Dominion as its Governor General.

The Mayor then handed to His Excellency a case containing a curling stone in miniature, mounted in silver, and accompanied by a charm for the watch chain, bearing a suitable inscription.

His Excellency said :—

"Ladies and gentlemen, it is very unfair to hit a man when he is down. I have been already completely prostrated by the kindness of the friends on my left, and now, Mr. Mayor, with a want of generosity I should not have expected in him, suddenly attacks me with this beautiful and fatal instrument. I can only say that I accept it with the greatest gratitude, and that I am delighted to have a personal recollection of so distinguished a citizen, of this flourishing city of Toronto, as Mr. Morrison, more especially as it will remind me of the Mayor under whose auspices I shall have experienced so much gratification. Had I only been permitted to use this stone at that curling match which I had the honor of playing with some of my friends present, I can assure them the result would have been very different from what it was." (Laughter and applause.)

After another selection of music, Mrs. White, accompanied by a little girl in white, bearing a handsome bouquet of everlasting flowers, presented the following address :—

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P., K.C.B., GOVERNOR  
GENERAL OF CANADA :

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—The members of the Annual Musical Festival class desire to express to your Excellency the great pleasure we feel at the honor you have conferred upon us by being present at our festival. We, at the same time, cannot but feel that this occasion is one of sadness, for we remember with regret that you are about to bid farewell to our dear Canada. The many acts of generous condescension both of Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin and yourself have endeared you to the people of our country, and thousands of kind heartfelt wishes for your health and happiness and earnest prayers for your safety will attend you in your voyage across the Atlantic. While expressing our regret at the unavoidable absence of Lady Dufferin, we would ask you on her behalf to accept this bouquet of everlasting flowers, fit emblem of the everlasting affection and regard your Excellencies have won from the members of this class.

MARIAN A. WHITE, *Musical Directress.*

ADELAIDE STREET RINK,

Toronto, September 23rd, 1878."

After a reply to this address, several other exercises were gone through by the children, when His Excellency retired, amid loud cheers.

At three o'clock, on Tuesday, His Excellency was formally to open the Exhibition. At the hour agreed upon His Excellency, accompanied by the Lieutenant Governor, the Mayor, Mr. Angus Morrison; Captain Ward, A.D.C.; Captain Hamilton, A.D.C.; Lieutenant Colonel Cumberland, A.D.C.; Captain Grant, A.D.C.; Aldermen Turner, Allen, Close, Crocker, Riddell, Ritchie, Boswell, Ball, Hallam, Dill, Piper, McGregor, Denison, Smith, Boustead, Tizard, Mr. Jas. Hughes, and others, took carriages, and, accompanied by the officers of the 10th Royals and the escort of the Governor General's Body Guard, proceeded along York and King streets and Dufferin avenue to the grounds. The cavalcade, which was very imposing in appearance, was followed by large crowds of people. It reached the gates at three o'clock, where a guard of honor was in waiting, and proceeded immediately to the Judges' stand in the centre of the horse ring. There His Excellency was received by Mr. Thomas Stock, President of the Agricultural and Arts Association; Mr. Ira Morgan, Mr. McKenzie Bowell, M.P., Mr. Samuel Wilmot, Mr. George Graham, Hon. David Christie, Mr. Stephen White, Mr. L. E. Shipley, and Mr. Charles Drury, all of whom were members of the Council of the Association; Mr. J. H. Craig, Secretary of the Association; Hon. O. Mowat, Hon. S. C. Wood, Hon. T. B. Pardee, Hon. Adam Crooks, Hon. Wm. McDougall, M.P., Mr. James Young, ex-M.P., Rev. R. Burnet, Prof. George Buckland, Mr. W. H. Howland, Professor Bell, Sheriff McKellar, Hon. Geo. Brown, Mr. James Michie, Mr. Quetton St. George, Judge McKenzie, and many other prominent men of the city and Province. The Misses Macdonald and Master Macdonald were also present. His Excellency, as he ascended the stand, was loudly cheered by the thousands who had assembled to welcome him. When the cheers had subsided Mr. Stock presented the following address to Lord Dufferin:—

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA, &c., &c., &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the Council of the Agricultural and Arts Association of Ontario, beg to assure your Excellency of the pride and satisfaction with which we welcome you on the occasion of your visit to Toronto, to open this, the thirty-third Exhibition of the Association; and we gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to renew to your Excellency our assurance of loyalty and devotion to Her Majesty's Person and Government, and also to state our high



admiration of the manner in which you have administered the Government of Canada.

Your Excellency has given many proofs of the great interest which you have taken in the advancement of the agricultural, mechanical, and commercial interests of the Dominion of Canada. Your Excellency has visited every Province of the Dominion, thus acquiring much practical knowledge of its character and resources.

We beg to thank your Excellency, not only for the encouragement which you have given to the various branches of industry which we represent, but also for the universal kindness and munificent aid which you have bestowed on the educational institutions of Canada. Many a student has cause to remember with pride and gratitude your Excellency's beneficence and liberality.

We trust that this Exhibition will afford to your Excellency additional gratification, in the evidence which it gives of the progress and prosperity of the Province of Ontario.

We beg to express our deep regret that your Excellency will so soon leave Canada, but we assure you that you will carry with you the best wishes of the people of the whole Dominion.

That the blessing of God may attend your Excellency, Lady Dufferin and family, is our earnest prayer.

THOMAS STOCK, *President.*

Toronto, Sept. 24, 1878."

His Excellency replied as follows:—

"MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In endeavoring to return you my best thanks for the noble reception you are giving me, for the series of Arabian Nights' Entertainments through which from hour to hour and day to day I have been hurried by your hospitable citizens, I can truly say I have never felt less equal to such a task. During the past six years and a half, indeed, I have been often required at various times and places to say what are called 'a few words' to different classes of my fellow countrymen in the Dominion. But on these occasions there was always some current topic to engage our attention, and to which it was desirable I should address myself. Now, however, the case is very different. It is true we have a special business before us. I am nominally here to open this Exhibition, and, perhaps, under ordinary circumstances it would be sufficient for me to dilate upon the splendor of these buildings, the variety, the richness of their contents, the proofs they display not merely of the material wealth of Canada, but of the energy, ingenuity, and industry of our mechanics, artizans, and agriculturists; but my imagination refuses to be confined within even these spacious halls. (Applause.) No! the contributions they enclose only serve to conjure up before me in all their beauty the radiant expanses of those seven fair Provinces I have traversed from end to end (hear, hear, and applause), and it is not the departments of a mere Provincial show which lie mapped out beneath my feet, but the territories of our great Dominion, whose wealth and capabilities these courts exhibit. Nor is it in the presence of a detached crowd of casual sight-seers that I seem to stand, but face to face with that entire population, with whose destinies I have been so long associated, to whom I owe so much, and who are building up a British polity

upon this side of the Atlantic, which is destined, I trust, to exemplify more successfully than any other what happiness, what freedom, what strength, what peace can be secured to man by patiently, wisely, soberly expanding and developing those great principles of Constitutional and Parliamentary Government which centuries ago were born in England (applause), which our ancestors shed their blood to defend, which our forefathers transplanted to this country, and which our fathers have left us as the most precious inheritance they could bestow. (Tremendous applause.) Impressed, then, by such a consciousness, knowing that to-day for the last time I am speaking to the people of Canada, what am I to say? There are many things I would desire to say at such a moment, but I dread to tread on forbidden ground. (Laughter.) As you are well aware, in all those matters, which are of real and vital moment to you, I am only entitled to repeat in public such words of wisdom as my Ottawa Egerias may put into my mouth. (Great laughter.) In my own behalf it is only competent for me to expatiate in these vaporous fields of extra-political disquisition which may happen to be floating around the solid political life of the people. Yet, perhaps, a Viceroy *in extremis* might claim exceptional indulgence. (Laughter.) To all moribund personages, as to Jacob when he gathered the Fathers of Israel round his bedside, the privilege of monition and benediction has been granted. (Applause and laughter.) Happily my closing sentences need not be of such ambiguous import as those addressed by the Patriarch to Judah and his brethren. (Great laughter.) Though a country in the throes of a general election might have some sympathy with the attitude of Issachar (loud laughter), as I am not a defeated Prime Minister, I have no temptation to apply to you the burden of Reuben. (Renewed laughter.) What, then, is to be my valediction—my parting counsel to the citizens of the Dominion before I turn my face to the wall. A very few words will convey them. Love your country, believe in her, honor her, work for her, live for her, die for her. (Tremendous applause.) Never has any people been endowed with a nobler birthright, or blessed with prospects of a fairer future. Whatever gift God has given to man is to be found within the borders of your ample territories; and in return the only obligation laid upon you is ‘to go forth and multiply, and replenish the earth.’ (Applause and laughter.) It is true, the zone within which your lines are cast is characterized by ruder features than those displayed in lower latitudes and within more sunward-stretching lands, but the North has ever been the home of liberty, industry and valor (cheers), and great diversities of climate and of geographical and physical conditions are wont to breed antagonistic material interests and disruptive tendencies, which the fortunate uniformity of your own climate and position can never engender. (Applause.) It is also true you are not so rich as many other communities, but the happiness of a people does not so much depend upon the accumulation of wealth as upon its equable distribution. (Hear, hear.) In many of the wealthiest kingdoms of Europe thousands can scarcely obtain their daily bread, and though Canada is by no means at present a nation of millionaires, there is not amongst us an agricultural homestead between the Atlantic and the Pacific, where content and a rude plenty do not reign (applause), and in a thousand localities the earth is bursting with the mineral wealth which only requires improved transportation to



develop. (Renewed applause.) Nor indeed are you so numerous as your neighbors, but this is an inferiority which time will soon correct. Providence has spread out for you the fertile prairies of the North West, and your daughters must do the rest. (Loud laughter and applause.) But if these admissions may be made on the one side, what countervailing superiority may not be quoted on the other. In the first place you possess the best form of Government with which any historical nation has ever been blessed. (Cheers.) The excellency of the British Constitution, with the self-expanding energies it embodies, is an ancient story which I need not insist upon, but as there are always external forces which disturb the working of the most perfect mechanism, so in an old country like England, many influences exist to trouble the harmonious operations of the political machine, but here, our Constitution has been set agoing almost *in vacuo*—entirely disencumbered of those entanglements which traditional prejudices and social complications have given birth to at home. My next advice to you, then, would be to guard and cherish the characteristics of your Constitution with a sleepless vigilance. And do not consider that this is a superfluous warning. I do not of course refer to any of those principles which either regulate the relation of the Mother Country to the Colony, or of the Crown to the Parliament. All questions which were at one time in controversy in either of these respects have been long since happily settled to the satisfaction of everybody concerned. (Applause.) During the whole time that I have been Governor General of Canada not a single difficulty has ever arisen between the Colonial Office and this Government. (Hear, hear.) Indeed it would be impossible to overstate the extraordinary smoothness and harmony with which this portion of the machinery has worked so far as my experience has gone. (Applause.) The independence of the Canadian Parliament and the independence of the Canadian Administration in all matters affecting their domestic jurisdiction have not only received a generous recognition, but have been stimulated and expanded to the fullest possible extent by the authorities at home, as the recent establishment of a Supreme Court of Justice on Canadian soil impressively testifies. (Applause.) Nor has anything occurred to trouble the relations of the Viceroy as representing the Regal Power and his Parliament. The respective limits of privilege and prerogative have been finally determined, and there is no temptation, either upon the one side or the other, to overstep them (cheers); but there are one or two other principles incident to the British Constitution which, though fully recognized and established, might, perhaps, be overridden in time of political excitement, unless public opinion exerted itself to maintain them absolutely intact. I allude to the independence of the judges and the non-political and permanent character of the Civil Service. With regard to the independence of the judges I will say nothing. Notwithstanding what has been done elsewhere, I do not think that the Canadian people will ever be tempted to allow the judges of the land to be constituted by popular election. (Hear, and applause.) Still, on this continent there will always be present in the air, as it were, a certain tendency in that direction, and it is against this I would warn you. And now that I am upon this topic there is one further observation I am tempted to make in regard to the position of the judges. I should hope that, as time goes on, as the importance and extent of their work increases, and as the wealth of the country expands,

it may be found expedient to attach somewhat higher salaries to those who administer the laws. Pure and righteous justice is the very foundation of human happiness, but remember it is as true of justice as of anything else—you cannot have a first-rate article without paying for it. (Cheers and laughter.) In order to secure an able bar you must provide adequate prizes for those that are called to it. If this is done the intellectual energy of the country will be attracted to the legal profession, and you will have what is the greatest ornament any country can possess—an efficient and learned judiciary. (Cheers.) But, after all, the chief danger against which you will have to guard is that which concerns the Civil Service of the country. Now, the Civil Service of the country, though not the animating spirit, is the living mechanism through which the body politic moves and breathes, and has its being. Upon it depends the rapid and economical conduct of every branch of your affairs; and there is nothing about which a nation should be so particular as to secure in such a service independence, zeal, patriotism and integrity. But in order that this should be the case, it is necessary that the civil servants should be given a status regulated by their acquirements, their personal qualifications, their capacity for rendering the country efficient service, and that neither their original appointment nor their subsequent advancement should in any way depend upon their political connections or opinions. (Applause.) If you take my advice you will never allow your Civil Service to be degraded into an instrument to subserve the ends and interests of any political party. (Cheers.) The success of a political party ought to depend upon its public policy, and the ability of its chiefs, and not upon the advantage likely to accrue to its individual adherents. In fact, the more the area of personal profit consequent upon a change of Government is limited the better for the country at large. (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, the independence thus conceded to the members of the Civil Service imposes upon them a special obligation, namely, that they should serve their successive chiefs—no matter to which side they may belong—with a scrupulously impartial zeal and loyalty. (Hear, hear.) There is no offence which should be visited with swifter or more condign punishment than any failure in this respect. A civil servant who allows his political sympathies to damp his ardor, devotion, zeal and loyalty to his departmental chiefs is a disgrace to his profession. (Hear, hear.) Happily both the great political parties in this country have given in their adherence to this principle. Both are convinced of the wholesomeness of the doctrine to which I have referred, and I have no doubt that the anxiety manifested by our friends across the line to purge their own Civil Service of its political complexion will confirm every thinking Canadian in the conviction I have sought to impress upon you. (Applause.) Again, therefore, I say to you, guard this and every other characteristic of your Constitution with an unflinching vigilance, for, though you search all the world over, it is not likely you will ever get a better one. (Cheers.) It is true no one can live in the proximity of our great neighbors without conceiving the greatest admiration for the wisdom which framed the political institutions under which they have so wonderfully prospered, but I am not at all sure that the success of the original experiment is not as much due to the fortitude, the good sense, and the moderation of the subsequent generations that have carried it into effect, as to the foresight and wisdom of its authors; and certain am I that there is



not a thinking American who, however proud he may be of his country, does not occasionally cast an envious sheep's eye across the border at our more fortunate condition. (Laughter and applause.) The truth is that almost every modern Constitution has been the child of violence, and remains indelibly impressed with the scars of the struggle which ushered in its birth. (Applause.) A written Constitution is of necessity an artificial invention—a contrivance—a formula as inelastic as the parchment on which it is written—instead of being a living, primeval, heaven-engendered growth; but the foundations of the polity under which you live are of secular antiquity (loud applause); no revolutionary convulsion has severed the continuity of your history, or disinherited you of your past—your annals are not comprised within the lifetime of a centenarian, but reach back through a thousand years of matchless achievement in every field of exertion open to mankind. (Loud cheering.) Nor do even the confines of two oceans suffice to hedge you in; you share an Empire whose flag floats, whose jurisdiction asserts itself in every quarter of the globe (applause)—whose ships whiten every sea—whose language is destined to spread further than any European tongue (tremendous cheering), whose institutions every nation aspiring to freedom is endeavoring to imitate, and whose vast and widespread colonies are vying with each other in their affectionate love for the Mother Country (cheers), in their efforts to add lustre to the English name, in their longing to see cemented still more closely the bonds of that sacred and majestic union within which they have been born. (Applause.) Gentlemen, believe me, one is not an Englishman for nothing (great applause), and although, perhaps, I should be prepared to go beyond many of my hearers, not merely in justifying, but in extolling the conduct of those men of the revolutionary period who tore themselves—though I believe with bleeding hearts—from their Mother's side rather than submit to her tyranny, I confess I should have difficulty in finding words to express my want of sympathy for those, should any such ever come into existence, who—unless under the stress of equal provocation—should be tempted to abjure so glorious a birthright in pursuit of any Utopian chimera. (Applause.) None such, however, are here. (Cheers.) Of course I am well aware that many of the most earnest-minded men amongst us have insisted of late years with laudable enthusiasm—and, in doing so, though perhaps unconsciously to themselves, they have only given utterances to the feelings of every man and woman in the nation—upon the duty of a supreme devotion to the interests of their own Canada. (Cheers.) But you are well aware that as an Imperial officer I have never shown the slightest jealousy or breathed a word in discouragement of such honorable sentiments; for I am convinced that, so far from being antagonistic to Imperial interests, it is amongst those who are prepared to make the greatest sacrifices for their native land that we shall always find the most loyal subjects of the Queen. (Great cheering.) The only thing that, perhaps, I would be disposed to deprecate would be the over-passionate advocacy of any speculative programme that may lie outside of the orbit of practical statesmanship. (Hear, hear.) As every human society is in a state of continuous development, so occasional re-adjustment of its mechanism becomes necessary; but I think you may take it for granted that, though they may not talk much about it, the experienced men who superintend your affairs are perpetually on the watch for any serious

symptoms of strain or friction in the wheels of the body politic, and as soon as these disclose themselves there is no doubt they will find expedients with which to meet the emergency. It is in this way, by this practical procedure, and not by theoretical excursions into dreamland that the British polity has been so successfully elaborated. (Applause.) So long as a man sleeps well, has a good appetite, and feels generally jovial, he may rest assured he needs no doctoring. (Laughter.) But if he takes to perpetually feeling his pulse, looking at his tongue, and watching his digestion, he will invariably superinduce all kinds of imaginary pains and aches, and perhaps a real illness. (Applause and laughter.) Well, so far as I have observed, you all appear at present in the best of health and spirits, and I do not know that you will much better your condition by allowing your imagination to speculate as to whether the exuberant vitality you are accumulating in your system, under your present satisfactory *regimen*, will or will not eventually necessitate some hundred years hence an inconceivable process of amputation. (Laughter and applause.) But what is so satisfactory in this case is, that those sentiments of loyalty and affection for the Mother Country, which are so dominant in Canada, coincide and run in parallel lines with what the coldest common sense and the most calculating policy would recommend. (Great applause.) They are, in fact, but the wreaths of roses which entwine and overlies the strong cords of mutual profit and advantage by which the two countries are bound to one another. (Applause.) I therefore say, cherish as one of the noblest traditions transmitted by your forefathers that feeling of loyalty towards Great Britain, the Empire, and its Sovereign, by which you are animated, for it is in that direction, and not in any other one, that your true course lies. (Great applause.) And now, in conclusion, I have but one more word to say. However earnestly I may have besought you to be faithful to your native land, and to estimate at its proper value your birthright as Englishmen, it is almost with equal persistence that I would exhort you to cultivate cordial relations with the great American people. A nobler nation—a people more generous or more hospitable—does not exist. (Loud applause.) To have learnt to understand and appreciate them I esteem as not the least of the many advantages I have gained by coming to Canada. (Applause.) Of my own knowledge I can say that they are animated by the kindest feelings towards the Dominion, and I cannot doubt but that the two countries are destined to be united in the bands of an unbroken friendship. (Loud applause.) Nor can I conceive a more interesting or delightful task in store for the philosophical historian than to record the amicable rivalry of such powerful and cognate communities in the path of progress,—the one a republic indeed, but where the authoritative pre-eminence assigned to the elect of the people, and the comparative freedom of the Executive from Parliamentary control, introduces a feature akin to personal Government; the other a monarchy, but to which the hereditary principle communicates such an element of stability as to render possible the application of what is really the most popular and democratic political system to be found upon this continent (loud cheers), while both combine, each in their respective spheres, to advance the happiness of mankind, and to open up a new and fresher chapter of human history. (Applause.) And now, gentlemen, I must hurry to a conclusion. I have only to thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me. My



race amongst you is run. To-day I am but hastily finishing off the concluding paragraph in the record of my official career. That record I am happy to think is destined to become the preface to a more brilliant chapter in your history. (Cheers.) In a few weeks one of the most promising of the younger generation of English statesmen will reach your shores, accompanied by a daughter of your Queen. (Tremendous applause.) Under the auspices of these distinguished personages you are destined to ascend yet higher in the hierarchy of the nations, to be drawn still closer to the heart of the Mother Country, to be recognized still more universally as one of the most loyal, most prosperous, and most powerful of those great colonial governments which unite to form the Empire of Great Britain. (Great cheering.) May God Almighty bless you and keep you, and pour out upon your glorious country the universal blessings that lie at His right hand." (Tremendous cheering, renewed again and again.)

His Excellency then returned to his carriage, and was driven to the Cairn, erected in memory of the French occupation of the country.\*

\* A point of great interest to every one at all familiar with Canadian history is this Cairn, which is erected near the south-western corner of the grounds to mark the spot where once stood what is now known as the old French Fort, but what was more than a century ago known as Fort Rouille. The Cairn is raised above the level of the ground on a mound, and the numerous small stones of which it is composed, support a large boulder, on which is inscribed the following statement, prepared by Dr. Scadding :—

THIS CAIRN  
marks the exact site of  
FORT ROUILLE,  
commonly known as  
FORT TORONTO,  
An Indian Trading Post and Stockade,  
Established A.D. 1749,  
By order of the Government of Louis XV.,  
in accordance  
With the recommendation of  
The Count De La Galisonière,  
Administrator of New France, 1747-1749.

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Erected by the Corporation of the  
City of Toronto,  
A.D. 1878.

The inscription fully explains the meaning of the Cairn, and the history of the piece of land upon which it and the Exhibition are situated. Interesting it is to think that the land which 130 years ago was the site of a fort, built to force trade with the Indians out of the hands of the British into the hands of the French, should now be the site of an exhibition of trade, agricultural and manufacturing products of a great British Province, which in those days was nothing but an almost trackless forest.

The Cairn is situated at the south-western extremity of the grounds, and, when the Vice-regal carriage, escorted by the Body Guard, approached it, the Queen's Own with its band, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Otter and Lieutenant Colonel Arthurs, formed into line, and, as a guard of honor, saluted the distinguished visitor. At the same time a detachment of the Field Battery fired a salute of nineteen guns. His Excellency and party then alighted from their carriages, and examined the Cairn. Rev. Dr. Scadding, on behalf of the city, presented the Governor General with a copy of a pamphlet which he had written, giving the authorities for the belief that the spot on which the Cairn was erected was the exact site of the old French Fort, and also containing a historical sketch of that piece of land. His Excellency then reviewed the militia and walked to the grand entrance of the main building, there to take part in the ceremony.

The vast concourse of people, observing that the Vice-regal party was about to enter the Crystal palace, hastened immediately to the doors, which were literally besieged. Thousands squeezed their way in, and very shortly the front of every gallery was lined, and every inch of standing-room on the ground floor was taken. Indeed, people took possession of the very tables on which the exhibits were laid, and all kinds of goods had to submit to the invasion of the general public, in order to witness the much-talked-of ceremony. When His Excellency arrived the spectacle was grand indeed. At the west end of the building the Philharmonic Society, which was under the direction of Mr. Torrington, was stationed on a platform erected for the accommodation of its members. In the two galleries from end to end of the building nothing could be seen but men, women and children, and looking from any one of the galleries to the ground floor nothing was visible but a sea of heads. As Lord Dufferin entered the building the Philharmonic Society and orchestra performed the National Anthem, and when the singing was concluded, and His Excellency took the seat provided for him on the platform, he was loudly cheered. The Philharmonic Society then sang "The Heavens are Telling," after which Mr. Stock briefly introduced the guest of the occasion, who declared the Exhibition open.

Ald. Withrow then, as Chairman of the Exhibition Committee, approached the Governor, and said :—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.—The Exhibition Committee of the City of Toronto, in the person of its Chairman, desires to approach your Excellency with the request that you will allow your name to be placed on a memorial tablet to commemorate the auspicious opening of this new building."



To this His Excellency was pleased to accede.

The singing of the Hallelujah Chorus concluded the proceedings. The Governor General and staff then left the building, and shortly afterwards the grounds. As the carriage in which His Excellency was seated passed through the crowd the cheers were loud and hearty.

In the evening His Excellency, at the invitation of the Horticultural Society, visited the Horticultural Gardens, and took part in the demonstrations there. The gardens were handsomely decorated, and two triumphal arches—one at the gate and one at the pavilion—added to the always pleasing appearance of the grounds. On the arch at the gate were the words "Welcome" and "Farewell" in gas jets. The word "Welcome" faced the visitors as they entered the grounds, and the word "Farewell" as they left. Some two or three thousand people had assembled in the Gardens by eight o'clock, and precisely at that hour the Queen's Own Rifles arrived, and its members were drawn up in line on either side of the pathway leading from the gate to the pavilion. In a short time his Honor the Lieutenant Governor with the Misses Macdonald arrived, and took seats on a platform erected at the west end of the pavilion, and facing an enclosure, from which fireworks, in sets and singly, were, under the direction of Prof. Hand, to be displayed. His Honor was speedily followed by His Excellency the Governor General, who was accompanied by Captains Hamilton and Ward, Hon. G. W. Allan, Mr. Henry Pellatt, the Mayor, and a large number of the Aldermen and members of the Horticultural Society. His Excellency was loudly cheered as he passed through the crowd to his seat on the platform, and a very handsome spectacle was caused by the simultaneous lighting in various parts of the grounds of colored lights. At the same time the National Anthem was played in the pavilion by the band of the Tenth Royals, under the leadership of Mr. Toulmin. The proceedings of the evening were enlivened by the music of the Tenth Royals band, and made brilliant by the fireworks.

Before the proceedings terminated, Hon. G. W. Allan, on behalf of the Horticultural Society, and in appropriate terms, expressed the great pleasure which the members of the Society felt in welcoming Lord Dufferin to their gardens. His Excellency's visit was an act of condescension which would long be remembered. The hon. gentleman then referred to the very brilliant administration of the affairs of this country by His Excellency, expressed the regret which every one felt in being obliged to say farewell to him, and concluded by calling for three

hearty cheers for one who had endeared himself to the Canadian people.

The cheers were given with a will.

His Excellency, in returning thanks for the welcome which had been provided for him, said his hearers could well understand that one who had already spoken for three-quarters of an hour could hardly speak at any great length. He had come to see fireworks, and when he came he did not expect to let them off. (Laughter.) His hearers would, therefore, he was sure, excuse him if he contented himself by expressing his appreciation of the kindness of the Society, and his deep sense of the hearty welcome which had been accorded him. (Cheers.)

After witnessing another display of fire-works, His Excellency and staff retired.

The next (Wednesday) morning His Excellency received at the Queen's Hotel representatives of the following bodies: The Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, the St. George's Society, the Public School Board and the Commercial Travellers' Association. The first to be introduced were the representatives of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society. It consisted of the following:—Captain W. F. McMaster, President; Hon. Vice Chancellor Blake, Vice-President; A. T. McCord, Warring Kennedy, J. M. Evans, Alderman Close, Rev. Dr. Robb, Rev. S. W. Young, Rev. E. H. Dewart, Rev. W. H. Poole, Rev. Robert Wallace; Thomas Houston, Secretary; ex-Alderman Downie, Wilson McWhiney, James Hunter, W. W. Larmour, R. L. Frazer, J. H. McCallum, R. C. Hamilton, Robert Patterson, Dr. Evans, James Alison, Thos. Alison, John Bailie, Robert Barber, jr., Robert McKim, H. C. Pease, W. T. Finlay, W. M. Magith, Samuel Rogers, Gilbert Milligan, Marcellus Crombie, John Burns, Thomas Downie, John Oliver, William Wilson, R. M. Storey, King Houston, Thos. Patterson, Wm. Magill, and R. H. Bowes.

The President, on behalf of the Society, presented His Excellency with the following address:—

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P., K.C.B.,  
VISCOUNT CLANDEBOYE, OF CLANDEBOYE, ETC., GOVERNOR GENERAL OF  
THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—On your Excellency's auspicious arrival in Canada, the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Toronto took the earliest opportunity afforded it to welcome you to our shores. We ventured to express the delight which we then felt at the advent of so distinguished a fellow-countryman as the Viceroy in Canada of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen. We felt assured,



from your past career, that you would take high rank in the long line of representatives of Royalty who have held the exalted position on this continent which we deeply regret you are now about to relinquish. What was then the hearty conviction of the members of this Society has been far more than realized in the remarkable success and brilliancy of your Administration. Not only have objects kindred to those for which our Society were formed received hearty sympathy from your Excellency, but every interest connected with the progress and welfare of our adopted country, material, social and commercial, has been promoted in such a manner as to show how completely you have identified yourself with those interests, and how heartily you have sought to promote them in every possible way, and to exalt the Dominion in the estimation of the Imperial authorities and of other nations.

Although, as your Excellency has so eloquently illustrated, in the remarkably able speeches which you have delivered, Canada is so highly favored, and so desirable a home for our immigrant countrymen, yet, not only on their arrival here, but for a considerable time afterwards, many of them require that material aid and friendly counsel which it is the special object of our Society to afford. It will be no doubt gratifying to your Excellency to know that our Society has since its formation assisted some hundreds of cases of Irish Protestants whose lot in life has been less favored than our own. Our Society is a purely benevolent one, and non-sectarian. On bidding you a respectful yet affectionate farewell, we cannot refrain from paying a warm-hearted tribute to the many admirable qualities which have so universally endeared the name of the Countess of Dufferin to all classes of society in this country. *A'r Beanachd leat.* Our blessing go with you.

W. F. McMASTER, *President.*

S. H. BLAKE, V. C.,

A. T. McCORD,

WARRING KENNEDY,

J. GEORGE HODGINS, LL.D.,

F. W. KINGSTONE,

GEORGE M. EVANS, M.A.,

THOMAS HOUSTON, *Secretary.*"

} *Vice-Presidents.*

His Excellency, in reply, said :—

"GENTLEMEN,—Few things could have given me greater pleasure than to receive such an address as that which you have presented to me. I recollect the friendly reception you gave me on my first arrival, and I rejoice at this opportunity of bidding you farewell. I am well aware of the useful nature of the task you have set yourselves, and of the broad and liberal spirit in which you execute it, and it is, therefore, to you, and through you to the rest of our Irish fellow-countrymen in Canada, that I feel irresistibly compelled to convey one last and parting entreaty. No one can have watched the recent course of events without having observed, almost with feelings of terror, the unaccountable exacerbation and re-crudescence of those party feuds and religious animosities from which for many a long day we have been comparatively free. Now, gentlemen, this is a most serious matter (hear, hear), its import cannot be exaggerated, and I would beseech you and

every Canadian in the land who exercises any influence amid the circle of his acquaintance—nay, every Canadian woman, whether mother, wife, sister, or daughter, to strain every nerve, to exert every faculty they possess to stifle and eradicate this hateful and abominable root of bitterness from amongst us. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I have had a terrible experience in these matters. I have seen one of the greatest and most prosperous towns of Ireland—the City of Belfast—helplessly given over for an entire week into the hands of two contending religious factions. I have gone into the hospital and beheld the dead bodies of young men in the prime of life lying stark and cold upon the hospital floor—the delicate forms of innocent women writhing in agony upon the hospital beds—and every one of these struck down by an unknown bullet—by those with whom they had no personal quarrel—towards whom they felt no animosity, and from whom, had they encountered them in the intercourse of ordinary life, they would have probably received every mark of kindness and goodwill. (Hear, hear.) But where these tragedies occurred—senseless and wicked as were the occasions which produced them—there had long existed between the contending parties, traditions of animosity and ill-will and the memory of ancient grievances; but what can be more Cain-like, more insane than to import into this country—unsullied as it is by any evil record of civil strife—a stainless paradise, fresh and bright from the hands of its Maker,—where all have been freely admitted upon equal terms—the bloodthirsty strife and brutal quarrels of the old world? Divided as you are into various powerful religious communities, none of whom are entitled to claim either pre-eminence or ascendancy over the other, but each of which reckons amongst its adherents enormous masses of the population, what hope can you have except in mutual forbearance and a generous liberality of sentiment? Why! Your very existence depends upon the disappearance of these ancient feuds. Be wise, therefore, in time, I say, while it is still time, for it is the property of these hateful quarrels to feed on their own excesses; if once engendered they widen their bloody circuit from year to year, till they engulf the entire community in internecine strife. Unhappily it is not by legislation or statutory restrictions, or even by the interference of the armed Executive, that the evil can be effectually and radically remedied. Such alternatives, even when successful at the time—I am not alluding to anything that has taken place in Canada, but to my Irish experiences—are apt to leave a sense of injustice and of a partial administration of the law, rankling in the minds of one or other of the parties, but surely when re-inforced by such obvious considerations of self-preservation as those I have indicated, the public opinion of the community at large ought to be sufficient to repress the evil. Believe me, if you desire to avert an impending calamity, it is the duty of every human being amongst you—Protestant and Catholic—Orangeman and Union man—to consider with regard to all these matters what is the real duty they owe to God, their country, and each other. (Applause.) And now, gentlemen, I have done. I trust that nothing I have said has wounded the susceptibilities of any of those who have listened to me. God knows I have had but one thought in addressing these observations to you, and that is to make the best use of this exceptional occasion, and to take the utmost advantage of the good will with which I know you regard me, in order to effect an object



upon which your own happiness and the happiness of future generations so greatly depend."

The deputation then retired and the following members of the St. George's Society were introduced :—Messrs. B. Walton, President ; E. Pierce, 1st Vice-President ; M. Swetton, 2nd Vice-President ; J. J. Allworth, 3rd Vice-President ; W. B. Phipps, Treasurer ; J. E. Pell, Secretary ; J. H. Mason, F. Wright, Jas. Cooper, W. H. Warner, C. Virtue, T. A. Fraser, G. Lugsden, C. Riley, Rev. T. W. Handford, G. Hodgetts, H. Mortimer, A. E. Paul, W. Martin, W. B. Butler, and several others.

Mr. Pell read the following address :—

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P., K.C.B.,  
GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA, ETC.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the officers and members of the St. George's Society of Toronto, a society of a purely benevolent character, established for the express purpose of giving aid and counsel to needy and distressed fellow-countrymen, beg leave to approach your Excellency with the warmest expressions of loyalty and devotion to the person and dignity of Her Most Gracious Majesty our beloved Queen ; and also to assure you of our high appreciation of the very able, dignified, and courteous way in which you have filled the position of Her Majesty's Representative in this Dominion.

We would also take the opportunity of expressing to your Lordship the great admiration and esteem in which Lady Dufferin is held by Englishmen generally in this Dominion. Never within the recollection of any one of us has her Ladyship's position been filled with so much grace and courtesy ; and we part with your Excellency and her Ladyship with feelings of sincere regret ; praying that in whatever public position you may be placed in the future you may be enabled to perform its duties with the same satisfaction to the Sovereign, with the same honor to yourself, and with the same gratitude of the public, that you have obtained during your administration of the government of this highly favored Dominion of Canada."

His Excellency, in replying, expressed his deep sense of the honor which had been conferred upon him by the Society in presenting him with such an address. He felt that the presentation was no empty ceremony, and as long as he lived he would retain a lively recollection of all the kindness, hospitality and patience with which he had been treated in this country. He felt that, however earnestly he may have striven to do his duty, after all it was to the kindness and friendship of the people that he owed the good estimation in which he was held. He was deeply touched by the kind references to Lady Dufferin ; and he could assure his hearers that she never felt happier, she never felt more at home, than during the six years she had spent in Canada. She left the country with the greatest regret, and nothing would be

more grateful to her feelings than to know that, although she had returned to her home in Ireland, the St. George's Society had been good enough to make mention of her in this address. His hearers could rely upon it that he, for his part, would endeavor to show his gratitude not merely in words, but, as long as he lived, he would consider himself bound to be the faithful servant and advocate of Canada in the Councils of the Imperial Parliament.

The following members of the Commercial Travellers' Association were then ushered in :—Mr. Jas. Paterson, President ; Mr. Lawrence Smyth, 1st Vice-President ; Mr. Warring Kennedy, ex-President ; Alex. A. Allan, J. A. Dobbie, T. O. Anderson, J. Barr, W. Bonnell, J. A. Busselle, J. Barber, jun., R. Barber, jun., A. E. Belcher, J. Cooper, W. Cameron, W. Coats (Hamilton), H. W. Darling, J. S. Donaldson, G. H. Evans, W. R. Edmond, F. G. Mackenzie Fraser, A. Finlayson, G. Fryer, J. N. Fennell, J. P. Hayes, R. F. Hunter, J. Haywood, W. Inkson (Hamilton), E. J. Joselin, J. H. Kenny, C. E. Kyle, H. H. Laing (Hamilton), W. T. Lundy, W. Morrison, A. Mackie, W. M. Magrath, H. D. Mason, H. Miller, H. McLaren, J. Oliver, T. Ogilvy, A. Petersen, R. W. Pentecost (Hamilton), J. H. Pearce, W. H. Rodden, J. Sargant, W. B. Small, M. Thwaite, J. J. Thomson, R. J. Wylie, J. O. Walpole, A. Welding, S. J. Walker, J. Wilkins, and Charles Riley, Secretary.

Mr. Charles Riley read the following address, the handsome illuminated work of which was from the pen of Mr. R. M. Williams, a member of the Queen's Own :—

“ TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P., K.C.B.,  
VISCOUNT CLANDEBOYE, OF CLANDEBOYE, ETC., ETC., GOVERNOR GENERAL  
OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the officers and members of ‘The Commercial Travellers' Association of Canada,’ numbering over one thousand members, and representing the leading commercial interests of the country, an association having for its objects the moral, intellectual and financial welfare of its members, and, to some extent, benevolent in its character, beg leave to approach your Excellency with the warmest expressions of loyalty and devotion to the personal dignity of Her Most Gracious Majesty our beloved Queen, and also to assure you of our high appreciation of the able, dignified and courteous manner in which you have filled the position of Her Majesty's Representative in this Dominion. The able statesmanship displayed by you in discharge of the duties of your high office has commanded our unbounded admiration ; the wise measures taken towards encouraging and cementing a British national sentiment in our Dominion, as well as to stimulate the mercantile and manufacturing enterprises of the country, during your Vice-royalty have been such as to ensure the outgrowth



of substantial advantages which the commercial travellers as well as all classes of the community highly appreciate. A great debt of gratitude is due to your Excellency by the commercial travellers of this Dominion, whose business leads them from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for the indefatigable energy you have displayed in visiting all the provinces, especially the great North West; making yourself intimately acquainted with all the requirements and necessities of the country; becoming the pioneer of the emigrant from distant lands, and also of the commercial traveller, thus hastening the development of those regions much earlier than otherwise would have been done. We cannot refrain from taking this opportunity of expressing to your Lordship the great admiration and unbounded esteem in which Lady Dufferin is held by all classes in this Dominion; the grace and courtesy with which her Ladyship has filled the position she has occupied during the past six years will never be forgotten, and we bid farewell to your Excellencies with feelings of sincere regret, and would respectfully assure you that, though your official connection with our country is about to cease, we shall always take the warmest interest in the happiness and prosperity of your illustrious house.

Signed on behalf of the Commercial Travellers' Association of Canada.

JAMES PATERSON, *President.*

CHARLES RILEY, *Secretary.*"

His Excellency said:—

"MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I assure you I experience very great pleasure in receiving an address from such a body as this. In the first place I am well aware that the Commercial Travellers constitute a community as distinguished for its integrity, for its intelligence, for its general aptitude for advancing the prosperity of Canada as any in the country. In the next place I cannot help remembering that one of the wisest and kindest statesmen whose eloquence and achievements have ever adorned the pages of English history had the honor of once being enrolled amongst your number. I allude to Richard Cobden. (Applause.) And I am also glad to think that another member of your profession, Mr. George Moore, has also justly attracted by his honorable and distinguished career the admiration and sympathy of his fellow-countrymen. But there is a still closer tie which attracts me towards you, because, after all, what am I myself but a commercial traveller? (Laughter and applause.) I am a commercial traveller who has travelled more and further than any of you. (Renewed laughter.) I have vaunted my wares with as much earnestness and sincere belief in their excellence as any gentleman present. (Loud laughter.) I have endeavored to extend our connections, and to push the business of our House (great laughter), with energy and integrity (laughter and applause) and, as you are good enough to assure me, to the satisfaction of my employers (great applause)—and amongst those who have addressed me there are none in a better position than yourselves to give me an assurance on such a point, as none are in the habit of mixing more intimately with all classes of the community." (Loud applause.)

His Excellency concluded by thanking them, in a few further appropriate observations, for the flattering terms of their address.

The next and last delegation was from the School Board, of which body the following members were present :—Dr. G. Wright, Chairman ; Messrs. Kent, McMurrich, Bain, Burns, Galley, Roden, Mara, Pearson, and Bell. The officers of the Board in attendance were Mr. James Hughes, Inspector ; Mr. W. C. Wilkinson, Secretary ; and Mr. Thompson, truant officer.

Dr. Geo. Wright presented the following address :—

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P.,  
K.C.B., GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA, &c., &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—The Public School Board of the City of Toronto desire to express to your Excellency, on your departure from Canada, their high appreciation of the deep interest which you have taken in educational matters during your residence in our country, as the representative of our beloved Sovereign, Queen Victoria.

As an educational body, we feel that Canada has been highly favored in having for her Governor a gentleman whose literary culture has justly earned for his name so honorable a place in the distinguished list of Anglo-Saxon authors ; and we are confident that the study of your writings and public addresses will be of great service in developing our native Canadian literature.

We desire, also, to express our indebtedness to you for the decided impetus which you have given to two departments of educational work, that have not hitherto received the attention which they deserve, viz. : industrial art and physical education. Special attention is now paid to both of these in the Toronto Public Schools.

When your Excellency first honored this Board by allowing us to address you, we had but twelve schools and sixty-two teachers under our control. To-day our Public Schools number twenty-two, with a teaching staff of one hundred and thirty-nine.

In conclusion, we would most respectfully request your Excellency to accept of our sincere regret at your departure from us, and our best wishes for the future welfare of your Excellency and the Countess of Dufferin.

GEORGE WRIGHT, M.D., *Chairman.*  
W. C. WILKINSON, *Secretary.*

Toronto, 23rd Sept., 1878.”

After a brief reply to this address, His Excellency visited the Central Prison. He was received by Hon. O. Mowat and Captain and Mrs. Prince. After examining the prison, His Excellency was pleased to express his satisfaction with its appearance. Captain and Mrs. Prince afterwards entertained His Excellency and Mr. Mowat at luncheon.



In the evening His Excellency attended the citizens' demonstration in the Queen's Park. The Park was brilliantly illuminated under the direction of the Citizens' Committee. In the first place the avenue, from Queen street to the enclosure where the fountain is situated, was lined by young men holding torches. At the head of the avenue, where the lines of torch-bearers ended, a triumphal arch was erected. It was built in a handsome style, and in addition to devices in evergreens which stood out upon a white ground, there were illuminations in gas jets, tastefully arranged in stars, crowns, etc., and forming on the south side the words, "Welcome to Toronto," and on the north side, "Farewell to Toronto." This arrangement of the two mottoes was such that as His Excellency entered the enclosure set apart for his reception, words of welcome met his eye, while, when he left it, farewell was the sentiment conveyed to him. The residences of Hon. Vice-Chancellor Proudfoot, Mr. William Thomson, and Mr. W. H. Howland, on the east side of the Park Avenue, and those of Messrs. Thomas Christie and William Myles on the west side, were also illuminated with rows of gas jets twisted into fantastic shapes. Chinese lanterns and transparencies of various colors exhibiting the Dufferin coat of arms, the City arms, the Provincial and Dominion arms; and numerous mottoes expressive of regret at the far too early departure of Lord Dufferin, and of admiration of His Excellency's administration.

The ceremonies, it was arranged, were to take place within the well-known floral enclosure at the head of the avenue. At the entrance to this enclosure stood the arch previously referred to, and within it fitting preparations were made for the occasion. By a re-arrangement of the flower beds a pathway was formed from the arch between the Crimean guns and around the fountain to a platform which faced towards the flagstaff. The pathway to the platform and the platform were richly carpeted. At various points within the enclosure Chinese lanterns were suspended; from the fountain, also, were hung rows of lamps, exhibiting the colors red, white and blue, and from the wire-work flower baskets, of which there were many, similar lamps in an equal profusion were shown.

It was the intention of the Reception Committee to have lit this part of the Park with lime lights, the mechanism for three of which was provided; but, owing to the fact that the Gas Company did not put on sufficient pressure, it was impossible to carry out this arrange-

ment. Had it been carried out the scene would have been even more brilliant than it was.

His Excellency left the Queen's Hotel for the Park shortly before nine o'clock; but fully two hours before that the Park was crowded with people of all classes, anxious to pay a parting mark of respect to their deservingly popular Governor General. It is calculated that there were some twenty thousand people present. They lined the avenues and approaches to the Park; they crowded around the enclosure; they took possession of every piece of elevated ground, and they showed their numerical strength so well that it was with difficulty that the militia and the police kept the roadway from Queen street to the College avenue clear for carriages. At half-past eight the Governor General's body guard arrived, under the command of Major R. B. Denison. Its members were stationed around the enclosure at intervals of several feet. Shortly afterwards the bands of the Tenth Royals, the Queen's Own Rifles, and the Artillery corps marched up the avenue, playing favorite airs, and took up a position in front of the arch. They were followed by the Queen's Own, which regiment was stationed in line for some distance along the avenue. When the torch-bearers and the military were so arranged the scene from the platform was brilliant in the extreme, but just at nine o'clock those who were admiring the view from that point were attracted by the roar as of a vast multitude coming from the direction in which they were looking. It was the cheering of the crowd on the entrance of the Governor General to the Park. The cheering grew louder and louder as His Excellency's carriage approached the enclosure, and when he stepped on to the platform prepared for him the enthusiasm was caught up by the crowds which surrounded him, and there seemed to be an honest rivalry between the collections of people at either end of the avenue as to which could do the Governor the greatest honor by the use of their lungs.

Accompanying His Excellency were Captain Ward, A.D.C.; Captain Hamilton, A.D.C.; Captain Grant and Mr. J. Kidd; his Worship the Mayor and the Corporation of the City with its officers. His Excellency was received by Hon. G. W. Allan, M. Henry Pellatt, Lieutenant Colonel Scoble and others; and within the enclosure were Sir John Macdonald, Hon. W. P. Howland, Mr. W. H. Howland, Hon. W. McMaster, Hon. J. C. Aikins, Hon. M. C. Cameron, Hon. Wm. Macdougall, Dr. Strange, M.P., Mr. A. Boulton, M.P., Mr. R. Bell, M.P.P., Rev. S. W. Young, Colonel D'Arcy Boulton, etc., etc.



Mr. Roddy, City Clerk, read to His Excellency the following address, which was afterwards presented by the Mayor. The address was handsomely illuminated :—

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON. SIR FREDERIC TEMPLE, EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P., K.C.M.G., K.C.B., GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA, AND VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE SAME, ETC., ETC.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the Mayor, Corporation, and citizens of Toronto, being happily afforded an opportunity of once more meeting your Excellency before your departure from the Province, avail ourselves of the occasion to renew the expressions of respect and affection with which, not only the inhabitants of this city, but of the whole Dominion, regard your Excellency and the distinguished Lady whose presence here to-night would have been hailed with delight, and whose departure from our shores is felt as a matter of personal regret throughout the Dominion.

The term of your Excellency's Vice-royalty having only too soon drawn to a close, we feel that we are now addressing you for the last time, and in doing so we cannot but recall the aspirations expressed in the address of welcome which was presented to you on your first visit to this city, that your administration of affairs would prove in every way advantageous to the Dominion, and agreeable to your Excellency.

How fully these aspirations have been realized in one respect the whole people of this country are witnesses. Your Excellency's administration will ever form one of the brightest pages in the history of Canada, and will long live in the memories of her people as that of the sagacious and constitutional Governor, the splendid orator, and the wise and sympathising adviser, in all that related to their material, their intellectual and their social improvement.

We would fain hope also that the wish at the same time expressed that your Excellency's sojourn among us would be agreeable to yourself and Lady Dufferin, has been in some degree fulfilled, and that, notwithstanding its many cares and responsibilities, your Canadian life will be recalled with pleasure in after years both by her and you.

The kindness of your Excellency's heart, which has never allowed personal convenience to interfere with a desire to meet the wishes of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, has been especially manifested in the long journey which your Excellency, on the very eve of your departure, has undertaken, to be present on an occasion of such deep interest to the citizens of Toronto as that in which your Excellency has just taken so gracious a part—the inauguration of the new grounds and buildings set apart in our city for the promotion by periodical exhibitions of those great interests of agriculture, industry, art, and manufactures, with which the prosperity of our country is so closely connected.

We join with one voice in thanking you for the wise and encouraging utterances which then fell from the lips of your Excellency, and by your presence in our midst, for enabling not only the people of Toronto, but the vast concourse from all parts of the Province, assembled on so auspicious an occasion, to offer to you the heartfelt wishes of the entire community that every happiness may attend your

Excellency, Lady Dufferin and your family, and that fresh opportunities may speedily present themselves for the further exercise of your great administrative talents in the service of our beloved and gracious Sovereign.

We wish your Excellency a respectful farewell.

ANGUS MORRISON, *Mayor.*

ROBERT RODDY, *City Clerk.*

S. B. HARMAN, *City Treasurer.*

TORONTO, September 25, 1878."

His Excellency said :—

"MR. MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF TORONTO,—I am afraid that it is almost hopeless for me to make myself heard by the large assemblage of the citizens of Toronto who have done me the honor of meeting me here to-night. But I trust that there will be some amongst them sufficiently near to be able to gather from the few observations I am about to make, how deeply sensible I am of the honor which you, Mr. Mayor, and your colleagues, have done me in presenting me with so flattering an address, and which they have conferred upon me in assembling in such numbers to welcome me. I remember perfectly when I first arrived in your city, when I was a stranger to you all, when Canada was altogether a *terra incognita* to us, that you were good enough to illuminate your houses, to assemble in your streets, and to make me feel once for all that I had come amongst friends, and that I had found a home. (Cheers.) After six years' experience I can only say that your friendship has never failed me, and now that I am about to leave you I almost feel as though I were being banished from my native land. (Applause.) I regret extremely that during the period of my Administration I have not been able to render you greater services. At all events, the will has not been wanting, and, though I have very little to boast of, I may, at all events, congratulate myself on the recollection that no cloud has ever come between you and me; that I have done nothing and said nothing which has in any degree shaken your love for the Mother Country, your loyalty to your Queen, or your devotion to your beloved Canada. (Loud cheers.) Never have I found myself in the midst of a population animated with a nobler spirit of patriotism; never have I found myself in the midst of a population more industrious, more law-abiding, more sensible of their privileges, as the subjects of a great constitutional ruler, or more determined to advance the renown and glories of the British name. (Prolonged cheering.) Mr. Mayor, Aldermen, ladies and gentlemen, I feel that it would be to trespass unduly upon your attention if I were to trouble you with any lengthened observations upon the present occasion. When all is said and done I can only repeat that I am most grateful to you all, that as long as I live I shall retain the tenderest recollection of your country, and that the rest of my life shall be devoted, whenever the opportunity of doing so shall arrive, to furthering the interests of Canada, to championing the cause of the Dominion, and to showing by my acts and words how faithful is my recollection of the love, affection and kindness I have received at your hands." (Loud and long continued cheering.)

The members of the York County Council were then introduced, after which Mr. N. Clarke Wallace, M.P., presented His Excellency with the following address :—



“ TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF DUFFERIN,  
GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA, ETC., ETC.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the Warden and members of the Council of the County of York, avail ourselves of the opportunity happily afforded us by your present visit to our county seat, before your departure from this Dominion, to convey to your Excellency the unfeigned respect and esteem with which you are regarded by the people we represent.

During the term of your Excellency's Vice-royalty, now all too speedily drawing to a close, your administration of affairs has been such as to command our highest admiration, and inspire the unqualified confidence of all classes of Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects throughout this Dominion—happily combining the constitutional governor, judicious adviser and gifted orator ; while your kindly sympathy and aid to all that relates to the material and social improvement of the country will long live in the memory of the people of this Dominion. And we would fain express the hope that your Excellency's Canadian life will be recalled in succeeding years with pleasurable satisfaction ; and that further and even more exalted opportunities may speedily present themselves for the exercise of your very able administrative talents in the service of our beloved and gracious Sovereign.

Meanwhile we wish your Excellency a respectful farewell.

N. CLARKE WALLACE, *Warden*.  
THOMAS EAKIN, *Clerk*.”

His Excellency said :—

MR. WARDEN AND GENTLEMEN,—As this is the sixth speech I shall have had the pleasure of making to-day, I dare say you can well understand that I should find some difficulty in finding words adequately to thank you for the kind, loyal and flattering address with which you have honored me. But, though I am forced on each of these agreeable occasions to make use of almost the same formula of expression I trust you will believe that, however stereotyped those expressions of gratitude may be, the sentiment which they repeat will be fresher and fresher from the bottom of my heart on every succeeding occasion upon which I receive fresh proofs of the confidence and esteem of the people. (Applause.) I will not, after what I have already said in your presence, in reply to the Mayor, do more than again assure you that I am deeply sensible of your kindness and goodness, and that in return I beg to offer you my best and warmest thanks.” (Cheers).

Mr. Kilvert, M.P., was then, with the deputation from Hamilton introduced. The deputation consisted of Mr. Kilvert, Hon. Isaac Buchanan, Ald. Mason, Ald. Kent, Ald. Humphrey, Mr. McKelcan, City Solicitor, and Mr. Beasley, City Clerk.

Mr. Kilvert presented the following address :—

“ TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR FREDERIC TEMPLE, EARL OF  
DUFFERIN, K.P., K.C.M.G., K.C.B., GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA,  
ETC., ETC.

The Mayor and Corporation of the City of Hamilton desire to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by your Excellency's presence in Toronto, to express the sincere regret they feel at your Excellency's departure from Canada,

and their appreciation of the great and important services which have been rendered to the Dominion by your Excellency during the time that you have been the representative of Her Majesty in this portion of the British Empire. The deep interest which your Excellency has taken in the welfare of the people of all parts of the Dominion has served to strengthen and increase the feeling of loyalty and devotion to the Crown, which has never been wanting in the people of Canada, and has endeared to us the memory of yourself and your noble lady, the constant companion of your travels to the most distant portions of the Dominion. We are only able, feebly, to express the universal feeling of the citizens of Hamilton, when we say that, for distinguished ability, unerring judgment, and comprehensive understanding of the character and wants of the people, your Excellency stands unrivalled in the illustrious list of rulers to whose hands the guidance of the destinies of Canada has been committed. While feeling so deeply the loss we experience in your Excellency's departure from amongst us, we are consoled by the hope that a career of still higher distinction lies before your Excellency, and that, in wider fields and more important duties, the great talents and high qualities which have been so conspicuous during your Excellency's administration in Canada will win for you more substantial rewards than our admiration and gratitude. To your Excellency and to the Countess of Dufferin, whose kindness and courtesy have won the hearts of all, and to your family, we wish long life and much happiness, and, while bidding your Excellency farewell, we hope that you may be able to carry into effect the intention you have expressed of again visiting the Dominion, which will always receive your Excellency with the heartiest welcome.

On behalf of the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Hamilton.

F. E. KILVERT, *Mayor*.

THOMAS BEASLEY, *City Clerk*."

His Excellency said :—

"Mr. Mayor, in reply to the address which you have been good enough to present to me, I must ask you to be the bearer to your fellow-citizens in Hamilton of my most grateful thanks. It is very difficult, when I recur to the various progresses I have made through Ontario, to distinguish between the receptions I have met with at the several towns which ornament that great Province. But this I can say, that I distinctly recollect that at Hamilton I received as kind and loyal a reception as at any other place in Her Majesty's Dominion. I regret extremely that I have not been able to repair myself in person to your town, in order that I might see your fellow-citizens face to face, and thank them for the kind opinions they have expressed of me in their address. I therefore ask you to be my ambassador, and to express to them the pleasure I feel on this occasion." (Applause.)

The Vice-regal party then left the Park. A procession, in which the torch-bearers and the military took part, conducted His Excellency to the Queen's Hotel.

On Thursday afternoon, the 26th September, the members of the



Ontario Society of Artists entertained His Excellency at luncheon at the rooms of the Society, King street west. The luncheon was not public in its character, and those who sat down were, besides His Excellency, and Captain Ward and Captain Hamilton, the members and honorary members of the Society. It took place in the exhibition room, which was tastefully adorned with pictures, and in which the tables were handsomely laid. Before entering the luncheon room His Excellency was introduced to his entertainers individually.

Mr. W. H. Howland, the President, occupied the chair, and L. R. O'Brien, Vice-President, occupied the vice-chair. To the right of the President were seated His Excellency the Governor General, Hon. O. Mowat, Mr. J. A. Frazer, and Mr. N. F. Davin. To the left of the President were Hon. G. W. Allan, Mr. James Smith, Mr. J. D. Ridout, Mr. D. B. Dick, and Mr. S. R. Hart. There were also present Capt. Ward, Capt. Hamilton, Hon. A. Crooks, Hon. George Brown, Hon. W. P. Howland, Hon. W. Cayley, Messrs. F. Rye, W. Ince, R. Baigent, Jas. Paterson, J. A. Verner, H. J. Scott, R. Watson, A. L. Millard, R. E. Gagen, Major Brown, A. W. Chapman, R. Windeyer, J. Graham, L. Griffith, George Virtue, C. S. Gzowski, jun., Oliver Howland, J. Massey, H. E. Suckling, E. B. Shuttleworth, M. Hannaford, J. Henderson, F. M. Bell Smith, G. H. Abbot, United States Consular officer for Western and Northern Canada, E. Shrapnel, N. Burgess, R. Edmonson, B. Saunders, Jas. Spooner, H. Perre, Geo. Stewart, jun., J. Rolph, M. Matthews, J. A. Dickenson, R. Gilmour, Dr. Hall, G. M. Rose, J. Gillespie, &c.

After luncheon, the President proposed the toast, "The Queen, God bless her."

The toast was duly honored.

The President then said the next toast was the most important one of the afternoon. Addressing His Excellency, he said he might remark that the gentlemen to whom His Excellency had been introduced were the honorary members and members of the Society of Artists; and he might add that His Excellency had been elected by them first honorary member of the Society. The Society had two objects in view in adding the name of His Excellency to the list of honorary members. The first was to add to the influence which the Society desired to exercise in the community, and to strengthen the Society. And the second was to express the feelings of appreciation which the Society felt for the great assistance His Excellency had

rendered it during the past six years of its existence. In both respects he (Mr. Howland) might say His Excellency was entitled, in the opinion of every member of the Society, to the premier position in the Society. (Applause.) The attention which had been excited among the people by the interest which His Excellency had shown in Art since he had come to this country had very greatly added to its popularity. To the unselfish way in which His Excellency had put himself about on several occasions to show that interest, was owing, no doubt, the fact that many people knew more about Art now than they did before ; and in addition, the very kindly way in which His Excellency had benefited and assisted so many artists had done much to stimulate them, and, as already seen, to effect improvements in their work. On the part of the honorary members and members of the Society, he (Mr. Howland) desired to assure His Excellency of the sincere gratitude which they felt for all His Excellency had done for Art in this country, of the sincere regret which they felt at his departure, and the hope which they entertained that even when away from this country His Excellency would have occasionally some chord of communication open, so that they would feel that his interest was not entirely departed from them. (Applause.) As His Excellency had been a great traveller in the past, it might be right to assume that he would be a still greater traveller in the future, and if at any time he should send a sketch to the Society from any place he might visit—ancient Troy or even far away India—it would add very largely to the interest of the Society's Exhibition. If there was more meaning in this last sentence than appeared on the surface, he (Mr. Howland) might say that he would like His Excellency to believe that that meaning contained an earnest desire on the part of those present that His Excellency's future might be as brilliant as had been his administration here. His Excellency could rest assured that all present would watch with interest the daily events of the world as they progressed, feeling that they would certainly find many instances of His Excellency's greatness and honorable devotion to his country. (Applause.) He (Mr. Howland) would propose the health of His Excellency Lord Dufferin, the first honorary member of the Society.

The toast was duly honored, and followed by cheers for the guest of the occasion.

To this graceful speech His Excellency replied as follows :—

“MR. HOWLAND AND GENTLEMEN,—In returning you my best thanks for the flattering manner in which you have drunk my health, permit me to assure you



that I should have felt my leave-takings in this city to have been most incomplete unless I had had an opportunity of giving my artist friends in Ontario a parting shake of the hand. (Applause.) I shall never forget the kindness and courtesy with which they have always welcomed me here, or the pleasure I have derived from inspecting their Annual Exhibition. As this is altogether a domestic festival, I shall not intrude upon its felicity by a speech. Moreover, I have so lately had an opportunity of saying to you whatever I thought I could say to any purpose with reference to Art that the want of an appropriate theme would of itself close my mouth. Still there is one thing I would wish to do, and that is to congratulate you and every artist in Canada upon the advent to your shores of one of the most intelligent and appreciative patrons of Art such a Society as this could possibly desire. (Loud applause.) Gentlemen, in Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise you will not only find a sister brush (laughter), but one who, both by her native genius and the sound and thorough practical education she has received, is qualified to be your friend, protector and guiding star. (Applause.) That she will be willing and ready to be so I have no doubt, for broad and generous as are all her sympathies, in no direction do they flow out in a richer or more spontaneous strain than towards her artist friends, and I shall be very much mistaken if her advent in Canada does not mark an era in the art history of this continent. (Applause.) And now, gentlemen, before I sit down there is another topic to which I would for a moment refer. I am about to confide to you a mission which, though not directly in your line, is sufficiently connected with your pursuits to justify me in demanding your assistance. In your neighborhood there exists, as you are aware, one of the most wondrous, beautiful, and stupendous scenes which the forces of Nature have ever constructed. Indeed so majestic is the subject, that though many skilful hands have endeavored to transfer it to canvas, few have succeeded in adequately depicting its awe-inspiring characteristics. I allude to the Falls of Niagara. But I am further sure everyone will agree with me in thinking that the pleasure he may have derived from his pilgrimage to so famous a spot, whether as an artist or simple tourist, has been miserably marred and defeated by the inconvenience and annoyance he has experienced at the hands of the various squatting interests that have taken possession of every point of vantage at the Falls to tax the pocket and irritate the nerves of visitors, and by whom—just at the moment when he is about to give up his whole being to the contemplation of the scene before him, as he is about to feel the inspiration of the natural beauties around him, his imagination and his poetic faculties are suddenly shocked and disorganized with a demand for ten cents. (Loud laughter.) Some few weeks ago I had the good fortune to meet His Excellency the Governor of the State of New York, and I then suggested to him an idea which has been long present to my mind, that the Governments of New York and of Ontario or Canada should combine to acquire whatever rights may have been established against the public, and to form around the Falls a small public international park (hear, hear)—not indeed decorated or in any way sophisticated by the puny art of the landscape gardener, but carefully preserved in the picturesque and unvulgarized condition in which it was originally laid out by the hand of nature. (Loud applause.) Nothing could have been more gratifying or gracious than the response

which His Excellency the Governor of New York was good enough to make to my representations, and he encouraged me to hope that, should a fitting opportunity present itself, he and his Government might be induced, if not to take the initiative in the matter, at all events to co-operate heartily with our own in carrying out such a plan as I have sketched. (Applause.) No where in the world are all the arrangements connected with pleasure grounds better understood than upon this continent. You possess quite a specialty in that respect, and if on either side the river the areas adapted for such a purpose were put under the charge of proper guardians, and the present guides organized into an efficient and disciplined staff, it would be a source of increased gratification to thousands and thousands of persons. (Applause.) Now of course we all know that what is everybody's business is nobody's business, and notwithstanding the all-embracing energy of my honorable and learned friend upon my right, it is not the kind of thing which probably would have come to the notice of his Government unless the matter was previously agitated by some powerful interest. It is for this reason that I take the opportunity of addressing an audience who I am certain will sympathize with such a project on this subject, and of urging upon them the advisability of bringing their influence to bear in the direction I have suggested. (Loud applause.) Mr. President and gentlemen, I have again to thank you most warmly for the kind reception you have given me, and I beg to conclude by proposing the health of your President, with the hearty wish for your future prosperity." (Applause).

It may here be mentioned that, following up his own suggestion, His Excellency the Governor General, on the 1st October, addressed a letter to His Excellency the Governor of the State of New York on the subject of a park at the Falls of Niagara, from a duplicate of which the lithograph opposite was taken.

Mr. Howland's health having been drunk, the President briefly thanked His Excellency for the honor he had done him in proposing his health, and called upon the Vice-President, Mr. O'Brien, to assist him in replying to that part of the toast relating to the prosperity of the Society.

Mr. O'Brien said the duty of replying had unfortunately been delegated to one who was more handy with his pencil than with his tongue. But it afforded him great pleasure to say, on behalf of his brother artists, that His Excellency's kindness and courtesy towards the Society during his sojourn in Canada had given its members the greatest pleasure. (Applause.) He (Mr. O'Brien) could hardly speak of His Excellency's kindness to himself personally except in this way. He (Mr. O'Brien) had accepted His Excellency's kindness to himself as being intended for him as the representative of the artists of Ontario in the position which for some years past he had the honor to fill. The President had mentioned one thing, which was most heartily desired by every one present, and that was that His Excellency, wherever






Quebec

Oct<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1878

Sir

When I had the pleasure  
of meeting Your Excellency at  
Fort William Henry, I took the  
liberty of moot<sup>ing</sup> with you a  
project which for some time  
past I had been considering,  
namely the possibility of inducing  
the governments of Canada and  
of the State of New York to



join together in the extinction upon proper terms of the various squalling interests which have established themselves in the neighbourhood of the Falls of Niagara, to the great annoyance and discomfort of the general public, and of forming on either side of the river an "International Park," with a staff of the necessary guides and guards.

In using the term "Park" I did, not of course mean



to imply that resort should be had  
to the assistance of any landscape  
gardener, but that our efforts  
should be rather directed to restoring  
the locality to its pristine condition  
of wild and secluded beauty.

In reply Your Excellency  
was good enough to say that  
such a project would probably  
meet with ready acceptance with  
your people, and you were  
further so kind as to give me  
permission to address you a

letter on the subject. Since then  
I have had some conversation with  
many people of influence in Canada,  
and I have little doubt but that  
were the State of New York to  
convey to this Government an  
intimation of its willingness to  
engage in such a scheme, Canada for  
her part would be found most  
ready to co-operate in carrying it  
into execution.

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your Excellency's

most obedient humble servant

Duffin



he might be, would not forget—as he had promised—that he was a brother artist ; and each member did hope that the Exhibition would contain something from His Excellency's pencil, and whatever he should send—the slightest trifle from his pencil—would be valued as something for the artists to remember him by. He would not say more ; but he might add that, though there was no instance of a Governor General ever coming back to us in that capacity, still every member hoped that, although they might not see Her Excellency again, Lord Dufferin would certainly once more be amongst them.

The proceedings then terminated, and His Excellency, after bidding adieu to his entertainers, took his departure.

The Vice-regal party then drove to the Drill Shed, where His Excellency inspected the Police Force. The Force was under the command of Captain Macpherson, and there were present his Worship the Mayor, Lieutenant Colonel G. T. Denison, and several aldermen. After the men had been put through their evolutions, His Excellency briefly addressed them, commending them for the good reports he had heard of them, enjoining them to maintain their good record, and recommending them to be courageous but mild, and to use force only when there was no alternative.

His Excellency held a levee in the City Council Chamber immediately afterwards. A detachment of the Engineers formed a body-guard, and the band of the Governor General's Body Guard played at intervals. The levee was attended by a large number of citizens, and many ladies witnessed the proceedings.

The Vice-regal party attended the Grand Opera House in the evening, where Miss Ada Cavendish appeared as *Mercy Merrick*, or "The New Magdalen."

Lord Dufferin visited St. Michael's Palace in the morning, before he attended the Art Society's luncheon, and was presented with an eloquently worded and handsomely illuminated address, by his Grace the Archbishop. His Lordship subsequently breakfasted with the Archbishop, the Bishop, and a few of the city priests.

The following is the address :

"THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.G., K.P., GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA, ETC., ETC.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the Roman Catholic Archbishop and Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of Toronto, cannot permit your much-regretted departure from us without our giving expression to the high appreciation

in which we hold your Excellency, not only as the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, but also as a distinguished nobleman, who has reflected honor on his native country and the Irish race.

Your Excellency's splendid administrative abilities, your kind and genial bearing towards all Her Majesty's subjects, your munificent and true Irish hospitality, your magic power of language, which touches the best chords of our nature, and sways our noblest impulses, your kind words and acts, spoken and performed in times past, to promote the welfare of the Irish people, have won for your Excellency universal admiration and esteem. In fine, you have added lustre to the high office which you have adorned by the able exercise of the duties which the Governor General of so important a colony as Canada is called upon to fulfil. Whilst paying your Excellency this tribute of praise, we wish also to express our admiration of the womanly virtues and graceful dignity, and the kind, good heart of the noble Countess of Dufferin, who has so much assisted you in the performance of the duties of a good Governor General.

Your Excellency will assure Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of our Christian loyalty, and that of our Catholic people, towards her person and throne, and that we shall feel great pleasure in giving a most hearty welcome to your noble successor and his Princess consort. Your Excellency, we are sure, will bear with you a kindly remembrance of your sojourn in Canada, and, when occasion may require, you will use your powerful influence on behalf of a mode of Government which has succeeded in securing to us all the blessings of liberty without license, of authority without despotism, and in winning the devoted loyalty of a people composed of various races and professing different forms of religious belief. Such loyalty becomes a pleasure as well as a sacred duty, and is secured with facility when the religious and civil rights of all are equally respected and protected.

We pray that our good God may bless and prolong your Excellency's life, that He will enrich your noble Countess and family with His choicest gifts, and that He may enable you, if called upon to govern elsewhere, to do so with the beneficent and happy results as have characterized your enlightened rule in this country.

We have the honor to remain, with profound respect, your Excellency's devoted well-wishers and sincere friends.

(Signed,) JOHN JOSEPH LYNCH, *Archbishop of Toronto.*

JOHN WALSH, *Bishop of London.*

JOHN F. JAMOT, *Bishop of Sacepta.*

V. A. N., Canada.

PETER FRANCIS CRINNON, *Bishop of Hamilton.*

JOHN O'BRIEN, *Bishop of Kingston."*

His Excellency's reply :

"YOUR GRACE AND MY LORDS,—I can assure you it is with feelings of the very deepest satisfaction that I acknowledge the address with which you have honored me. I am well aware that throughout Canada there does not exist a more patriotic body, one more devoted to the interests of the country or more attached to the empire of Great Britain, than that great ecclesiastical community over which



you preside as its spiritual pastors; and I rejoice to think that, under your advice and guidance, it should be so ready, as on all occasions I have found it, to acknowledge the justice and benignity of Her Majesty's rule in Canada. That personages in your exalted position should address me personally in such flattering terms is very gratifying to my feelings, and I shall ever retain the most grateful recollection of the courtesy I have always received at the hands of the Catholic hierarchy of Canada. I shall have great pleasure in conveying to Her Majesty the sentiments of loyalty to her throne, and affection for her person you have requested me to repeat in your behalf. In leaving Canada I carry away with me an increased appreciation of what can be done to superinduce a sentiment of good will and content amongst a population composed of different religious convictions by the administration of equal laws and impartial justice."

His Excellency's farewell visit to Toronto came to a close on Friday, the 27th September. He left on the morning of that day for Montreal, but just before leaving, the Horticultural Committee of the Agricultural and Arts Association, consisting of the Rev. R. Burnet, Mr. Wm. Roy, and Mr. Wm. Saunders, waited on him, and presented samples of the native wines, on exhibition at the Crystal Palace. They also communicated to him the intention of the Association to send to Clandeboyne, in Ireland, several barrels of the finest fruit on exhibition, so that he might have an opportunity after his arrival at home of examining at greater leisure the magnificent samples, which he could only hurriedly inspect at the exhibition.

His Excellency warmly thanked the deputation for their kind attention, and expressed the delight it had given him to see the beautiful display of fruits in the Horticultural Hall. To him it was one of the most interesting departments in the whole exhibition, and he should be happy to have the privilege of showing to his friends in Ireland specimens of the fruit products of the Province of Ontario. The deputation then withdrew.

His Excellency left the Queen's Hotel shortly after nine o'clock, and proceeded direct to the Union Station, where he was received by a guard of the 10th Royals, the Band of that Regiment, his Worship the Mayor, several City Aldermen, many members of the Agricultural and Arts Association, and a large concourse of people. His Excellency bade adieu to many old and new friends whom he met on the platform, and when he stepped on to the train the spectators loudly cheered him, and called vociferously for a speech. His Excellency, with characteristic kindness, turned to the people, and expressed the regret he felt at leaving them. He was occupied in saying good-bye to the crowd of personal friends who thronged about him when

the signal was given, the train started and moved slowly out of the Station. The band played the National Anthem, fog signals exploded on the track, the people cheered heartily, and waved their hats and handkerchiefs. His Excellency waved his hat and bowed in return, and thus ended the Earl of Dufferin's last visit to Toronto as the Governor General of Canada.

Lord Dufferin had, until the 29th of July, intended to leave Canada in the latter part of September, but on that day he was notified, by Sir M. E. Hicks Beach, the Colonial Secretary, that the Marquis of Lorne had been nominated as his successor; and that it was hoped he would be able to remain at his post until after the approaching Parliamentary elections. He accordingly deferred his departure, and the 12th October was subsequently determined on as the day for leaving Canada; but, as some unavoidable delay occurred in the resignation of the Mackenzie Cabinet, and the formation of a new one under Sir John Macdonald, the 19th October was finally settled upon as the day of departure, for His Excellency was desirous of seeing the new Ministry sworn in before he left.

As has been seen, Mr. Mackenzie resigned on the 9th October. Sir John's Cabinet was so far completed on the 17th that several members were sworn in by His Excellency at Montreal. The others were sworn in at Quebec on the 19th, and the new Ministry was then constituted as follows:—

SIR JOHN MACDONALD (Ontario), Premier and Minister of Interior.

HON. S. L. TILLEY (New Brunswick), Minister of Finance.

HON. R. D. WILMOT (New Brunswick), without portfolio.

HON. C. TUPPER (Nova Scotia), Minister of Public Works.

HON. JOHN O'CONNOR (Ontario), President of Council.

HON. JAMES MACDONALD (Nova Scotia), Minister of Justice.

HON. J. H. POPE (Quebec), Minister of Agriculture.

HON. HECTOR LANGEVIN (Quebec), Postmaster General.

HON. L. R. MASSON (Quebec), Minister of Militia and Defence.

HON. J. C. POPE (Prince Edward Island), Minister of Marine.

HON. M. BOWELL (Ontario), Minister of Customs.

HON. J. C. AIKINS (Ontario), Secretary of State.

HON. L. BABY (Quebec), Minister of Inland Revenue.

On the 18th October, His Excellency returned to Quebec from Montreal, and inspected B Battery. After the inspection he proceeded to the site of the Old St. Louis Gate, for the purpose of laying the foundation stone of the new structure.\* The immense crowd of

\* The following account of the proceedings of this, and the following day, is taken from the Quebec *Morning Chronicle*.



spectators which had assembled on the Esplanade to witness the review was, before eleven o'clock, largely augmented. Hundreds of people lined each side of the road and occupied every adjacent eminence from which a view of the ceremony could be obtained. The summit of the Glacis on either side of the road was packed with spectators,—“B” Battery band being stationed on the north embankment. A strong detachment of the Battery was drawn up, lining the sidewalk by which His Excellency reached the platform erected for the occasion, and gave a general salute as Lord Dufferin made his appearance, the band meanwhile playing the National Anthem. The City Police, under the command of Captain Heigham, kept back the crowd from pressing too closely upon the Vice-regal party. On arriving at the site of the gate His Excellency was received by His Worship the Mayor, R. Chambers, Esq., the City Engineer, Charles Baillargé, Esq., and the members of the City Council, amongst whom were Aldermen Bourget, Gingras, Henchey, Rheaume, Rinfret, Vallerand, and Councillors Russell, Brousseau, Hatch, Johnston, Langevin, McWilliam and Peachy. Amongst a multitude of other prominent gentlemen present were the Very Rev. Mgr. Hamel, V. G., Rector of Laval University; the ex-Mayor, Owen Murphy, Esq.; Rev. Dr. Cook, His Excellency the Count El Conde de Premio Real, Consul General of Spain; H. S. Scott, Esq., T. Ledroit, Esq., Dr. Marsden, and L. A. Cannon, Esq., City Clerk. A gay string of bunting crossed the road over the site of the gate, and the high framework of the huge derrick was also prettily ornamented with flags of all nations. The bed prepared for the foundation stone was a very substantial piece of masonry of Deschambault stone, handsomely cut and pointed. In this bed was a cavity for the zinc box deposited beneath the foundation stone. This box contains a copy of the Quebec Directory of the current year, a plan of the city, copies of the *Chronicle* and other city papers, and specimens of the current silver and copper coins of the Dominion. His Excellency also presented a copy of his own work “Letters from High Latitudes” to be deposited in the box. Its lid bears the following inscription:—“Laid by His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, Governor General of the Dominion of Canada, on the 18th day of October, 1878, in the presence of the Dominion and the city authorities and dignitaries and an immense concourse of people from all parts of Canada. Also, his Honor, Luc Letellier de St. Just, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec; Robert Chambers, Esq., Mayor of the City of Quebec, City Aldermen and Councillors, Charles Bail-

largé, Chevalier, City Engineer." On the mallet presented to His Excellency for the laying of the stone are the inscriptions:—"Foundation Stone, laid October 18th, 1878, by His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, Governor General of the Dominion of Canada." (Reverse) "Robert Chambers, Esq., Mayor of Quebec; Charles Baillargé, Chevalier, and City Engineer." Punctually at eleven o'clock the pulleys were set running, and the stout cable which held the massive block suspended in mid-air slipped easily over them, allowing the foundation stone to be lowered gradually into its place. Having struck it a blow with the mallet, His Excellency pronounced the stone laid, amid a lively air from the band.

His Worship the Mayor then addressed himself to the Earl of Dufferin in the following terms:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—On behalf of the Corporation and citizens of Quebec, I beg leave to thank your Excellency for acceding to our request, that you would be pleased to lay the Foundation Stone of the Terrace which, I am happy to say, is to bear your name. The Superintendent of Works will have the honor of presenting to your Excellency the implements necessary for the work in question; and we venture to hope that your Excellency will please to retain them in consideration of the use to which they will have been employed and in memory of the present occasion."

His Excellency, in replying to the Mayor's remarks, expressed the pleasure with which he had performed the ceremony, and thanked those around him for assisting him by their presence. He hoped, as Her Majesty had generously contributed to the cost of the gates, that the name of that structure would remain in abeyance until Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise should arrive in Quebec and decide which gate was to bear the name of Her Majesty's august father, the late Duke of Kent. He further expressed his admiration for the plans of the new terrace, and his hope that the day was not far distant when he would re-visit Quebec, and find it surrounded by beautiful terraces, linked together by gates rivalling each other in symmetry of design and general beauty of appearance. Three cheers were called for His Excellency by the Mayor, and heartily given by all present. His Lordship, attended by his staff, then drove direct to the Vice-regal quarters at the Citadel.

The members of the St. Patrick Society assembled at the St. Louis Hotel in the morning at half-past eleven o'clock, and proceeded in a body to the Citadel to present their farewell address to the retiring Governor General. His Excellency received the members of the Society with a truly Irish welcome, and the President, Simon Peters,



Esq., was presented to Lord Dufferin by the Honorable Colonel Littleton. The address, which was read by Mr. Peters, is as follows :—

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR FREDERIC TEMPLE, EARL OF DUFFERIN, GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA, &c., &c., &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the members of the Saint Patrick Society of Quebec, beg leave to approach your Excellency to bid you farewell, ere you depart from our midst.

On your arrival amongst us, then to assume the exalted position of Viceroy of Canada, it was one of our most agreeable and pleasant duties to offer you a sincere and cordial welcome to this ancient and historic city of Quebec.

We have since followed with deep interest your brilliant and remarkably successful career during which you have held and guided the destinies of Canada.

The people of this Dominion having so generally testified their admiration of the manner in which you have filled your important post, as a statesman, a scholar and a true friend of our institutions, it only remains for this Society to unite in the universal tribute of respect paid you ; for your Excellency must feel that by none is your successful administration of the affairs of Canada regarded with more heartfelt satisfaction than by those who are proud to hail, either by birth or descent, from your own native land.

We are pleased to think that your appointment, by our most gracious and beloved Sovereign, to the high and important position you are now about to vacate, was a renewed mark of her confidence in the administrative ability of her Irish subjects, and in their loyalty and attachment to her person and her throne.

We, in common with the people of this vast Dominion, certainly feel that, by the impartiality, tact and prudence which have always accompanied your management of the public affairs of Canada, you have fully responded to that expression of royal trustfulness reposed in you.

As citizens of Quebec we cannot but regret your Excellency's departure, for, apart from the great interest you have manifested for the country at large, you have taken an especial interest in this our own city, and allow us now to say once more, it is due to your untiring exertions that the city, which was the birth-place of Canada and the scene of its great historical events, is about to be beautified and adorned, that it will forever be the attraction and admiration of all.

Before taking leave of your Excellency, permit us to wish you and your much beloved Countess of Dufferin, whose departure from these shores we were sorry to witness some few weeks ago, a future of uninterrupted happiness and prosperity, and with feelings of sincere regret, we bid you ‘good-bye.’

SIMON PETERS, *President.*

FRANK DILLON TIMS, *Secretary.*

Quebec, 18th October, 1878.”

His Excellency replied as follows :—

“MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I accept the kind address with which you have honored me with the greatest satisfaction, not only because I recollect with gratitude the kind reception you gave me when I first landed on these shores, but

because I am well aware of the undoubted titles to the respect and confidence of their fellow countrymen which are possessed by the members of the St. Patrick Society of Quebec. In the first place the members of the Society are all Irishmen, which is in itself a very considerable merit, but not only so, the principles and functions of the Society are of the most beneficent and liberal nature. You comprise within your ranks both Catholics and Protestants, united by the bonds of the closest amity and a community of well-doing. No sectarian prejudices or passions are allowed to stand in the way of your efforts to benefit those who claim your assistance, the very basis of your existence being the noblest charity. I thank you heartily for the kind expressions you have used in regard to myself. It is indeed no mean reward to leave those amongst whom I have lived so long under such gratifying circumstances, and believe me the assurance of your confidence and esteem contributes in no slight degree to mitigate the sorrow I naturally experience in bidding farewell to so many kind and indulgent friends. I trust that the Society may long continue to discharge its beneficent task in the noble spirit by which it has been animated, and that every year will enlarge the circle of its influence and the scope of its operations. I shall be careful to inform Lady Dufferin of the kind way in which you have remembered her on the present occasion."

Two o'clock was the hour fixed for the laying of the corner stone of the new Dufferin Terrace, but long before that time numbers of the citizens assembled in the vicinity of the Half Moon Battery to witness the interesting proceedings. All the approaches to the locality were thronged with on-lookers, eager to see the inauguration of this grand scheme in connection with the improvements which take their name from His Excellency. A large pavilion had been erected over the battery, and bunting tastefully and abundantly hung around by Mr. Peter Wright and assistants of the City Hall. A large guard of honor of the B Battery was drawn up in line under command of Lieutenant Colonel Strange, while Captain Heigham had a large detachment of his police force on the ground to assist in keeping order. The Lower Governor's Garden was filled with citizens, and the Durham Terrace and the walls adjacent were thickly lined with spectators.

Shortly after the hour appointed, the strains of the National Anthem from the Battery Band and a salute from the guard announced the arrival of His Excellency. His Worship the Mayor received His Excellency, and with him were present many of the Aldermen and Councillors, with the City Engineer and contractors, the members of the Judiciary, Consul-General of Spain, Consuls of France, Belgium, and the United States, Dean Stanley, of London, England, Mrs. Stephenson, sister to the Countess of Dufferin, Russell Stephenson,



Esq., Mr. R. R. Dobell, Simon Peters, Dr. Marsden, Jas. Motz, many ex-Aldermen and ex-Councillors, Alexander Woods, Chairman of the Harbor Commission, W. S. Desbarats, W. G. Sheppard, Wm. White, Very Rev. H. Hamel, His Lordship Judge Taschereau, late of the Supreme Court, Hon. Judge H. T. Taschereau, Judge of the Superior Court, and a number of others.

A handsome trowel and mallet were handed to His Excellency. On the face of the trowel there was an inscription and also a likeness of the Governor General. On the plate of the foundation stone was engraved the following inscription:—

“Dufferin Terrace. Laid by His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin Governor General of the Dominion of Canada, on the 18th day of October, 1878, in presence of the Dominion and City authorities and dignitaries and an immense concourse of people from all parts of Canada. Also, his Honor Luc Letellier de St. Just, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec; R. Chambers, Esq., Mayor of the City of Quebec. City Aldermen: Hon. John Hearn, Patrick Henchey, Louis Bourget, R. F. Rinfret, François Gingras, J. P. Rheume, Germain Guay, F. O. Vallerand, Esquires. City Councillors: Onezime Beaubien, Andrew Hatch, Guillaume Bouchard, F. X. Langevin, Jean Docile Brousseau, Francis McLaughlin, John G. Burns, William McWilliam, William Convey, J. F. Peachy, John Delaney, F. W. Roy, Peter Johnston, Willis Russell, Charles Brochu, Richard Turner, Esquires. City Clerk: L. A. Cannon, Esq.; City Treasurer: C. J. L. Lafrance, Esq.; City Accountant: M. F. Walsh, Esq.; City Legal Adviser: L. G. Baillairgé, Esq.; City Notary: A. G. Tourangeau, Esq.; Owen Murphy, Esq., ex-Mayor; Chas. Baillairgé, Chevalier, City Engineer.”

In the leaden box placed within the stone were laid mementoes of the occasion similar to those placed in the proper receptacle in the stone laid in the morning at St. Louis Gate, with the addition of beautifully executed portraits of Lord and Lady Dufferin.

His Excellency having given the *coup de grâce* to the foundation stone with the silver mallet, the ceremonies were closed. Three hearty cheers were given for Lord Dufferin as he left the ground, the band and guard playing and saluting as he walked up to his carriage.

His Lordship immediately proceeded to the Ursuline Convent, where a musical entertainment was tendered him. After bidding

forewell to the ladies and pupils of the Convent, His Excellency proceeded to the Parliament House.

A large detachment of B Battery, headed by their band, preceded His Excellency, and was drawn up in front of the building. On his arrival the guard presented arms, and the band played "God Save the Queen." A very brilliant staff of military officers escorted him to the private apartments of the President of the Council, the Honorable Henry Starnes, who conducted him to the Legislative Council Chamber, where he held his final reception.

The following were present :—The Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, Lieutenant Governor of the Province ; Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, Premier of the Dominion ; Hon. Hector L. Langevin ; Hon. Mackenzie Bowell ; Hon. Senator Aikins ; Hon. H. G. Joly, Premier of the Province ; Hon. Frs. Langelier, Minister of Crown Lands ; Hon. David A. Ross, Attorney General ; Hon. Alex. Chauveau, Solicitor General ; His Grace the Archbishop of Quebec ; Monseigneur Cazeau ; Chief Justice Meredith ; Mr. Justice Taschereau ; Mr. Justice Cazeau ; His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec ; Mr. R. Chambers, Mayor of Quebec ; Very Rev. Dr. Hamel, Rector of Laval University ; Mr. C. Baillairgé, City Engineer ; Mr. L. A. Cannon, City Clerk ; Rev. J. A. Townend, Chaplain H. M. Forces ; Rev. Mr. Auclair ; Mr. M. Audet ; the Consuls of France, Germany, Spain, Sweden and Norway, and the United States, besides a number of ladies and gentlemen.

His Lordship shook hands with of his visitors in the most cordial manner as they bade him farewell.

The reception over, Lord Dufferin left the building ; the guard presenting arms and the band playing. The brilliant military staff accompanied him to his carriage, and His Excellency drove up to the Citadel amid loud cheers.

The next morning, Saturday, the 19th October, 1878, witnessed he last scenes in connection with the administration of the Earl of Dufferin in Canada.

The people's esteem and admiration for Lord Dufferin was manifested by the very great number who, despite the stormy weather, thronged the streets of the city to greet him on his way to the wharf. Thousands of citizens remained for over two hours in the midst of the drenching rain and bitter wind, to view from the Terrace, from the Governor's garden, and from other elevated points, the final departure of His Excellency.



The people lined the streets through which he passed on his way to the wharf, upon which a pavilion was erected.

An escort was furnished to His Excellency by the Quebec Squadron of Canadian Hussars. A mounted party from B Battery, under command of Captain Short, and the 8th Royal Rifles, under the command of Colonel Alleyn, followed the escort. His Excellency drove from the Citadel in an open carriage, accompanied by Colonel the Hon. E. G. P. Littleton, Captain Ward, A.D.C., and Captain Hamilton, A.D.C. The crowds which lined the streets all along the route cheered lustily as His Excellency drove through, the applause from the surging masses of people at the different points upon the way being steady and continuous. So much so was this the case that His Excellency drove all the way to the wharf with his head uncovered, being unable to reply fast enough to the salutes and cheers which everywhere greeted his progress. At the Place d'Armes and Durham Terrace, in particular, the applause was deafening.

Colonel Baby's field battery, stationed upon the platform, with four guns, fired a salute as His Excellency passed by.

Opposite the Post Office more cheering was given by an immense concourse of people. At the gates of the Archbishop's Palace the students of the Seminary were drawn up to do honor to the Governor General, and the band of the same institution played inspiring airs as the Vice-regal party drove past. Bunting was displayed from Laval University and most of the other public buildings, also across Mountain Hill and other thoroughfares. The sides of Mountain Hill were lined with people, and crowds occupied all the windows along the way. On His Excellency's arrival at the wharf, a general salute was given by the troops, and the band played the National Anthem. His Worship the Mayor and Corporation and a large assemblage of officials, prominent citizens, statesmen and military officers were present to receive His Excellency. Amongst them were the following:—General Sir Patrick Macdougall, K.C.M.G., Commander of the Forces; Lady Macdougall and Hon. Mrs. Tollemache; Very Rev. Dr. Stanley, Dean of Westminster; His Grace Mgr. Taschereau, Archbishop of Quebec; Mgr. Cazeau, V.G.; Rev. Dr. Hamel, V.G.; Rev. G. V. Housman, Rector of Quebec; Rev. Dr. Cook; Rev. Mr. Townend, Chaplain H. M. Forces; Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, and the following of his Ministers:—Hon. Messrs. Langevin, Mac-

kenzie Bowell, Pope, P.E.I., and Senator Aikins ; Hon. Mr. Joly, Premier of the Province ; Hon. D. A. Ross, Attorney General ; Hon. Alex. Chauveau, Solicitor General ; Hon. Frs. Langelier, Minister of Crown Lands ; Hon. Senator Macpherson and Mr. W. M. Macpherson, Hon. P. Gameau, Hon. I. Thibaudeau, Hon. E. Remillard, Hon. J. A. Chapleau, Hon. T. McGreevy, Judge Casault, Dr. Belleau, J.P., Dr. Marsden, J.P., Dr. Jackson, Dr. H. Russell, Dr. Ahern, the Consul of the United States, Mr. Wasson ; Consul General of Spain, His Excellency El Conde de Premio Real ; Consul of Germany, C. Pitl ; Consul of France, Mr. Lefavre ; Consul of Sweden and Norway, Mr. Schwartz ; Consul of Belgium, Mr. Bols ; Consul for Peru, John Laird ; R. R. Dobell, Esq., President St. George's Society ; the Attorney General representing the President of St. Andrew's Society ; and Theophile LeDroit, Esq., President St. Jean Baptiste Society ; Messrs. Chas. Baillairgé, Chevalier, City Engineer ; C. J. L. Lafrance, City Treasurer ; L. A. Cannon, City Clerk ; M. F. Walsh, City Accountant ; Alex. Woods, Chairman Harbor Commissioners ; A. Joseph, J. Foote, H. S. Scott, J. U. Gregory, W. D. Campbell, F. Oliver, Geo. Hall, J.P., Jas. Connolly, F. D. Tims, Capt. Watson, A. D. Webster, A. G. Tourangeau, City Notary ; J. H. Clint, A. Watters, Cyrille Duquet, Felix Carbray, &c.

The members of the City Council present were, the Mayor, R. Chambers, Esq., and Messrs. McWilliam, Roy, Langevin, Henchey, Vallerand, Hatch, Convey, Johnston, Bourget, Rinfret, McLaughlin, &c.

Amongst the military staff which surrounded His Excellency were the following officers :—Lieutenant Colonel Duchesnay, Deputy Adjutant General in charge of the Local Volunteer Forces ; Lieutenant Colonel Strange, Inspector of Dominion Artillery ; Lieutenant Colonel Montizambert, Lieutenant Colonel Forsyth, Lieutenant Colonel Grey, Lieutenant Colonel Lamontagne, Lieutenant Colonel Alleyn, Lieutenant Colonel Vohl, Lieutenant Colonel Turnbull, Lieutenant Colonel Boomer, Lieutenant Colonel Baby, and Lieutenant Colonel Fremantle.

A grand salute was fired from Durham Terrace, by the Quebec Field Battery, as His Excellency drove down from the Citadel, *viâ* St. Louis street, attended by the guard of honor of the "A" and "B" Troops of Canadian Hussars, the favorite coign of vantage being profusely lined with eager on-lookers.

The bands of "B" Battery and Eighth Royal Rifles played lively airs on their way to the rendezvous at the Queen's wharf.



On the arrival of His Excellency he was received with a salute by the guard of honor, the band playing the National Anthem. Arrived at the pavilion prepared for the presentation of the parting address to His Lordship at the hands of the citizens and residents of Quebec, His Worship the Mayor, R. Chambers, Esq., presented the following address :—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the Mayor, Aldermen, Councillors and citizens of Quebec, beg leave to approach your Excellency, on the eve of your departure from Canada, to express our grateful recognition of the invaluable services you have rendered to our country and to this city in particular, during the six and a-half years of your administration as Governor General of the Dominion of Canada.

The admirable qualities you have displayed in the fulfilment of the duties of your exalted position at all times, while using your powerful influence to promote the political and social welfare of the community, have endeared you to the hearts of all Canadians, and the people of Quebec have special reason to thank you for the exertions you have made in their behalf.

From the time of your first visit to the ancient capital of Canada, you have unceasingly manifested a hearty interest in its historical associations, its literary and educational institutions and its various distinctive aspects and the moral advancement of its citizens.

It is with pleasure that we have to acknowledge, also, the success of the efforts you have made with so much zeal and perseverance in order to ensure the restoration and embellishment of our old city, for we see that the artistic designs to this end which you kindly originated are now, with the aid of Her Most Gracious Majesty and the British Government, being carried out.

Associated as these improvements will be with your name, they must prove to us and to future generations lasting monuments not only of the past glories of this old fortress but of the happy time when you so worthily represented our Most Gracious Sovereign in the Dominion of Canada.

Deeply regretting the approaching severance of the ties which have bound you to this Dominion, we venture to express the assurance of our lasting regard and attachment to your Excellency, and the sincere hope that your future career may be replete with prosperity and happiness.

We would also respectfully request you to convey to Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin the expression of our best wishes for her health and happiness and that of the other members of your family.

R. CHAMBERS, *Mayor*.

L. A. CANNON, *City Clerk*.

QUEBEC, 19th October, 1878.”

His Lordship, replied in few, but appropriate, terms, saying, it was with the greatest pleasure he had listened to the address just presented to him ;—that he left the shores of Canada with feelings

of great regret, and his recollections of them and of Quebec in particular would ever revive most pleasurable thoughts in his memory. The many happy days he had passed in Quebec were some of the brightest in his life, and he desired to assure the Mayor and, through him, the citizens of the Ancient Capital, of the sorrow he experienced in leaving a *coterie* which had done so much to add to his pleasures and enhance his enjoyments. In conclusion, His Excellency regretted that he did not feel desirous at the moment (through press of business) to respond fully to the Citizens' Address, but he requested His Worship the Mayor to accept a reply which he would write to him on his way to Rimouski. (Cheers.)

His Worship having bowed his acknowledgments, His Excellency with deep emotion uttered this farewell sentence :—

“I reiterate that I leave these shores with regret, and feel a pang in parting with the citizens of Quebec.”

It had been arranged that His Excellency should embark in H. M. S. “Sirius” and that H. M. S. “Argus” should follow, accompanied by the Allan steamer “Polynesian,” Captain Brown, as far as Point St. Laurent, Island of Orleans ; and that there he should be transferred to the mail steamer. But as the wind blew a gale, His Excellency proceeded on his homeward voyage in the “Polynesian.”

The “Sirius” and despatch boat “Argus” immediately got under weigh, and accompanied the “Polynesian” a few miles down the river, the “Sirius” firing a parting salute of nineteen guns.

The wharves in the Lower Town, the Durham Terrace, and all available points, were thronged with citizens, eager to have a last glimpse of the Earl of Dufferin late Governor General of Canada, whose excellent qualities have endeared him to every class throughout the whole of the Dominion.

The naval cortège proceeded down the river in the following order :—H. M. S. “Sirius,” H. M. S. “Argus,” and the Allan steamer “Polynesian.” As the flotilla wended its way down the stream against a strong tide and head wind, many marks of respect were shown from the shores, among which were noticed, besides displays of bunting from different public buildings and private establishments, the dipping of the flags at Her Majesty's Custom House and the Laval University. On the Levis side, also, similar respectful demonstrations were seen.

The steamer “St. Lawrence,” Captain Lecours, and the steamer “Maid of Orleans,” Captain Pinhey, started from their several wharves,



loaded with citizens, who desired to pay their last adieux to His Excellency. The "Maid of Orleans" left the Champlain market wharf before the weighing anchor of the men-of-war and steamed away down to the Island, and there she awaited the convoy. As the "Polynesian" rounded to in the stream and His Excellency embarked from the steam yacht "Dolphin," the "St. Lawrence" rang "full speed ahead," and followed up the stream, falling in the wake of the naval procession. Finding this work a little slow the "St. Lawrence" steamed ahead, keeping, however, a respectful distance on the starboard side of the "Sirius," but giving all on board an excellent opportunity of seeing the different naval manœuvres, and of watching the different flag signals exchanged with other vessels and her own consort, the "Argus."

On board the "St. Lawrence" was the Consul of the United States, the Hon. Mr. Wasson, and many leading citizens.

Opposite the Bout de l'Île the "Polynesian" forged ahead; the yards of the "Sirius" were manned, and from her sides boomed the salute of seventeen guns, rendered to Lord Dufferin as Vice-Admiral of the Fleet. At the same time the bell from the church on the hill on the Island rang forth its adieu, and the united voices of the passengers on board the "St. Lawrence" raised the glorious National Anthem which was wafted over the waves of the mighty river, and the tribute of loyalty thus displayed was gracefully responded to by the "Sirius" and "Polynesian" dipping their ensigns.

Thus, amid the strains of "God Save the Queen," which, on the 25th June, 1872, had greeted the most precious gift Her Majesty had yet made to the people of Canada, Lord Dufferin, on the 19th October, 1878, faded from their sight.

The administration of the Earl of Dufferin in Canada will always stand out as marking one of the most important epochs in the life of that great Colony. It is impossible to overestimate the value of his services to the Dominion. Their influence has been felt from the day he landed on our shores, and it will extend through all future generations. It is true that, compared with the times of many former rulers in British North America, his period has been a quiet one. There has been no family compact to destroy; no rebellion like that of 1837-8; no fierce contests in the struggle for Constitutional Government; no burning of Parliament buildings; no stoning of a Governor General; no stormy discussions over Confederation; no rebellion in the North

West ; no military expedition to enforce the authority of the Sovereign in any part of her Canadian possessions. And yet the rule of the Earl of Dufferin will always be marked in Canadian history as a period of unsurpassed importance. By an extraordinary combination of qualities he has left an impress on the country which will never be effaced. He has extended the range of the principles of Constitutional Government, and the reading of its rules far beyond former interpretations. He has elevated Canada and unfolded to her the limitless value of her territory, her productions, and her undeveloped sources of wealth. He has opened up to her a vista of strength, wealth and power which terminates in the spectacle of her appearing as an associate of England, and as closely connected with her as is now Scotland or Ireland. He has taught Europe and the world that in Canada, Britain possesses a country which is rapidly taking high rank with the nations of the globe. He has shown that in her great Colony she has a young giant who will be found prepared at all times to devote his strength to her service. He has intensified the loyalty of the people to the British Crown to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. He has described with a truth and an authority, the ability, skill, industry and ingenuity of the population of the country, whether as statesmen, legislators, scientists, agriculturists, traders or artizans. He has taught the world that her magnificent system of popular education occupies no second place. He has borne invaluable testimony to the learning, ability and purity of her Bench. He has been unceasing in his efforts to make our French population feel that they are as highly honored a portion of the Empire as the proudest Englishman in it. He has been continuously pouring oil on the waters of religious strife. He has repeatedly recognized the invaluable assistance given to the cause of civil liberty by the various religious creeds and denominations, seeing in each nothing but good, and evil in none. He has known neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant, finding, as he always has done in both, only loyal subjects of Her Majesty, and loving citizens of the Dominion. He has, in words of great beauty, and with a warmth of feeling besought that the destructive and utterly unwarrantable contests between Roman Catholics and some divisions of the great Protestant body, which are injurious to all, and beneficial to none, be discontinued forever. He has embraced every opportunity of eulogizing the noble qualities of the American people, and has done much in lessening the strength of the prejudices which an ignorance of each other's great qualities had engendered



between Americans and Canadians. He has taken frequent occasion to enforce the necessity of encouraging the æsthetic tastes of the people. He has made the different Art Associations, and artists themselves, subjects of his warm and personal attention. He has inaugurated plans for the preservation of the historic remains of our ancient cities. He has set on foot a plan by which the greatest natural wonder of the continent may be restored to its pristine beauty. He has shown a tender regard for our young men and maidens, and has delicately suggested to them rules of conduct which will make them brighter ornaments of their own country. He has, by his example, taught Canadians that geniality, politeness and polish of manner are quite compatible with strength of mind and independence of character. He has brightened the homes of hundreds of thousands by his admirable homilies on our institutions, our habits and our manners. He has dignified by his presence, and encouraged by his example, the outdoor sports of our young people. He has enforced upon them the truth that a healthy mind is rarely found in an unhealthy body; and has exhorted them to imitate the youths of Britain who gain physical and mental strength, manly self-reliance, and courage by the games of the country. He has led them to ponder over the wise and deep words of the Duke of Wellington, who said that "Waterloo was won on the play grounds of Eton and Rugby."

Lord Dufferin has become a household word in Canada. In every habitation, from the proudest to the humblest, his name is daily mentioned,—his beautiful speeches read and discussed,—his wise words quoted,—his teachings enforced,—his example followed. The golden thread of his pure and amiable life runs through every portion of Canadian society, strengthening, elevating, softening and refining every class and every grade. Though his political services have been great, it is questionable whether his greatest service has not been that he has made the Canadian people better in their morals,—better in their aspirations for the good and the beautiful in their homes, and happier in their lives.

Under his rule the principle of Constitutional Government received a development which has constituted the Dominion an example to the world. In Britain it had been left for the period of Her present Majesty's reign to settle in a concrete form the scattered and, in some sense, fugitive ideas of executive deference to popular opinion as

expressed in the House of Commons. The struggle between authority as exhibited in the person of the monarch, and liberty as shewn in the body of the people, had been progressing with varying fortunes for several reigns before that of the Queen. The British mind is, fortunately, deeply impressed with respect for authority and antiquity. It is often made a subject of reproach to Englishmen that they cling with too great a tenacity to the traditions, opinions, practices, laws, and customs of past ages. The charge is frequently well grounded—but history teaches us that the error is on the right side. The profound respect for order which permeates the heart of every Briton, produces in him a jealousy of change—a fear of innovation—and a cautious scrutiny of proposed improvements, which effectually guard him against hasty and crude interference with established institutions, whether political or social.

In matters of state, his natural loyalty stays his hand when any attack on the prerogative of the Crown is suggested, and nothing will induce him to invade its sacred rights until he is convinced, in the clearest possible manner, and to the utmost extent of which the case is susceptible, that the proposed contraction of the royal power is essential to the security of the Crown and the liberty of the subject. To him these are inseparably connected. It is a part of his nature to feel that whatever endangers the liberty of the subject also attacks the proper authority of the sovereign; and therefore it is that, in all the changes which have led up to the present highly developed system of rule, this idea has so dominated the popular action that it has gradually produced the almost absolutely perfect form now known as Constitutional Government.

The remarkable growth of this system is admirably depicted in Mr. Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort," and no one can understand or properly appreciate the great wisdom and self-denial which have guided Her Majesty and her advisers, without a due knowledge of the secret history of this growth. As the Empire advanced in power, and the people in strength, new cases arose which sometimes placed a severe strain on the system,—but the underlying principle of all British rule—respect for the rights of an intelligent people—quickly supplied a solution of each difficulty as it arose, and the wise yielding to the demands of a loyal and cultivated population gradually established for Her Majesty the enviable reputation of the most constitutional ruler who has ever yet occupied the British, or indeed any throne.



The system was introduced into Canada in 1839 under Lord Sydenham, but, as has already been shewn, it was but slowly developed,—in fact it had not been fully established in Britain. Lord Elgin paid a deeper respect to it than any of his predecessors ; and, though his recognition of it in its entirety was marked by fire, and almost by his own blood, Canada soon admitted that he was right,—and when he departed he carried with him the conviction that he had done much to establish the principle, and that the people of Canada were deeply sensible of the value of the gift.

Lord Dufferin was very early called upon to define his position as a constitutional ruler. The Liberals on the occasion of the Pacific Railway embroglio attempted to force him into a direct violation of the rights of the people as represented in Parliament. Had he acceded to their demands he would have placed himself in the category of governors who have constituted their rule a personal one. He would have carried the Dominion back to the days and principles of Sir Francis Bond Head. He would have cast to the winds the store of liberty gathered by the Canadian people after years of acrimony and strife. The shocking spectacle of a young country, teeming with the riches which nature had lavished upon her, wasting its energies in political contests would have been revived. The peace of contentment with its political status, absolutely essential to the development of any country, would have been destroyed. Lord Dufferin, had he yielded on that occasion, instead of spending the valuable six years of his rule in encouraging the industry of Canada, would have been surrounded by the desolating controversies and bitter animosities of partisan warfare. His eloquent voice raised so often, and with so wonderful a truth and power in the laudation of Canada, would have been necessarily employed in deploring the suicidal strife of party. It was perhaps fortunate that so early an opportunity was afforded him of giving expression to the expanded ideas he held of his duties as a constitutional ruler. They took the country by surprise. He made a bold and a long stride in his great "Halifax Speech" on the 8th August, 1873, in which he scattered the crude notions of the Liberals to the winds. He was too well acquainted with the progress of Constitutional rule in England to misinterpret its principles. He was deeply impressed with the necessity of enlarging instead of contracting the bounds of their application. The country heard with a delightful surprise the enunciation of the broad doctrine of gubernatorial responsibility, when he then said :

“My only guiding star in the conduct and maintenance of my official relations with your public men is the Parliament of Canada.” \* \* \* “I, gentlemen, believe in Parliament, no matter which way it votes,—and to those men alone whom the absolute will of the Confederated Parliament of the Dominion may assign to me as my responsible advisers can I give my confidence. Whether they are the heads of this party or that must be a matter of indifference to the Governor General, so long as they are maintained by Parliament in their positions, so long is he bound to give them his unreserved confidence, to defer to their advice, and loyally to assist them with his counsels.”

Five days after these weighty declarations, the leaders of the Liberals denied their truth, and, in words of unusual vehemence, attacked the position thus taken by His Excellency. They challenged his construction of Constitutional law, and indignantly averred that he should have taken the power into his own hands and dismissed his Ministers, although they commanded a large majority in the House. In effect, they invoked the return of “personal” rule.

On the 13th August, when the House met, Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the Liberal party, solemnly declared in his place that there was “nothing in the circumstances which justified His Excellency in proroguing Parliament for the purpose of preserving an accused Ministry.” Mr. Holton at the “indignation meeting” held in the evening of the same day said: “They knew that the most unheard of indignity had been cast upon Parliament by the Representative of the Crown, advised by his Ministers.” Mr. Cauchon said: “It was known that the privileges of Parliament had been encroached upon today, and I will go further and say that the Crown has no right to interfere with the privileges of Parliament,” and he moved this resolution:

“*Resolved*,—That the prorogation of Parliament without giving the House of Commons the opportunity of prosecuting the enquiry it had already taken was a gross violation of the privileges and independence of Parliament, and of the rights of the people.”

Mr. Mills said:—

“It seems to me that there has been a departure from the Constitutional system. The Crown was seeking advice from the Ministry in a matter which affected themselves.”

The Hon. Mr. Smith said:—

“It appears to me that the present was just the case in which the Crown was called upon to interpose its prerogative against the advice of the Ministry. The reason given for the exercise of the prerogative to-day had no justification.”



The Hon. Mr. Christie said :—

“ I have no doubt that the privileges of Parliament have been trampled on to-day. Mr. Mackenzie has been used in the most arbitrary manner when he had this day risen in his seat in Parliament.” \* \* \* “ The Ministers are incompetent to advise the Governor General, and I think the Governor General was wrong in taking their advice.”

Many others of the leading men of the Liberal party expressed the same views, as their deliberate opinion of the course pursued by His Excellency. These men would have felt themselves insulted had they been told by any authority they respected that their opinions were revolutionary ; that instead of being exponents of Liberalism they were exponents of despotism ; that they were ignorant of the springs of Constitutional Government, and that the adoption by Lord Dufferin of their crude ideas would have been ruinous to their own liberties, and an absolute destruction of the form of rule which their predecessors had fought for, and bled for. The Liberal press was so ignorant of the true principles of the Government under which it was living that it poured forth the most bitter denunciations of the Governor General. If it knew it was uttering libels on His Excellency, it was criminal. The leaders of the Liberal party must stand in the same dock. They upheld this press in its outrage not only on Lord Dufferin, but on Constitutional Government. It was well that a man of his firmness held the reins of power. A weak man would possibly have succumbed. It was well that a statesman occupied the Vice-regal chair. A man unversed in the lore of Constitutional law would probably have tampered with the enemy and given, by hesitation, a shock to Constitutional rule.

Had Lord Dufferin rendered no service to Canada other than the enunciation of this invaluable extension of the principle of Constitutional Government, he would have been entitled to her deepest gratitude. The Colonial Empire of Britain and the Imperial Government owe him much. He boldly and skilfully laid open a hidden power of this beautiful system, and proved its complete adaptation, not only to a colony, but also to a country composed of a number of confederated Provinces. Its successful working under his rule has proved that it is as valuable in a dependency as in the Mother Country, and that any British Colony or confederation of Colonies endowed with a Parliamentary system of Government may be safely and profitably left to the untrammelled exercise of the blessings of Constitutional rule.

It is somewhat curious that not very long after this authoritative exposition of the principles of the system an opinion was expressed by a British Colonial Minister antagonistic to it. It will be remembered that on the 31st March, 1875, Mr. Blake brought before the House a despatch from the Colonial Minister, dated 30th June, 1873, in which was laid down the doctrine that the disallowance or allowance of Local Acts was a matter in which the Governor General must act on his own individual discretion, and in which he could not be guided by the advice of his responsible Ministers. It is mentioned here in support of the statement that even in England the full application of the principles of responsibility was not understood. A British statesman, so recently as 1873, here enunciated a doctrine utterly subversive of the system of Constitutional rule. The House unanimously disapproved of the opinion of the Minister, and as he did not press the point, it may be assumed that it was looked upon in England as an error which would not be repeated.

Lord Dufferin's Halifax speech is an invaluable contribution to the commentaries on Constitutional rule. It goes further than any British statesman had ever yet gone, and is an example of the great expansion of which the principle is susceptible. Judged by the rule there laid down, the course pursued by the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, Mr. Luc Letellier de St. Just, in the "Quebec Crisis" of May, 1878, is open to the gravest censure. Every element of the case reproves his unwarrantable violation of the well-established system of Government under which the Province was entitled to be ruled. There were two Houses. The Ministry had a very large majority in each. They had not been attacked for their measures in any degree greater than that ordinarily excited in local matters. The bills which the Lieutenant Governor averred were obnoxious to him were, so far as he knew, not obnoxious to the people. There had been no unusual or general expression of public opinion against them. He was well aware of their nature, and allowed them to pass through all but the last stage in the House without objection. They were opposed in it, and he was cognizant of every step taken in connection with them. He met his Ministers daily and made no sign. They were pursuing their way calmly and successfully. They were not asked to modify their measures, but without a moment's warning they were dismissed. In defence it was urged that if the new Ministry should obtain a majority at the polls the Lieutenant Governor would be justified ; if not,



then his conduct would be considered unconstitutional. But it was either right or wrong before an appeal to the people was made. Judged by the rule laid down by Lord Dufferin in the Halifax speech it was an outrage. That no opportunity was given to His Excellency the Governor General of expressing his opinion is unfortunate, and the case discloses a serious imperfection in our Federal system. The Governor General could not move, until he was moved by his Ministry. They would not move because they were in sympathy with the Lieutenant Governor, and, there is but little doubt, in collusion with him. Hence, an act which should have been punished by the Dominion Government with dismissal was passed over in silence. Mr. Mackenzie would not condemn an unconstitutional act, perpetrated by a partisan of his own, and probably, in part, at least, with a view to assist him in the approaching Dominion Elections; the Governor General could not, and, therefore, the crime has, thus far, gone unpunished. It was urged that His Excellency might have acted on his own knowledge and responsibility, but this would have been as unjustifiable as the act of Mr. Letellier. He was bound to act under the advice of his Ministers, and, as they advised him to do nothing, he was compelled, by his own doctrine, to stand by and witness the perpetration of a great political crime without being able to utter a word in condemnation, or move a finger in punishment.

The evil lies in the system of making Governors of Provinces out of partisans. Theory teaches these gentlemen that their proper course is an imitation of that pursued by the Governor General. So long as they honestly guide themselves by the rule laid down by Lord Dufferin in the "Halifax speech" no difficulty can arise. Were it possible to secure men for these offices of characters sufficiently dignified and conscientious to be guided by this rule, no complaint would ever exist. But they are appointed by the Ministry of the day. They are necessarily friends of the Dominion Government. Their sympathies are naturally enlisted on the side of those who elevate them. Always friends, they must sometimes be partisans. Party men themselves, taken from the ranks of party, they naturally carry to the gubernatorial chair the party feeling which made them conspicuous friends of the Ministry to whom they owe their advancement. Some men will shake off the shackles, assume their proper judicial character, and rule their Provinces according to the Constitutional system. Most men will exhibit a leaning towards the party in sympathy with their own

patrons. A few like Mr. Letellier will cast aside all propriety and boldly defy public opinion.

The only remedy for this unsatisfactory state seems to be the force of an enlightened popular sentiment. Mr. Letellier has not yet been punished for his treason against the Constitution of his Province, but punishment must reach him. He gambled with the feelings of a people by whom the principles of Constitutional rule are not yet fully understood, and obtained a short-lived triumph. The extraordinary translation of Mr. Turcotte from the Opposition to the Ministerialists enabled Mr. Joly to carry on a Government by the majority of one—that one being the Speaker, and that Speaker being Mr. Turcotte. The good sense of the people of Quebec must soon condemn the outrage, and it will assuredly become the duty of the new Dominion Ministry to show its disapprobation of the most unwarrantable violation of Constitutional law, committed by Mr. Letellier, in a way which will mark more strikingly than ever the lines of Constitutional Government, and the limits of executive power.

This, however, should be done in no spirit of revenge. A serious blow has been struck by Mr. Letellier, and the new Ministry owes the duty, not to themselves or their party, but to the cause of Constitutional rule, of visiting it with a proper condemnation. In default of this, future Lieutenant Governors may feel at liberty to imitate Mr. Letellier, and thus materially weaken the strength of the principle itself. It is particularly essential that the Province of Quebec should clearly understand the system under which she is to be governed; and it is of the last importance, not only to herself, but to the other portions of the Dominion, that her people be educated to a proper regard for their rights, and her rulers to a proper regard for their duties.

The rule of Lord Dufferin, besides being remarkable for the development and expansion of the principle of Constitutional rule, is also remarkable for the high position Canada has taken among the nations of the world. For this position she is mainly indebted to him. While divided into small Provinces, she could not expect to secure any considerable attention as members of the family of nations. Confederation first opened her own eyes, as well as those of the British people, to her latent power. The tours of His Excellency revealed to her own people a territory and undeveloped wealth whose extent was marvellous. Lord Dufferin in these progresses gathered together a collection of facts exhibiting the richness of



Canada, which, when laid before the people in his magnificent speeches, were listened to with an almost hesitating belief, and with a confused wonder. If Canadians were surprised at the lavishness with which nature had endowed them, foreigners were astonished. The people of Europe listened with respectful confidence to the glowing descriptions of the Governor General, to which, if made by a less authority, they would have turned a deaf ear. His speeches teem with the great subject. His imagination was fired at the prospect of the splendid country he was ruling, and his keen vision saw in the future, a Canada, not of colonists, but of "associates" with the inhabitants of the British Islands. Traces may be seen through his addresses of a conviction that, ere long, she will be invited to take a higher seat in the conclave of nations than, as a colony, she can ever occupy. Her immense extent, her vast supplies of all the natural appliances for the creation of a populous and wealthy people, point to her gradual elevation. Her growing strength gives indication that she could even now contribute in a very material degree to the military and naval power of the Empire. The settlement of her vast possessions of the North West, must, in a comparatively short period in the life of a nation, supply a population from which, in time of need, valuable additions to the resources of the Mother Country may be drawn. Her trade will become an interest of moment to Britain. Annexation and independence, though some years ago freely spoken of, have, since the advent of Lord Dufferin, been referred to only with abhorrence. Canada, though not demonstrative on the subject, doubtless looks forward to a more intimate connection with the Empire than she now possesses. She does not dream of independence, but she nurses a growing feeling that, when the public opinion of the other portions of the Empire is ready for the experiment, she will be invited to assist in the formation of a scheme which will bind together in close connection with the Mother Country all the colonies and dependencies of the British Crown into one grand system of Imperial federal rule. The utterances of the Earl of Dufferin have done much to strengthen this feeling, and they have doubtless had a strong effect in drawing such an attention to Canada as will assist in the elaboration of the idea.

On the 3rd October, 1874, the Hon. Edward Blake, in his well-known speech at Aurora, mooted this question. Mr. Blake has been harshly treated with respect to his utterances on that occasion. His advocacy of what he termed the "re-organization of the Empire upon a Federal basis" was neither out of place nor out of time. The idea

has long been floating in the public mind of Canada, and Mr. Blake did but give bold expression to a prevailing but subdued feeling. Events are pointing each year with increased clearness to such a consummation. Lord Dufferin with befitting caution merely hints at it ; Mr. Blake with becoming frankness openly advocates it. The increasing importance of Canada in the eyes of the Imperial authorities is marked in a variety of ways,—lately in an emphatic manner by the appointment of the Marquis of Lorne as the successor of the Earl of Dufferin. The significance of this selection lies in the fact that the new Governor General is the husband of one of the Queen's daughters. The Earl of Beaconsfield has doubtless felt that the ties between England and her great Colony should be strengthened by every legitimate appliance, and he has by this act brought Canada to the verge of the circle within which are found immediate relations with the Empire. The framing of a scheme for the "re-organization of the Empire on a federal basis" will probably within a few decades test the faculties of some rising young statesman of Britain. Were Lord Beaconsfield a younger man, no one would be more fitted for the task, but England is never in want of men prepared for any work, however delicate or arduous ; and, when public opinion is educated to the point, the men will readily be found able to carry out the great project.

It will have been observed that Lord Dufferin dwells with a just pride on the fact that he was ruling one of the most rising countries of the globe. His speeches glow with enthusiasm in describing the vast territories of Canada, comprising millions of acres of land unexcelled in the world. He never tires of telling the nations of her capacity to provide food, were it necessary, for all the Eastern Hemisphere. He swells with exultation when he paints the picture of Canada's great waters, flowing through all her sections, and carrying with exceptional lavishness, fertility and health through her every vein. The illimitable stores of mineral wealth, even his imagination is unequal to describe. He dwells with pleasure among the coal fields, the forests, the fisheries, the shipping and the marble fields of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the fertile and beautiful little Province of Prince Edward Island. He finds stretches of productive land in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, and a thriving and contented population in that Province. He is surprised at the wealth and luxuriant productions of the great Province of Ontario, whose agricultural riches are greatly enhanced by her wonderful deposits of iron, phosphates and salt, and her inexhaustible supplies of timber



and petroleum. Even his vivid imagination fails when he attempts to count up the riches of Manitoba and the North West. His great speech at Winnipeg falls far short of the reality, though to thousands it may seem the unguarded utterance of one carried away by the magnificence of his subject. When he is called upon to relate the impressions which his tour through British Columbia made upon his mind he expresses himself lost in admiration of what he has seen of that wonderful Province. He revels in the account of her glorious scenery, and her magnificent ocean front, studded with islands. He points the people of Europe to the unlimited supplies of the finest timber in the world; he points to the gold mines, and the coal mines,—and to the iron and the silver which literally burst through the earth in the exuberance of their richness; and he points to the thousands of square miles of arable and pasture lands, of themselves fit to enrich a great population. His descriptions of the various portions of the Dominion fell on the ears of all hearers, as well American as Canadian, as well British as Continental, with astonishment. No one knew,—few believed, until then that Canada possessed resources so vast or so varied. At once was she raised in the estimation of the world, and perhaps no one was more surprised at her wealth than herself. Encouraged by his words, and stimulated by his advice, she made an effort to exhibit her strength at the Centennial in Philadelphia. The result is known world-wide. She at once took a high position among the competing nations. The sterile country of even well-read men of Europe proved to be one of the most productive. The land of snow and ice proved to be a land which carried off the prizes from all comers in grain and fruit. The home of the “Canuck,” the “Habitant,” the “Metis,” and the “Indian,” proved to be a land whose educational exhibit was confessedly superior to anything of the kind in the great collection. The land of “provincial” ideas proved to be a land whose inventors ranked with the best of Europe or America. The productions of the loom and the machine shop had no cause to blush before those of any foreign country, however rich, or however skilled. Even in art Canada took a respectable position, and in all the appliances of a luxurious life she proved to the admiring stranger that a fine taste had gone hand in hand with her progress in all her works of usefulness and mechanical skill. Canada here proved that Lord Dufferin had rather understated than overstated her resources. Here were gathered exhibits from all the Provinces. Here was the splendid lumber from the valley of the

Ottawa, from Quebec and New Brunswick. Here were specimens of the Douglas Pine from British Columbia, so admirably spoken of by Lord Dufferin in his speech at Victoria. Here were the rich cheese and butter of Ontario, the horses, horned cattle and live stock, conclusively demonstrating their vast capabilities of Canada for the breeding of even the highest class of domestic animals. Here were the luscious fruits of Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia, proving the Dominion to be the favorite home of many of the most useful of these important ingredients in the comfort of a people. Here were splendid specimens of the gold, silver, iron, coal, copper and phosphates of the Dominion. Here was one exhibit—a block from the Dominion Plumbago Company of Ottawa, taken from their mines at Buckingham, within a few hours drive of the Capital, weighing 2800 lbs. Here was the petroleum of Ontario. Here was the large collection of agricultural implements and artificers work, proving the ingenuity of the inventors and the skill of the mechanics of Canada. Even in wines, the produce of her own vineyards, she took a respectable position. It is creditable to the foreign press that Canada received her due share of laudation; through it her fame was carried through the countries of both hemispheres. The utterances of Lord Dufferin in his great speeches were fully reproduced. Her eulogy was always bound up with his name. A direct result of this Exhibition was the transmission of many of the Canadian articles to the Exhibition of Sydney. Through this Canada became still more extensively known, a trade has sprung up with the distant regions of the Pacific, and the click of Wanzer's sewing machines of Hamilton, Ontario, are becoming as familiar in the dwellings of Australia and New Zealand as they now are in our own Canadian homes.

The loyalty of the people of Canada to the British Crown finds a place in almost every one of Lord Dufferin's speeches. As the addresses and toasts to which these were replies usually referred to this distinguishing trait of Canadian character, he could scarcely avoid paying a tribute to the affection with which Her Majesty and the rule of Britain are regarded by the population of the Dominion. Before Lord Dufferin assumed the Government of Canada, the injudicious expression in England of erroneous ideas relating to the connection between her and the Mother Country had engendered, not a feeling of disloyalty, but a feeling of disappointed affection in the minds of many thoughtful Canadians. They felt hurt that their warm attachment to the parent state was not universally reciprocated, and a feel-



ing of injured pride, possibly, stole over Canadian hearts when they found their splendid country looked upon as an incubus on imperial policy, and themselves regarded as thriftless hangers-on to a rich patron. The trade policy of the American Government was so arranged as to embarrass Canada, with the futile hope that she would be goaded into annexation. She rose, however, superior as well to the injurious taunts of some ill-advised Englishmen who offered her independence, as to the unfriendly policy of the Americans. The feeling of true, unshaken loyalty to the British Crown was really never for a moment shaken. The justice and magnanimity of the Imperial Government was warmly appreciated, and, though interest will in the end dominate over every romantic feeling, it may safely be said that at no period of her history did Canada, or any part of it, ever really desire to sever the British connection. If this feeling of loyalty were strong when Lord Dufferin reached Canada, it had been much intensified before he left it. He spared no opportunity of testing its strength during his rule, and took great pleasure, on every proper occasion, of testifying to its increasing depth. If the Americans had ever built any hope of annexation on this supposed disaffection of Canada to Britain, they must have had them dashed to the earth by the evidence of Lord Dufferin ; and if any portion of the British people had ever suspected the existence of even a latent desire in Canada, either for independence or annexation, they must have been undeceived by the result of his study of Canadian character. Canada owes a deep debt of gratitude to him for the clearness and boldness with which he proclaimed his unbounded confidence in her unselfish loyalty, and he left her, doubtless, fully assured that he had handed back to his great Mistress a people who for six years had been under his fostering care, steadily growing in affection for her, and in the yearning to become, if possible, still more closely affiliated with the great country over which she so worthily rules.

If there were one public duty which Lord Dufferin performed with more painstaking and personal interest than another, it was that of encouraging the education of the people. In season and out of season he impressed the necessity of a sound, practical education. He felt that an effective and general system of popular teaching was the very salt of our institutions. He knew that the national life of Canada would be sickly and weak, unless strengthened by the universal education of her population. He was deeply impressed with the great truth that the chief source of the power and vitality of the Dominion lay in the

mental education and training of her people. Lord Dufferin found in Canada a system of popular education which may, without exaggeration, be pronounced second to none in the world, and superior to most. The American people were obliged to confess that Canada, or rather Ontario, for the Dominion did not, as a country, contribute, carried off the palm at the Centennial, in educational exhibits, and American school authorities bear graceful testimony to the fact that the system of Ontario, at least, is better than any of their own. To Dr. Ryerson belongs the high honor of shaping this system, and working it out to its admirable results.

It is no sense exaggeration when it is said that Dr. Ryerson has done more for Canada than any man now living in it. Over thirty years ago he, as Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada, with a view to the framing of a system of education for the Province, visited the United States, England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Prussia and Austria. He studied the various systems he found in these countries, and from them all elaborated that now existing in Ontario. It combines the excellencies of each, and, as a whole, is undoubtedly superior to any other now in operation. Dr. Ryerson has devoted his great abilities and a life of untiring zeal to the cause of education, and he has the proud satisfaction of knowing that he is the greatest public benefactor now known, not only to the great Province of Ontario, but to the cause of education throughout the Dominion.

Mr. Augustus Morris, the Executive Commissioner from New South Wales to the Centennial, in begging that the Ontario Minister of Education, the Hon. Mr. Crooks, would send the educational exhibits to the Sydney Exhibition, thus expresses himself:

“I am sorry to learn from Dr. Hodgins that you did not think it was within your discretion to send to the Exhibition in Sydney a portion of your admirable exhibit at the Centennial. I am sure there is nothing which so fully shows the extraordinary progress of Canada as the educational display of Ontario. When I was seeking for information in educational matters, one of the Professors of the University of Pennsylvania recommended me to visit Ontario, as I would there learn more on those subjects than in any other country. He pointed to your exhibit as a proof, and said he felt ashamed that the United States was so far behind Ontario.” \* \* \* “Professors Baird and Silliman remarked to-day, that Canada’s progress in educational matters had greatly astonished every one, and the United States, instead of looking across the ocean for help, should get it from her immediate neighbor.”

M. Buisson, Chairman of the Committee of French gentlemen, representing the Ministers of Public Instruction of the French Republic at the Centennial, thus spoke of Canada:—



“ To make a brilliant educational exhibition by the side of that of the United States was not an easy thing to do, and for Canada to have succeeded in doing it goes to prove that her schools are in a very prosperous condition. At one thing we must, nevertheless, express our extreme regret :—it is that Lower Canada, the Province of Quebec—that is to say, all French Canada—failed to take little, if any, part in the educational exhibition. This regret is deepened by the fact that the occasion was a fine one in which to contrast French methods with those of England and the United States. The Province of Quebec, where the French still remains the dominant language—where the recollections of the Mother Country are not yet effaced—where French customs and traditions still largely prevail—the Province of Quebec should have considered it a point of honor, it seems to us, to dispute with the English Province of Ontario in the department of education that pre-eminence which the latter did not hesitate to dispute with the United States. French Canada has preserved as a teaching force (almost to the exclusion of all others) the different religious orders of both sexes. There are flourishing schools directed by the Christian Brothers, the Sisters of Notre Dame, the Sisters of Piety, and several other bodies of this character, some of which are more flourishing than in France. The methods of teaching that were originally brought from France are still preserved. Did not a Canadian Judge lately say on an important occasion, ‘ Canada is France, but France before 1789.’ We should have been deeply interested in comparing this France beyond the sea, and of another century, with its Republican neighbors and its English brothers. It is greatly to be regretted that this pleasure has been denied us, and we may be permitted to say without pre-judgment that the neglect to take part in so important an occasion is not exactly a good sign. Ontario, or English Canada, resembles more in its methods of teaching the United States than England. Its system of primary education is organized on a plan wholly American. One of the most notable differences which we notice is in favor of Canada :—this is the good understanding between the Protestant majority and the Catholic minority. The latter acquiesce, as in the United States, in the necessity of paying a tax for educational purposes, but the proceeds of this levy on the supporters of Catholic schools are placed without abatement in the hands of Catholic trustees, who appropriate the money thus received to the maintenance of Catholic separate schools, popularly and pedagogically analagous to those supported by the Protestants, but independent, and in no wise constrained in anything that relates to religion in forms of worship. This liberal policy makes recrimination and conflict impossible.”

The Hon. Ellis A. Apgar, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, New Jersey, in speaking of the meagreness of the educational exhibit at the Centennial from England, says :—

“ Canada comes next. While we are surprised that England did so little, we are astonished that our northern neighbors, one of her Provinces, did so much. Ontario presented the finest collection of expensive school and college apparatus exhibited.”

The Hon. J. P. Wickersham, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Pennsylvania, in alluding to the Ontario exhibit says :—

“England has contributed very little to the Educational Department of the International Exposition. In other departments she occupies the leading place, both in the extent and quality of her exhibits ; but in the matter of education she makes no attempt to show the world what she is doing. This neglect, however, is somewhat compensated for by the fine display made by her vigorous daughter, the Province of Ontario, Canada. This Province has for some thirty or forty years been making efforts to build up an efficient system of public education. At the head of the Department of Education for nearly the whole of that time has stood the Rev. Dr. Ryerson, well known in the United States, and distinguished alike as a scholar, a gentleman and an enthusiastic worker in the cause of education. As a result of his wise administration, with the co-operation of the most intelligent citizens, Ontario has made such progress in her school affairs as to warrant her appearance at our Centennial Exposition to compete in respect to them with us, and with the world.”

The *Philadelphia Press* of 29th June, 1876, in an elaborate account of the Ontario educational exhibit, says :—

“The school apparatus, illustrating pneumatics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, electricity, &c., is not surpassed in the Exhibition, and there is no doubt that the Ontario Educational Court has awakened many to the importance of the Canadian way of management. Hitherto little has been known of the work done in this direction, and now, to our surprise, we find the colony successfully competing against the whole world.”

Such was the system which Lord Dufferin found in active operation in Ontario. But in all the Provinces public education was carefully promoted, and Canada may be truthfully said to be one of the best educated countries of the world. He evinced his warm sympathy with all schools, whether sectarian or otherwise, and was delighted to visit and examine them wherever they were planted. So imbued was he with a deep sense of the importance of popular education that, at a great personal outlay, he instituted the system of awarding medals, to which reference has already been made,—and in all his tours he took particular care to encourage by his presence, and stimulate by his words of warm encouragement, all the teachers and pupils whom he met in his route. Nor was he narrow in his views of selection. He never enquired whether a school was Roman Catholic or Protestant before he extended to it his generous sympathy and support. To him all were excellent. In his eyes any institution where the youth of the country were mentally and morally improved was an object of commendation and support ; and doubtless the status of school teachers was elevated, and the dignity of our public instructors greatly enhanced, by the marked notice and increasing recognition of Lord Dufferin.

In another direction the beneficial influences of Lord Dufferin's



advice and example has been strongly felt. He embraced every proper opportunity of drawing together the two great races which constitute the bulk of the population of Canada. Though the English and French speaking people have always worked together in tolerable harmony, yet there have been, and still are, slight political and social barriers between them which he strove in every legitimate way to remove. In this, however, there are difficulties which possibly may not for a long time be completely surmounted. As a rule the English are Protestant, and the French, Roman Catholic. To the difference of language, customs and manners there is thus added the difference of religion. It must be admitted that the natural tendency of a majority sometimes to under-estimate the excellence of the minority is occasionally exhibited by the Protestants. There is no doubt that the idiosyncrasies of the French population prevent them from taking that broad and comprehensive view of Constitutional Government which is essential to the proper working of the national institutions of Canada. In illustration of this remark, the *coup d'état* of Mr. Letellier may be cited. Such an act could not have been contemplated by a British ruler, and would have been sternly condemned by a British population. The Frenchman, as a rule, expects to be governed; the Briton, on the other hand, desires himself to govern. The Gaulic blood looks around for leaders—the Anglo-Saxon for followers. This difference between the two races runs through their lives,—political, religious and social. In Canada, they have lived in comparative harmony, and yet there still exists a leaven of discontent, which is exhibited occasionally by both. The English-speaking people are sometimes charged by their French associates with a desire to grasp too much power, while the same charge is made conversely by the Anglo-Saxon. The little differences which naturally flow from these sources are those which Lord Dufferin strove to settle. He justly eulogized the intense loyalty and the law-abiding qualities of the French; he pointed approvingly to their increasing understanding of the principles of the admirable Constitution under which they were enjoying so much liberty; he expressed his pleasure in observing their growing appreciation of this governmental system; he admired, as he justly might, their extensive educational and charitable institutions; and he held up the kindness of their hearts for commendation, and the courtesy of their manners for imitation. His gentle words drew them to himself, and he by other gentle words passed them on to their Anglo-Saxon fellow citizens. For his appreciatory recognition

of their virtues, the French-speaking people of Canada are deeply indebted to Lord Dufferin, and for his unselfish attempts to bind these valuable constituents of the Dominion more closely to their Anglo-Saxon associates these owe him a debt of gratitude which they possibly will never be able fully to discharge.

There is no evil in Canada producing more damaging effects than the curse of religious antipathy now in some sections existing between Protestant and Roman Catholic. Every Canadian hangs his head with shame and sorrow when the riots of Montreal in July last are mentioned. But these were only the violent outward manifestations of an evil spirit which is eating into the very vitals of the country. To one born in Canada it is inconceivably unjust that his fair country should be disgraced and destroyed by the introduction from a foreign land of animosities which the religion of our Saviour, so loudly proclaimed by each party as its only guide, utterly and sternly condemns. Both parties are to blame. The Roman Catholic system is essentially aggressive. If it would confine its operations to matters of religion no difficulty would occur, for the Protestant yields the uncontrolled right of religious belief, but unfortunately it attacks, or the Protestant believes it attacks, his civil freedom. Here is the serious charge made against Roman Catholicism in Canada. The counter charge is that the Protestant seeks by violence and insult to destroy the political and social standing of the Roman Catholic. It is singularly unfortunate that the lower grades of the people on both sides are those to whose untrained susceptibilities the leaders appeal. The result is that constant nutrition is furnished to this cancer, whose virus permeates every portion of the social fabric, poisons the whole system, and produces periodical eruptions which end in riot and bloodshed. It is lamentable that so serious an evil is permitted for an hour to curse fair Canada, when a slight exercise of kindly forbearance and christian charity would drive the demon from its bounds. Lord Dufferin's personal knowledge of the destructive effects of this blight in his own country conferred on him an especial authority to speak of, regret and denounce the encouragement of its growth in the Dominion. Doubtless nothing will avail completely to destroy the malign influences of these discordant elements in our body politic, but it is to be hoped that popular opinion will ere long become sufficiently enlightened to warrant coercive legislation against the public exhibitions of both parties which do but insult and inflame. So soon as the people can raise themselves to the dignified height of character suggested by Lord Dufferin



in his admirable reply to the address of the Protestant Benevolent Society in Toronto, on the 25th September, we may look for a new and a happy era in the religious phase of Canadian society. Until then we must submit to rioting and bloodshed, to loss of prestige, to the domination of the worst elements of our population, to the contumely of foreigners, and the pity of all good men. Lord Dufferin has through his whole career as Governor General endeavored to put out these destructive fires. He has soothed the irritated Roman Catholic and quieted the noisy Protestant. His words of gentleness and peace have ever been ready in exhorting each to exhibit in practice the precepts of the Divine Teacher whom they both set up as their instructor and guide: and doubtless the most painful episodes in his Canadian life have been the bloody contests between these two divisions of society which have disgraced our country.

Lord Dufferin has always admired the American people. They have returned his admiration ten-fold,—they were both right. He found in Canada a feeling of irritation against her nearest neighbor, produced by a variety of causes. He saw that, as in most disagreements, each was a little wrong; but he also saw that, underlying the thin stratum of mutual dissatisfaction, there existed a solid basis of mutual respect and affection. He judiciously, and with admirable tact and genuine good feeling, removed the objectionable covering, and exhibited each to the other in his true character. It is just possible however, that some Americans may run away with the idea that because Canada heartily joins with Lord Dufferin in his expressions of respect and admiration, she is blind to the little tortuosities of the American Government, which doubtless find no justification in the minds of the representative men of the Union. Self respect demands from Canada that, while proceeding herself in an honest and dignified course, she must not fail to take notice when her rights are ignored and her feelings hurt. She has thus far respected herself by doing more than strict justice to her neighbors, and when the supposed exigencies of party force their Government out of a corresponding line of conduct towards her, she is content that an improved public opinion shall eventually pay due homage to her superior principles and her more generous actions. Lord Dufferin has justly interpreted the feelings of the Canadian people towards the great people whose territory is coterminous with her own across the Continent. Canada rejoices in their prosperity, and believes that her feelings are reciprocated. She frankly acknowledges the benefits daily accruing to her

through their skill and energy. She has been content to imitate where she could not improve, and the result of her plodding industry and willingness to learn has already been strikingly exhibited at the Centennial, where thousands of Americans were astonished at her exhibit, and generously applauded the small four millions of unostentatious workers, who suddenly stood forth and successfully challenged their forty millions to a trial of mechanical skill and artistic excellence. The hope of annexation, which for some time disturbed the rest of the American people, has been destroyed by Lord Dufferin, who, speaking for the people of Canada, has repeatedly proclaimed the unquestionable truth that though Canada is more than content with her present position as part of the British Empire, she yet bears to her powerful neighbor the most genuine good will. That the existence of this feeling has been frequently impressed upon the citizens of the Union by an ambassador so dignified and so trustworthy as Lord Dufferin is one of the fortunate circumstances attending his invaluable rule in Canada.

The less weighty ingredients which have rendered the administration of Lord Dufferin so conspicuous must now be indicated. He is as is well known, a man of exceptionally fine taste. He is essentially æsthetic in all he does or says.\* To a young and comparatively rude country like Canada the example and instruction of such a rule are invaluable. He has in a thousand modes encouraged the love of the artistic, the elegant, and the beautiful.

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\*It is supposed by many that Lord Dufferin writes his speeches, and commits them to memory. This idea has arisen from the fact that the roundness of their periods, their harmonious flow, their richness of language and exuberance of deep thought and brilliant wit, their pathos and humour, seem beyond the reach of a purely *extempore* speaker. Lord Dufferin never writes a speech, never dictates one, never repeats one in private, and never speaks from notes. Of course, he therefore never commits one to memory. The powers which enable him to deliver the speeches, which will live as long as the English language exists, are these: He possesses a most vivid imagination. He is an accurate and most minute observer. He remembers everything he hears, or reads. He forgets nothing he has seen. Nature has given him a great command of language, and high culture has rendered this language Attic in its beauty and strength. She has also given him the faculty of placing in dioramic order in his mind the heads of his proposed discourse, and of calling them forth at the proper moment without hesitation or confusion. His command of words enables him to clothe these mere suggestions in the beautiful language for which his speeches are so conspicuous, and thus without effort is produced those models of rhetoric which are so much admired.



His addresses to schools are full of hints inculcating the value of beauty in all the surroundings of the pupils, neatness of dress, politeness of speech, and refinement of manner. He paid marked attention to his own style of language, and all coarseness or vulgarity of conversation, especially in our young people, was to him a positive pain. No more valuable school book could be placed in the hands of our youth than these addresses. To the artists of this country he was a warm and constant friend. He delighted in his visits to the exhibition rooms of the Ontario Society of Artists, and gave all lovers of art, whether professional or amateur, his hearty sympathy and support. It is to be regretted that in Ottawa, the seat of Government, no step has yet been taken to form a national gallery. Lord Dufferin was anxious to see a beginning made. Probably the general depression rendered it unadvisable to devote any public money to such an object; but a comparatively small sum would be sufficient to form a nucleus, and a moderate yearly grant would soon produce a very respectable collection of works of art. It is unnecessary to express the absolute necessity of such an undertaking. The Dominion should no longer rest under the opprobrium of being the only respectable country in the world which cannot point to its statuary and its paintings. The exertions of Lord Dufferin in the cause of art are bearing fruit in the embellishment of Quebec, and it was doubtless most gratifying to him to know that on the eve of his final departure from Canada his splendid ideas of preserving the historic memorials of our ancient capital were in course of being carried out. His proposal that an International Park be constructed at the Falls of Niagara, by which the pristine beauty of that wonder of the world would be reproduced, is another evidence of his love for the beautiful, and of his untiring activity in suggesting practical modes of carrying out his excellent views.

The boys and young men of Canada will never forget the generous patron of their out-door sports. To them, possibly, his warm recognition of their pastimes was but a love of amusement, or exercise—to Lord Dufferin it was a desire to see built up in Canada a race of healthy, hardy men, stalwart in their physical development, bold and self-reliant in their mental attributes. He was himself skilled in all sports in which the noble English boy delights to excel. He was never more at home than when among cricketers, lacrosse teams, yachtsmen, snow-shoers and curlers. To him the contemplation of the bright eye, the fleet foot, the strong arm, the calm self-

possession in danger, produced by the out-door sports of the country, was a real delight. He was gratified at every invitation to attend these gatherings, and he always charmed his boy friends by being as boyish as any of them. He was lavish in his attentions to the youth of the Dominion, generously awarded valuable gold, and silver, and bronze medals to the most skilful and boldest, and gave an importance, a dignity, and an impetus to the healthy games of the Dominion which will have a lasting effect, and produce a most beneficial influence on the national character.

Lord Dufferin will doubtless be willing to be as just to the Countess of Dufferin as he always has been to strangers. He will, therefore, not be disinclined to share with her the love and admiration of the people of Canada. He will be pleased to hear that, in her, a loving people see a lady as near a counterpart of the object of their greatest love, Her Majesty the Queen, as it is possible for a woman to be. He will, with his usual courtesy, pay his grateful homage to his own wife for the powerful assistance she has rendered him in reaching the pinnacle of glory, to which the love of the Canadian people has raised him. He will be delighted to stand aside for a moment and permit the halo of a nation's deepest affection to surround her, and, for a time, obscure even his brightness. He will, with the deepest respect, lay at her feet his loving thanks that he is endowed with a partner who affectionately and successfully contends with him for the equal division of the affections of a noble people. He will never forget that no fatigue ever prevented her from performing the arduous duties of her position, as the social representative of her Royal Mistress. He will remember, with feelings of gratitude, that, in his long and tedious journeys, she never faltered on the way, but cheerfully attended him in all his progresses, and added the charms of her presence to the delight of his visits. He will remember that she, by the grace of her manner and the affability of her character, added a soft brilliance to the dignity of his bearing. He will never forget that the shouts of the many thousands of enthusiastic Canadians, who delighted to honor their Queen and her political representative head, were made a thousand-fold louder in honor of the graceful and kindly lady by his side. He will remember that the increasing demands upon her time, her patience, and her strength were always punctually met with cheerfulness of temper and brightness of face. And the people of Canada will forever remember that when the Countess of Dufferin left these shores, she carried with her the affec-



tion of a tender child for a loving parent, that they mourned her loss with a generous and noble sorrow, and that they felt a bright star had disappeared from their firmament, and a brilliant light had gone out of their lives.

The Earl and Countess of Dufferin have so endeared themselves to the Canadian people that their names have become household words. Their sentiments and opinions will be quoted at every dinner table and tea table in the Dominion and their example held up to our youth as eminently worthy to be followed. The fresh, healthy, gentle and purifying influence of their lives will be felt in every household; and the story of their Canadian rule, a living and delightful sermon to all future generations.

Little now is to be said. Canada never possessed such representatives of Britain. That she never will again cannot be averred, but if her heart be so enthralled by any future rulers, the capture will be accomplished only by the representation of their beautiful and loving characters. Their immediate successors come to the Dominion with everything in their favor. They will find that the Queen's daughter was loved by Canadians long before she was spoken of as the wife of their new ruler, and that the great heart of Canada is now open to receive them with all truthfulness and all affection.





# APPENDIX.

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## INSTITUTIONS AND PERSONS

TO WHOM THE

## DUFFERIN MEDALS

HAVE BEEN AWARDED.

THERE are three varieties of these Medals—Gold, Silver, and Bronze. They are a little larger than the Canadian 50c. piece, and considerably thicker. They may be thus described: On one side are raised heads of their Excellencies, surrounded by the words “Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B., G.C.M.G., Gov-Gen. of Canada.\* Countess of Dufferin \* 1876\*.”

The reverse side contains the coat of arms of His Excellency, surrounded by the words “Presented by His Excellency the Governor General.”

On the edge of the one from which this description is framed are engraved the words “Dominion of Canada Rifle Association \* 1876 \* Capt'n A. P. Patrick.”

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## LIST OF INSTITUTIONS AND OTHER RECIPIENTS.

### PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

University of Toronto.  
Trinity College, Toronto.  
University College, Toronto.  
St. Michael's College, Toronto.  
Normal School, Toronto.  
Model School for Girls, Toronto.  
Model School for Boys, Toronto.  
Upper Canada College, Toronto.  
Bishop Strachan School, Toronto.  
Ottawa Collegiate Institute.  
Ottawa College.  
Galt Collegiate Institute.  
Hellmuth Ladies College, London.

Hellmuth College, London.  
Knox College, London.  
Institution for Deaf and Dumb, Belleville.  
Ontario Institution for the Blind, Brantford.  
Convent of Loretto, Niagara Falls.  
Christian Brothers Commercial School, Ottawa.  
Ontario Ladies College, Whitby.  
Art School, Toronto.  
Congregation de Notre Dame, Ottawa.  
Military College, Kingston.  
Young Ladies College, Brantford.

## PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

McGill University, Montreal.	High School, Quebec.
McGill Normal School, Montreal.	Seminary of Quebec.
High School, Montreal.	Normal School, Quebec—Male department.
St. Mary's College, Montreal.	Normal School, Quebec—Female department.
Villa Maria Convent, Montreal.	Ursuline Convent, Quebec.
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, Montreal.	Convent de Jésus Marie Sillery, Quebec.
Bishop's College, Lennoxville.	Convent de Bellevue, Ste. Foye, Quebec.
Laval University, Quebec.	Convent of the Sacre Cœur, Montreal.
Museum Laval University, Quebec.	

## PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA.

Dalhousie College and University, Halifax, N. S.	Normal School, Truro, N.S. Acadia College, Wolfville, N.S.
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## PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

University of New Brunswick, Fredericton.	Grammar and High School, St. John, N.B.
Girls' High School, St. John, N.B.	

## PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

St. John's College School, Manitoba.	St. Boniface College, Manitoba.
Manitoba College, Winnipeg.	

## PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

St. Louis College, Victoria, B. C.	High and Public School, Victoria, B.C.
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## PROVINCE OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

Prince of Wales College, Charlottetown, P. E. I.

## MISCELLANEOUS—ALL THE PROVINCES.

Skating Tournament, Victoria Skating Rink, Montreal.	New Dominion Rowing Club, Toronto.
Dominion Curling Competition.	Toronto Rowing Club.
Curling Competition between members of the Government and Opposition.	Argonautic Rowing Club, Toronto.
Curling Competition (special), Renfrew	Yacht Club, Brockville.
Dominion Rifle Association, Ottawa.	St. John Regatta, New Brunswick.
Provincial Rifle Association, Quebec.	Royal Halifax Yacht Club, N. S.
Provincial Rifle Association, New Brun- swick.	Hillsboro' Boating Club, P. E. Island.
Provincial Rifle Association, British Col- umbia.	Regatta, British Columbia.
Provincial Rifle Association, Ontario.	Dominion Artillery Association.
Provincial Rifle Association, Nova Scotia.	Competition between A and B Batteries.
Provincial Rifle Association, Manitoba.	Regatta, Goderich Fishermen.
Governor General's Foot Guards.	Saving Life from drowning.
Cricket Club Games, Ottawa.	Swimming Races at Toronto.
Quoit Competition, Halifax, N. S.	Best Essay on Artillery Materiel.
International Regatta, Toronto.	Lt. Col. Geo. T. Denison.
Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto.	For the encouragement of Farming among the Icelanders.
	Quoiting Championship of Canada.
	Dominion Day Celebration at Ottawa, 1878.
	Champion Sculler, Edward Hanlan.



## UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, TORONTO.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To be awarded to the Undergraduate in the Faculty of Arts who, having at least a double First Class, shall at the third year's examination have passed on the whole the highest examination in Honors.....	1876	I	..	..	Adam Johnston.
	1877	..	I	..	J. D. Cameron.
	1878	I	..	..	J. D. Cameron.

## TRINITY COLLEGE, TORONTO.

General proficiency in the subjects of the 2d year's examination.	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
These would include :					
Divinity.....	1875	..	I	..	J. A. Houston.
Classics.....		..	..	I	C. L. Ingles.
Mathematics.....					
French.....	1876	..	I	..	C. L. Ingles.
Natural Science.....		..	..	I	A. L. Parker.
	1877	..	I	..	A. L. Parker.
		..	..	I	R. T. Nichol.
	1878	..	..	..	} Not offered for } competition.

## UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO.

To be awarded for translation into Latin Prose..	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To be awarded for composition in English Prose.....	1875	..	I	..	E. E. Nicholson.
	1876	..	I	..	E. A. E. Bowes.
		..	..	I	D. R. Keys.
	1877	..	I	..	D. R. Keys.
		..	..	I	J. Chisholm.
	1878	..	..	..	} Not offered for } competition.

## ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE, TORONTO.

Classics. To be competed for by written papers covering the various studies of the year..	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
	1875	..	I	..	P. Madden.
		..	..	I	P. S. Dowdall.

## APPENDIX.

## NORMAL SCHOOL, TORONTO.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.	
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.		
To be competed for by the ladies and gentlemen of the Second Division who are applicants for second class certificates, and awarded to the student whose aggregate number of marks is the highest in the subjects of the usual final examination.....	1875	..	I	..	Miss Fanny Gillespie.
		..	..	I	H. Pettil.
	1876	..	I	..	J. F. White.
		..	..	I	Miss Lillas Dunlop.
	1877	..	I	..	A. Burke.
		..	..	I	Miss Lottie Lawson.
	1878	..	I	..	Hugh D. Johnson.
		..	..	I	George Kirk.

## MODEL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, TORONTO.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.	
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.		
General proficiency to the girl receiving the highest total of marks at the written examinations held in June.....	1875	..	I	..	Miss Lizzie Y. Sams.
		..	..	I	Miss Clara Steward.
	1876	..	I	..	Miss Katie Ferguson.
		..	..	I	Miss Ella Wood.
	1877	..	I	..	Miss M. Wilson.
		..	..	I	Miss Annie Cullen.
	1878	..	I	..	Miss Emma L. Skinner.
		..	..	I	Miss Isabella Inglis.

## MODEL SCHOOL FOR BOYS, TORONTO.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.	
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.		
General proficiency to the boy receiving the highest total of marks at the written examinations held in June of each year.....	1875	..	I	..	C. A. Hodgetts.
		..	..	I	George Gregg.
	1876	..	I	..	William Walker.
		..	..	I	Esson Reid.
	1877	..	I	..	A. Hodgetts.
		..	..	I	G. Townsend.
	1878	..	I	..	W. G. Boddy.
		..	..	I	Alfred Latch.



## UPPER CANADA COLLEGE, TORONTO.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To the pupil in the upper Modern Form who passes the best written and oral examination in the subjects of the Modern Department of the College	1875	..	I	..	R. M. Orr.
		..	..	I	E. B. Freeland.
	1876	..	I	..	J. W. Reid.
		..	..	I	A. E. Barber.
	1877	..	I	..	R. Balmer.
		..	..	I	H. H. Macrae.
	1878	..	I	..	J. Burns.
		..	..	I	D. W. Montgomery.

## BISHOP STRACHAN SCHOOL, TORONTO.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
For the best essay on any given subject, particular stress being laid on grammar, spelling, and writing. "English Literature" was the subject of competition	1875	..	I	..	Miss Grace Ponton.
		..	..	I	Miss Isabella A. Farish.
	1876	..	I	..	Miss Mary Louise Powell.
		..	..	I	Miss Louise Lewis.
	1877	..	I	..	Miss Harriette Ford.
		..	..	I	Miss Helen E. Fraser.
	1878	..	I	..	Miss F.G.Fennings Taylor
		..	..	I	Miss Mary Nightingale.

## OTTAWA COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE, OTTAWA.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Proficiency in Classics.	1875	..	I	..	S. W. Hunton.
Proficiency in Mathematics.....	1876	..	..	I	S. W. Hunton.
		..	I	..	W. A. D. Lees.
		..	..	I	H. O. E. Pratt.
	1877	..	I	..	F. W. Jarvis.
		..	..	I	F. W. Jarvis.
	1878	..	I	..	A. F. Johnson.
		..	..	I	A. F. Johnson.

## OTTAWA COLLEGE, OTTAWA.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Greek Literature.....	1876	..	I	..	H. G. Lajoie.
Practical Mathematics. ....		..	..	I	Edward Perreault.

## GALT COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE, GALT.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
For general proficiency in classics, mathematics, and modern languages....	1875	..	I	..	S. J. Weir.
		..	..	I	H. St. Q. Cayley.
	1876	..	I	..	George Acheson.
		..	..	I	J. Ballantyne.
	1877	..	I	..	E. J. McIntyre.
		..	..	I	J. C. Smith.
	1878	..	I	..	Alexander Scrimger.
		..	..	I	Edward Woods.

## HELLMUTH LADIES' COLLEGE, LONDON.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
General proficiency ...	1874	..	I	..	Miss A. Lewis.
		..	..	I	Miss K. Chittenden.
General proficiency ....	1875	..	I	..	Miss May Murphy.
Eminent attainment in vocal music... ..		..	..	I	Miss Ida Whitney.
General proficiency....	1876	..	I	..	Miss Lizzie Ivins.
Instrumental music...		..	..	I	Miss L. M. Wood.
General proficiency....	1877	..	I	..	Miss M. Wiggins.
Instrumental music....		..	..	I	Miss A. King.
	1878	..	I	..	Miss Cassandra Jeffery.
		..	..	I	Miss Emma Thompson.

## DUFFERIN (FORMERLY HELLMUTH) COLLEGE, LONDON.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To be awarded to the pupil who shall gain the highest aggregate marks at the annual examination in June.....	1874	..	I	..	Thomas Wharton.
		..	..	I	T. B. Pomroy.
Classics, mathematics, general English subjects and modern languages...	1875	..	I	..	W. A. Shortt.
Proficiency in music...		..	..	I	John Hurst.
General proficiency....	1876	..	I	..	E. A. Ferguson.
Proficiency in music ..		..	..	I	T. Wharton.
General proficiency. ..	1877	..	I	..	E. A. Ferguson.
Proficiency in music...		..	..	I	J. A. Tanner.
	1878	..	I	..	J. H. Tanner.
		..	..	I	John Gunne.



## KNOX COLLEGE, LONDON.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
General proficiency, open to all Theological students, and to be awarded in accordance with the results of the usual Terminal examinations in the various classes.....	1875	..	I	..	John Johnson.
		..	..	I	Colin Cameron.
	1876	..	I	..	W. K. McCulloch.
		..	..	I	James Ross.
	1877	..	I	..	James Ross.
		..	..	I	J. K. Wright.
	1878	..	I	..	A. Dobson.
		..	..	I	D. James.

## INSTITUTE FOR DEAF AND DUMB, BELLEVILLE.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To be awarded to the pupil in the highest class who has displayed the most proficiency during the term.....	1874	..	I	..	William Kay.
		..	..	I	W. W. Smith.
	1875	..	I	..	Miss Isabella McKillop.
		..	..	I	Andrew Noyes.

## INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND, BRANTFORD.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
General proficiency....	1874	..	I	..	Miss S. A. Sharp.
		..	..	I	George Booth.
	1875	..	I	..	W. Raymond.
		..	..	I	Miss Maria Collins.
	1876 } 1877 }	..	..	..	} Not claimed.
	1878	..	I	..	
		..	..	I	Sandford Leppard

## CONVENT OF LORETTO, NIAGARA FALLS.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Domestic economy....	1875	..	I	..	Miss Julia Kelly.
		..	..	I	Miss Alicia Malone.
	1877	..	I	..	Miss E. Rundell.
		..	..	I	Miss Mary Blee.
	1878	..	I	..	Miss Mary Mead.
		..	..	I	Miss Emma Delaney.

## CHRISTIAN BROTHERS COMMERCIAL SCHOOL, OTTAWA.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
General proficiency, 1st Division.....	1876	..	I	..	M. Enright.
General proficiency, 2d Division.....	1877	..	..	I	Thomas McGoey.
	1877	..	I	..	H. O'Brien.
	1878	..	..	I	J. O'Gara.
	1878	..	I	..	A. Brennan.
		..	..	I	A. Demare.

## ONTARIO LADIES' COLLEGE, WHITBY.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1877	..	I	..	Miss S. M. Peterson.
	..	..	I	Miss R. A. Bristol.
1878	..	I	..	Not awarded.
	..	..	I	Miss C. E. Roach.

## ART SCHOOL, TORONTO.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1877	..	I	..	Miss E. Windeat.
	..	..	I	J. McP. Ross.

## CONGREGATION DE NOTRE DAME, OTTAWA.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1877	..	I	.	Miss M. O'Connor.
	..	..	I	Miss M. Fissiault.

## MILITARY COLLEGE, KINGSTON.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1877	..	..	I	G. A. G. Würtele.
1878	..	I	..	A. B. Perry.
1880	I	..	..	

## YOUNG LADIES' COLLEGE, BRANTFORD.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Rhetoric and English Literature.....	1878	..	I	..	Miss I. B. Odell.
Modern History.....		..	..	I	Miss N. V. Wallace.



## MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To be offered for the promotion of a taste for historical research, and for the cultivation of a good English style. The Gold Medal to be awarded for the best Essay and the Silver for the next best.	1874	I	..	..	J. L. McLennan, B.A.
	1875	I	..	..	K. W. McFee, B.A.
	1876	..	I	..	J. Spencer.
	1877 } & 1878 }	..	I	..	E. W. P. Guerin.

## MCGILL NORMAL SCHOOL, MONTREAL.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To the student who having passed in the highest grade all the ordinary subjects of the course shall take the highest marks in Greek, Latin, and Mathematics.	1875	..	I	..	Miss Jane Reason.
		..	..	I	A. Stewart.
	1876	..	I	..	Miss M. Francis.
		..	..	I	J. Elliot.
	1877	..	I	..	J. W. Tucker.
	1878	..	I	..	H. H. Curtis.
		..	..	I	Geo. H. Howard.

## HIGH SCHOOL, MONTREAL.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To be awarded for Mathematics :					
1. Arithmetic.....	1875	..	I	..	H. B. Mackay.
2. Algebra.....		..	..	I	J. Swan.
3. Geometry.....					
4. Trigonometry....	1876	..	I	..	H. J. Bull.
		..	..	I	J. H. Darcy.
	1877	..	I	..	A. Falconer.
		..	..	I	T. B. Macaulay.
	1878	..	I	..	H. R. Macaulay.
		..	..	I	Fritz G. Gnaedinger.

## ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, MONTREAL.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
For the best Philosophical Essay on some part of the History of Canada in English or French. ....	1874	..	I	..	J. D. Purcell.
		..	..	I	F. J. Kurtze.
	1875	..	I	..	B. P. Mignault.
		..	..	I	J. B. Trudel.
	1876	..	I	..	J. B. Trudel.
		..	..	I	A. Dorion.
	1877	..	I	..	C. Madore.
	..	..	I	J. Blain.	
	1878	..	I	I	Not offered.

## VILLA MARIA CONVENT, MONTREAL.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To be awarded for general proficiency in the graduating course.....	1875	..	I	..	Miss A. McGarvey.
		..	..	I	Miss Broussard.
	1876	..	I	..	Miss J. Perrault.
		..	..	I	Miss H. Murphy.
	1877	..	I	..	Miss S. Kelly.
		..	..	I	Miss A. Laurent.
	1878	..	I	..	Miss J. Bruneau.
	..	..	I	Miss E. Dunn.	

## NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, MONTREAL.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
	1874	..	..	I	

## BISHOP'S COLLEGE, LENNOXVILLE.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To be awarded to the boy whose marks in the year's work supplemented by those of the half year's examination would place him as the head boy of the School.....	1875	..	I	..	G. C. Hamilton.
		..	..	I	H. B. Ogden.
	1876	..	I	..	C. Raynes.
		..	..	I	P. H. Anderson.
	1877	..	I	..	C. Robertson.
		..	..	I	W. N. Campbell.
	1878	..	I	..	R. F. Morris.
	..	..	I	Wm. Morris.	



LAVAL UNIVERSITY, QUEBEC.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To be competed for by Students of the 3d year.				
Written examinations at the end of the third term of the academical year.				
Gold Medal to be awarded for the best work, and the Silver for the next best.....	1875	I	..	L. P. Sirois.
		..	I	C. Langelier.
	1876	I	..	R. P. W. Campbell.
		..	I	C. Fitzpatrick.
	1877	I	..	V. Livernois.
		..	I	T. C. Casgrain.
	1878	I	..	M. St. Jacques.
		..	I	J. Frémont.

LE MUSEE NUMISMATIQUE DE L'UNIVERSITE LAVAL DE QUEBEC.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1876	..	I	I	

HIGH SCHOOL, QUEBEC.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1st. Prize.					
To be awarded to the head boy of the Classical and Mathematical side, on condition that he obtains three-fourths of the aggregate marks at the annual examination.....	1875	..	I	..	A. H. Judge.
		..	..	I	A. Colley.
2d Prize.					
Awarded for general excellence.....	1876	..	I	..	H. Fry.
		..	..	I	M. Goldstein.
	1877	..	I	..	M. Goldstein.
	...	..	..	I	G. H. L. Bland.
	1878	..	I	..	A. A. Thibaudeau.
	....	...	..	I	W. H. Davidson.

## SEMINARY OF QUEBEC, QUEBEC.

To be competed for by the Students of the 1st year in Intellectual and Moral Philosophy.....	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1875	..	I	..	J. Feuiltault.	
	..	..	I	F. Landry.	
1876	..	I	..	Henri Gouin.	
	..	..	I	A. Lemieux.	
1877	..	I	..	A. Scott.	
	..	..	I	E. Delamare.	
1878	..	I	..	T. Barry.	
	..	..	I	E. Roy.	

## NORMAL SCHOOL, QUEBEC—MALE DEPARTMENT.

Reading aloud in French with proper pronunciation and expression.....	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1875	..	I	..	A. Tanguay.	
	..	..	I	E. Tremblay.	
1876	..	I	..	E. Tremblay.	
	..	..	I	N. Simard.	
1877	..	I	..	N. Simard.	
	..	..	I	G. Marcotte.	
1878	..	I	..	M. E. St. Cyr.	
	..	..	I	M. L. A. Caron.	

## NORMAL SCHOOL, QUEBEC—FEMALE DEPARTMENT.

Reading aloud in French with proper pronunciation and expression....	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1875	..	I	..	Miss M. Voyer.	
	..	..	I	Miss C. Beaupré.	
1876	..	I	..	Miss C. Lavoie.	
	..	..	I	Miss E. Bécharde.	
1877	..	I	..	Miss E. Bécharde.	
	..	..	I	Miss C. Gleason.	
1878	..	I	..	Miss C. Gleason.	
	..	..	I	Miss J. Cloutier.	

## URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC.

To the pupil who gains the greatest number of marks for conduct, appli- cation, and success in the different branches taught.	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1875	..	I	..	Miss M. Lachance.	
	..	..	I	Miss E. Le Moine.	
1876	..	I	..	Miss K. O'Farrell.	
	..	..	I	Miss M. M. Lemieux.	
1877	..	I	..	Miss A. Gourdeau.	
	..	..	I	Miss M. Foye.	
1878	..	I	..	Miss E. Huot.	
	..	..	I	Miss H. McEnry.	



## CONVENT DE JESUS-MARIE, SILLERY, QUEBEC.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
For good manners, order, and proper language in French and English...	1875	..	I	..	Miss A. Rousseau.
		..	..	I	Miss E. Le Vasseur.
	1876	..	I	..	Miss C. Broster.
		..	..	I	Miss L. Le Brun.
	1877	..	I	..	Miss Wilhelmine Sylvain
		..	..	I	Miss M. L. McCord.
	1878	..	I	..	Miss M. L. Taschereau.
		..	..	I	Miss A. Lennon.

## CONVENT DE BELLEVUE, STE. FOYE, QUEBEC.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
For proficiency in the English and French Languages.....	1875	..	I	..	Miss A. Johnston.
		..	..	I	Miss D. Blouin.
	1876	..	I	..	Miss A. Campbell.
		..	..	I	Miss B. Dean.
	1877	..	I	..	Miss M. E. Boily.
		..	..	I	Miss M. H. Green.
	1878	..	I	..	Miss P. Mailloux.
		..	..	I	Miss C. Carbray.

## CONVENT OF THE SACRE CŒUR, MONTREAL.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1878	..	I	..	Miss Agnes Doherty.
	..	..	I	Miss Mary Tobin.

## DALHOUSIE COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY, HALIFAX, N.S.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
The medals to be awarded at the close of the Under-Graduate course to the two graduates who shall reach the highest grade of proficiency in the subjects of examination of the fourth year, which are: 1. Latin. 2. Ethics and Political Economy. 3. History. 4. French or German (alternative). 5. Mathematical, Physics or Greek (alternative)....	1875	..	..	..	L. H. Jordon.
		..	I	..	Geo. McMillan.
	1876	I	..	..	F. H. Bell.
		..	I	..	J. McG. Stewart.
	1877	I	..	..	John Waddell.
		..	..	I	B. McKittrick.
	1878	I	..	..	J. L. George.
		..	I	..	J. H. Cameron.

## NORMAL SCHOOL, TRURO, NOVA SCOTIA.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To the author of the best Essay on Science or Art of Teaching, that the competition be restricted to those students whose conduct and attendance render them eligible for Normal School Diploma.	1875	..	I	..	G. J. Miller.
		..	..	I	Miss M. Logan.
	1876	..	I	..	Miss E. S. Bailly.
		..	..	I	Miss M. F. Newcomb.
	1877	..	I	..	Miss M. H. Lockwood.
		..	..	I	Miss M. Brown.
	1878	..	I	..	Miss A. McKay.
		..	..	I	Walter Crowe.

## ACADIA COLLEGE, WOLFVILLE, NOVA SCOTIA.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Classics.....	1876	..	I	..	A. J. Denton.
		..	..	I	J. G. A. Belyea.
	1877	..	I	..	W. Barrs.
		..	..	I	H. Schofill,

## UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK, FREDERICTON, N.B.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
For encouraging accuracy and thoroughness in the more elementary parts of Literature and Science.	1875	I	..	..	Angus Sillars.
		..	I	..	W. E. Macintire.
	1876	I	..	..	F. A. Milledge.
		..	I	..	G. W. Allen.
To be awarded for Emi- nence in Natural Science.	1877	I	..	..	Wallace Broad.
		..	I	..	W. Y. T. Sims.
	1878	..	..	..	Not offered for competition.

## GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL, ST. JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To the girl attaining the highest marks at the annual examination.....	1874	..	I	..	Miss M. A. Underhill.
		..	..	I	Miss M. W. Hartt.
	1875	..	I	..	Miss M. E. Humphrey.
		..	..	I	Miss A. E. Everett.
	1876	..	I	..	Miss A. E. Everett.
		..	..	I	Miss K. Bartlett.



## GRAMMAR AND HIGH SCHOOL, ST. JOHN, N.B.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Classics.....	1875	..	I	..	F. Millidge.
		..	..	I	J. Trueman.
	1876	..	I	..	Wm. Ewing.
		..	..	I	J. D. Seely.

## ST. JOHN'S COLLEGIATE SCHOOL, MANITOBA.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To be awarded for a knowledge of Ancient and Modern History.....	1875	..	I	..	R. Machray.
		..	..	I	James Flett.
Ancient and Modern History.....	1876	..	I	..	J. A. Machray.
Mathematics.....	..	..	..	I	A. C. Murray.
Greek, Latin and English Grammar.....	1877	..	I	..	R. R. F. Bannatyne
Ancient and Modern History.....	..	..	..	I	James Mackay.
Greek, Latin and English Grammar.....	1878	..	I	..	L. J. McK. Clarke.
Ancient and Modern History.....	..	..	..	I	R. R. F. Bannatyne.

## MANITOBA COLLEGE, WINNIPEG.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To the finishing class of the College, the highest prize in the Institution. .	1874	..	I	..	Wm. Black.
		..	..	I	Geo. Munroe.
	1875	..	I	..	W. R. Sutherland.
		..	..	I	Wm. Laurie.
	1876	..	I	..	R. McBeth.
		..	..	I	R. C. Laurie.
	1878	..	I	..	W. R. Gunn.
		..	..	I	C. M. Stewart.

## ST. BONIFACE COLLEGE, MANITOBA.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To be awarded for Mathematics.....	1875	..	I	..	Wm. Kittson.
Mathematics.....	1876	..	..	I	J. E. Foucher.
		..	I	..	O. Monchamp.
French narrations.....	1877	..	..	I	F. Ness.
		..	I	..	P. Haverly.
		..	..	I	N. Betournay.

## ST. LOUIS COLLEGE, VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
To the pupil who carries the most points in Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Penmanship, and good conduct.....	1875	..	1	.	Moses Lenz.
		..	..	1	Thomas Rourke.
	1876	..	..	..	Not offered for competition.
	1877	..	1	..	James Gilligan.
		..	..	1	George Beckingham.

## HIGH AND PUBLIC SCHOOL, VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
	1877	..	1	..	J. C. Newbury.
		..	..	1	Miss Helen Andrews.
		.	..	1	H. C. Carey.

## PRINCE OF WALES COLLEGE, CHARLOTTETOWN, P. E. ISLAND.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Subjects for which the medal is to be given are, English Language and Literature and Mathematics.....	1875	..	1	..	Thomas LePage.
		..	..	1	Thomas LePage.
	1876	..	1	..	L. R. Gregor.
		..	..	1	John P. McLeod.
	1877	..	1	..	John P. McLeod.
		..	..	1	W. P. Taylor.
	1878	.	1	..	W. P. Taylor.
		..	..	1	Wm. Weeks.

## SKATING TOURNAMENT, VICTORIA SKATING RINK, MONTREAL.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1873		1	..	..	J. G. Geddes.
		..	1	..	Miss H. K. Bethune.
1874		1	..	..	Frank Jarvis.
1875		1	..	..	W. M. S. Barnston.
		..	1	..	Miss Olivia Waehler.
1876		1	..	..	T. L. Barlow.
		..	1	..	Miss C. Fairbairn.



## DOMINION CURLING COMPETITION.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1874	I	..	..	Quebec Curling Club.
	..	I	..	Wm. Brodie, Champion Quebec Club.
1875	I	..	..	"Thistle" Club of Montreal.
	..	I	..	Fenwick, Champion "Thistle Club."
1876	I	..	..	"Thistle" Club of Montreal.
	..	I	..	Greenshields, Champion "Thistle" Club.
1877	I	..	..	Quebec Curling Club.
	..	I	..	Wm. Brodie, Champion Quebec Club.
1878	I	..	..	Quebec Curling Club.
	..	I	..	Edwin Pope, Champion Quebec Club.

## CURLING COMPETITION BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1875	..	I	..	To the Honorable A. Mackenzie.

## CURLING COMPETITION, RENFREW.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	

Challenge to commemorate a match with some of the members of the Vice-Regal Club, on 9th February.....

1875	..	..	I	Sent to G. N. McDonald, Secy. to the Club.
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## DOMINION RIFLE ASSOCIATION.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Competition at Ottawa. 1873	I	..	..	Sergt. McMullen, 10th Battalion.
	..	I	..	Sergt. Baillie, 47th Battalion.
	..	..	I	Ensign Trihey, G. T. Rifles.

## DOMINION RIFLE ASSOCIATION—(Continued.)

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1874	I	..	..	Lieut. Whitman.
	..	I	..	Sergt. Bennett.
	..	..	I	Lieut. Balfour.
1875	I	..	..	Lieut. Macnachten.
	..	I	..	Bomb. Crowe.
	..	..	I	Capt. Anderson, 10th Royals.
1876	I	..	..	Lieut. J. Hunter, N. B. Engineers.
	..	I	..	Capt. A. P. Patrick, Ottawa Brigade, Garr. Artillery.
	..	..	I	Capt. W. B. Boyd, 54th Battalion.
1877 & 1878				} Not claimed.

## PROVINCIAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION, QUEBEC.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1873	..	I	..	Major Cotton, Canadian Artillery.
	..	I	..	Sergt.-Major Wynne.
1876	..	I	..	G. A. Shaw.
	..	..	I	Sergt. Riddel.
1877	..	I	..	Private Ivinson.
	..	..	I	Sergt. Holtby.

## PROVINCIAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION, NEW BRUNSWICK.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1873	..	I	..	Ensign C. Johnson, 71st Battalion.
1874	..	I	..	Sergt. Bard.
1875	..	I	..	Lieut.-Colonel Beer.
1876	..	I	..	Lieut. Worden.
	..	..	I	Sergt. J. Hunter.
1877	..	I	..	Sergt. Weyman.
	..	..	I	Private Kinnear.

## PROVINCIAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1875	..	I	..	Sergt. J. C. Brown.
	..	..	I	Sergt. A. Jackson.
1876	..	I	..	Sergt. I. C. Brown.
	..	..	I	R. Wolfenden.
1877	..	I	..	Sergt. E. Fletcher.
	..	..	I	Sergt. J. C. Brown.



## PROVINCIAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION, ONTARIO.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1876	..	I	..	Sergt. David Mitchell.
	..	..	I	Sergt. Thos. Mitchell.
1877	..	I	..	Sergt. Kincaide.
	..	..	I	Capt. Anderson.

## RIFLE ASSOCIATION, NOVA SCOTIA.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1876	..	I	..	Everit Eaton, 68th Battalion.
	..	..	I	E. C. Wallace, 78th Battalion.
1877	..	I	..	Sergt. P. Hickey.
	..	..	I	Lieut. B. A. Weston.

## RIFLE ASSOCIATION, MANITOBA.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1876	..	I	..	T. P. Murray.
	..	..	I	J. R. McIntyre.
1877	..	I	..	E. Clementi Smith.
	..	..	I	Wm. Fraser.

## GOVERNOR GENERAL'S FOOT GUARDS, OTTAWA.

Challenge Medal. Winner to receive Bronze Medal.....	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
	1874	..	I	..	Sent to Lieut. Col. Ross.
		..	..	I	A. Cotton.
	1875	..	..	I	Capt. A. H. Todd.
	1876	..	..	I	Lance-Corpl. F. Newby.
	1877	..	..	I	Corporal T. P. Carroll.

## CRICKET CLUB GAMES, OTTAWA.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1873	..	I	..	James Smith.

## QUOIT COMPETITION, HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA.

Challenge.....	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful club.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
	1874	..	I	..	Studley.
		..	..	I	Capt. Clarkson, Champion.
	1875	..	..	..	Not claimed.
	1876	..	..	I	J. T. Wylde, Champion.
	1877	..	..	I	J. T. Wylde, Champion.

## INTERNATIONAL REGATTA, TORONTO.

	Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
		Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Yachts .....	1873	I	..	..	Schr. "Oriole."
		..	I	..	Sloop "Coral."
		..	I	..	" "Ina."
		..	..	I	" "Gipsey."
		..	I	..	" "Lady Stanley."
Four-oared Race.....	1873	..	..	I	C. Nurse.
		..	..	I	R. J. Tinning.
		..	..	I	W. Dillon.
		..	..	I	R. Tinning.

## ROYAL CANADIAN YACHT CLUB, TORONTO.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1874	I	..	..	Schr. "Oriole."
	..	I	..	" Brunette."
	..	..	I	" Saunterer."
1875	..	..	..	Not claimed.
1876	I	..	..	" Annie Cuthbert."
	..	I	..	" Katie Gray."
	..	..	I	" Brunette."
1877	..	..	..	Not claimed.

## NEW DOMINION ROWING CLUB, TORONTO.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Challenge Medal.....	1874	..	I	

## TORONTO ROWING CLUB.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Challenge Medal.....	1874	..	I	

## ARGONAUTIC ROWING CLUB, TORONTO.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Challenge Medal .....	1874	..	I	

## YACHT CLUB, BROCKVILLE.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1878	..	I		

## REGATTA, ST. JOHN.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1873	.	I	..	Alexander Brayley.



## ROYAL HALIFAX YACHT CLUB, NOVA SCOTIA.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1874	..	I	..	R. W. Armstrong.
	..	..	I	Samuel Norris.
1875	..	I	..	"Squirrel," R. F. Armstrong.
	..	..	I	"Cloud," A. W. Scott.

## HILLSBORO' BOATING CLUB, P. E. ISLAND.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Challenge. Winner to receive Bronze Medal ...				
1874	..	I	..	Sent to J. E. Haszard.
	..	..	I	W. L. Dean.

## REGATTA, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1875	..	I	..	H. Stewart.
	..	..	I	J. Cotsford.
1876	..	I	..	J. Cotsford.
	..	..	I	E. J. Wall.
1877	..	I	..	H. Stewart.
	..	..	I	J. Cotsford.

## DOMINION ARTILLERY ASSOCIATION.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Gun Practice with 6 pr. breech-loading rifled field guns, 28 points in 3 minutes and 45 seconds.....				
1876	..	..	I	Sergt. R. J. McLeod, Halifax Field Battery of Militia Artillery.
	..	..	I	Bomb. Curtis Savage.
	..	..	I	Sergt. Michel Hamel.
	..	..	I	Gunner J. Bechewaise.
1877	..	..	I	Bomb. Henry Copp.
	..	..	I	Capt. David McCrae.
	..	..	I	Gunner Joseph Cass.

DOMINION ARTILLERY ASSOCIATION COMPETITION BETWEEN  
"A" & "B" BATTERIES.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1876	..	..	I	Bomb. T. G. Laister, B Battery.
1877	..	..	I	Bomb. G. Adams, A Battery.

REGATTA, GODERICH FISHERMEN.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1876	..	..	I	W. McGaw, owner of the "Water Lily."

FOR SAVING LIFE FROM DROWNING.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
Publicly presented by the Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia.....	..		I	Willie Francis.

SWIMMING RACES AT TORONTO.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1877	..	I	..	A. D. Stewart.
			I	G. F. Warwick.

BEST ESSAY ON ARTILLERY MATERIEL.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1877	..	..	I	Lieut.-Col. C. E. Montizambert, B Battery.

BRONZE MEDAL PRESENTED TO COL. GEO. T. DENISON IN RECOGNITION OF HIS HAVING WON THE PRIZE OFFERED BY THE CZAR OF RUSSIA FOR THE BEST ESSAY ON THE HISTORY OF CAVALRY.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1878	..	..	I	Col. G. T. Denison.



FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF FARMING AMONG THE  
ICELANDERS.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1878	..	I	..	
	..	..	I	

## QUOITING CHAMPIONSHIP OF CANADA, TORONTO.

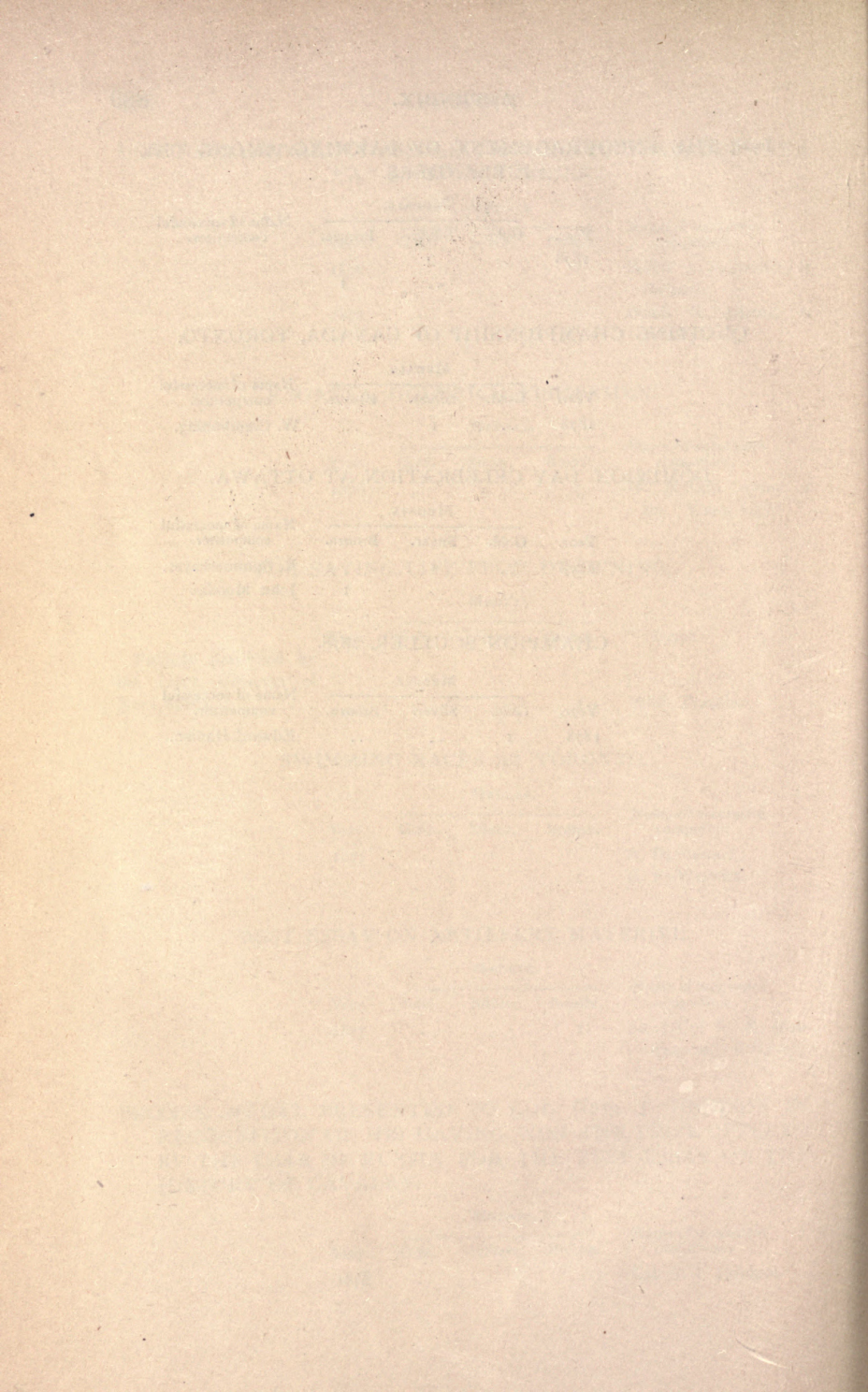
Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1878	..	I	..	W. Glendinning.

## DOMINION DAY CELEBRATION AT OTTAWA.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1878	..	I	..	R. Summerhayes.
	..	..	I	John Moodie.

## CHAMPION SCULLER, 1878.

Year.	MEDALS.			Name of successful competitor.
	Gold.	Silver.	Bronze.	
1878	I	..	..	Edward Hanlan.





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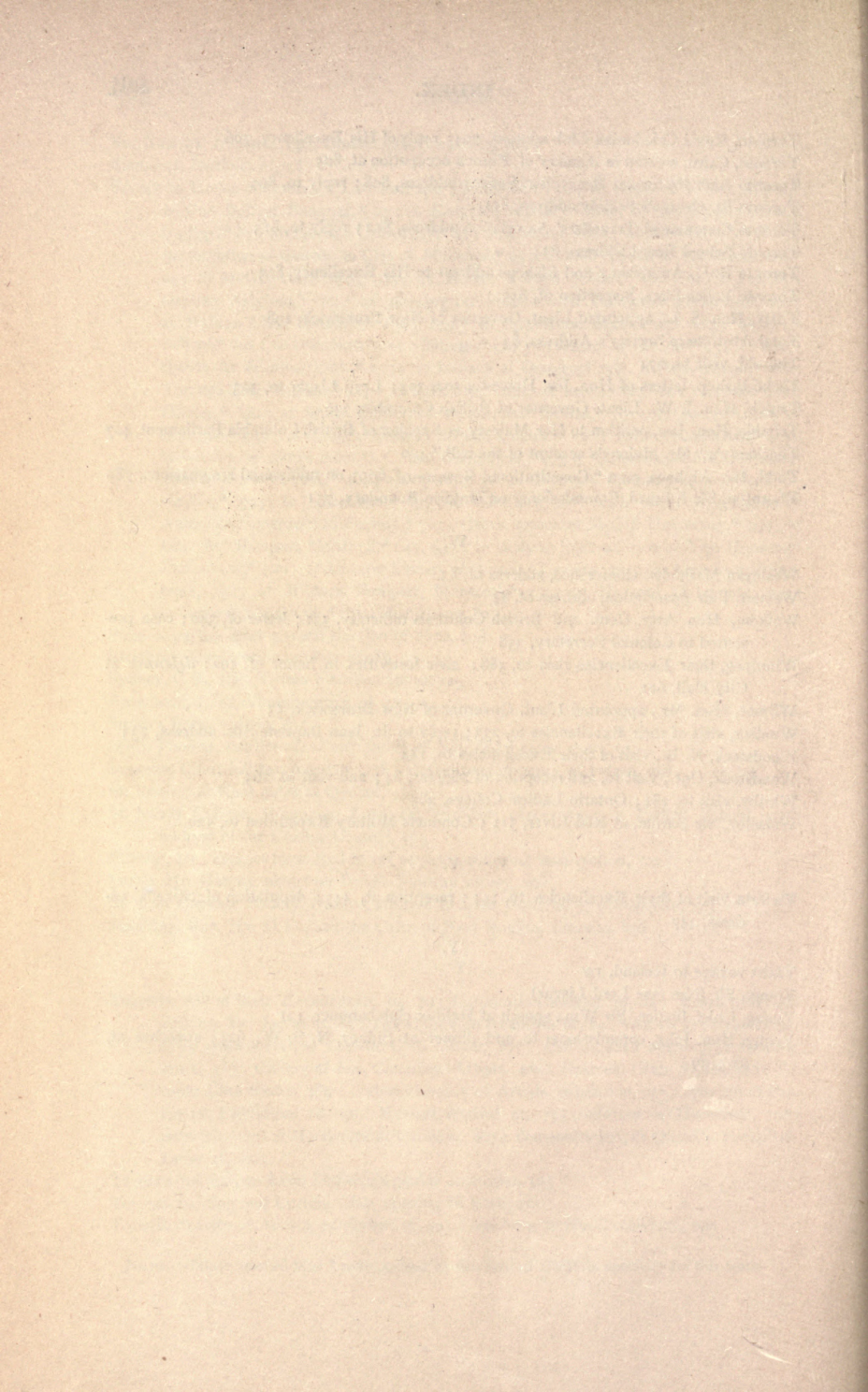
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 MONTIZAMBERT E. L., Law Clerk, Senate.  
 MONTIZAMBERT Lieut.-Colonel C. E.  
 MURPHY OWEN, ex-Mayor.  
 MYLER M.  
 OUMET HON. GEDEON, Superintendent of Education.  
 PARISEAU CHARLES A., Law Clerk.  
 PELLETIER HON. C. A. P., Advocate.  
 POULIOT ALPH., Advocate.  
 PRATTEN HENRY J., Deputy Clerk of the Crown.  
 PROVINCIAL SECRETARY.  
 PRUNEAU J. B., Postmaster.  
 RENAUD J. B., Merchant.  
 ROBERGE F.  
 ROBERTSON A., Advocate.  
 ROBITAILLE HON. THEODORE, M.P.  
 ROSS HON. DAVID A., Attorney General.  
 RUSSELL WILLIS, Proprietor St. Louis Hotel.  
 SHEPPARD WILLIAM G., Post Office Inspector.  
 SMITH ROBERT H., Merchant.  
 ST. CYRILLE SISTER MARIE, Superioress Couvent de Jésus-Marie de Sillery.  
 ST. EULALIE SISTER, Superioress Bellevue Convent.  
 ST. GEORGE SISTER, Superioress of the Ursuline Convent.  
 STUART HON. Judge A.  
 STUART HON. Judge G. O.  
 SUZOR C. T., Q.C.  
 TASCHEREAU HON. HENRY T., Judge Superior Court.  
 TASCHEREAU HON. Judge.  
 THIBODEAU HON. ISIDORE.

CITY OF QUEBEC—Continued.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.  
 VERRET A. H., Secretary Harbor Commission.  
 WASSON HON. JOHN N., United States Consul.  
 WHITE ALFRED H., Merchant.  
 WILLIAMS RIGHT REV. JAMES, Lord Bishop of Quebec.  
 WINFIELD JOSEPH, Ship Broker.

CITY OF MONTREAL.

ABBOTT G. M., M.D., Hochelaga.  
 ADAM M. A., Advocate.  
 ALLARD P. A., M.D.  
 ALEXANDER J. R., M.D.  
 ALEXANDER CHARLES, Merchant.  
 ANGUS R. B., General Manager, Bank of Montreal.  
 ARCHAMBAULT A., Advocate.  
 ARCHAMBAULT AMABLE, Notary.  
 ARCHAMBAULT F. X., Advocate.  
 ARCHAMBAULT U. E., Principal Académie du Plateau.  
 ARCHIBALD J. L., Advocate.  
 ARSENAULT J. N., Merchant.  
 ATKIN JOHN, Brewer.  
 AUBIN N., Gas Inspector.  
 BABY H., Merchant.  
 BACON J. W.  
 BARRY C. A., Tide Waiter.  
 BARRY D., B.C.L., Advocate.  
 BARRY JOHN, Merchant.  
 BARRY THOMAS, Printer.  
 BEATTIE DAVID P., Merchant.  
 BEATTIE HENRY, Merchant.  
 BAUDRY HON. J. L., Mayor.  
 BAUDRY J. N., Secretary Richelieu Co.  
 BEAULIEU ARTHUR H., Office of the Clerk of the Peace.  
 BEAUSOLEIL A., Advocate.  
 BELLEAU F., Printer.  
 BELLEMARE RAPHAEL, Inland Revenue.  
 BENTON ALEXANDER M.  
 BETHUNE STRACHAN, Q.C.  
 BIENVENU J. N., Editor of *Le National*.  
 BISSONNETTE ADOLPHE, High Constable.  
 BLACK JAMES F. D., City Treasurer.  
 BLOSS ORLANDO P., American Consul.  
 BLYTHE THOMAS, Bookkeeper.  
 BORRIE J. J., Commission Merchant.  
 BOURGEOULT G. S., Bookseller.  
 BOURRET G., Publisher.  
 BOYER L. A., M.P.  
 BREHAUT MAJOR WM. H., Police Magistrate.  
 BRICKEN FELIX.



PROVINCE OF QUEBEC—Continued.

CITY OF MONTREAL—Continued.

BRODIE HUGH, N.P.  
 BRODIE HUGH, Merchant.  
 BROWNE DUNBAR, Collector of Inland Revenue.  
 BROWN ROBERT G., of Brown & Claggett.  
 BEYSON ALEXANDER, Customs Appraiser  
 BULL RICHARD.  
 BULMER EDWARD, Merchant.  
 BUNTIN ALEXANDER, Merchant.  
 BURKE JOHN, Queen Insurance Co.  
 BURLAND GEORGE B., President and General Manager British American Bank Note Co.  
 BURRELL WM., Customs Head Storeman  
 BYRD CHARLES.  
 CAMPBELL A. C., Reporter.  
 CAMPBELL DONALD, Manager W. C. McDonald's Tobacco Works.  
 CAMPBELL FRANCIS W., M.D.  
 CAMPBELL GEORGE.  
 CAMPBELL JAMES.  
 CAMPBELL JOHN F., Custom House.  
 CAMPBELL MRS.  
 CAMPBELL WM., Merchant.  
 CAMPBELL W. A., Merchant.  
 CANTLIE JAMES A., Merchant.  
 CARDINAL HENRI, Printer.  
 CARSLAKE GEORGE, Hotelkeeper.  
 CARSLY S., Merchant.  
 CARTER EDWARD, Q.C.  
 CAUTHERS EDMUND.  
 CAWTHORNE S., Fish Dealer.  
 CHAMPAGNE R. B., Merchant.  
 CHAPLEAU HON. JOSEPH A., M.P.P., Advocate.  
 CHARLTON E. J., Merchant.  
 CHARETTE J. A., Notary.  
 CHAUVEAU HON. PIERRE J. O., Sheriff  
 CHERRIER C. S., Q.C.  
 CHINIQUY REV. C.  
 CHOQUET F. X., Advocate.  
 CHRISTIN ALP., Advocate.  
 CLANCY MISS M. A.  
 CLEGHORN J. P., Merchant.  
 CLEVELAND G. F., N.P.  
 CLORAN EDWARD.  
 COINDET A., Inspector of Gas.  
 CORNISH REV. GEOEGE LL.D., Professor of Classics McGill University.  
 COLE FRED., General Agent Commercial Union Assurance Co.  
 CONTANT JOSEPH, Druggist.  
 COURSOL CHARLES J., M.P.  
 COUTLEE J. P., Manager Law Stamp Office.  
 CRAIG A. B., M.D.

CITY OF MONTREAL—Continued.

CRAIG D. J., Official Assignee.  
 CRAIG THOMAS, Secretary Scottish Commercial Insurance Co.  
 CRATHERN JAMES, Merchant.  
 CRISPO FRANCIS, Customs Chief Clerk  
 CUMMING ALLAN C.  
 CUSHING WILLIAM M., Merchant  
 DAGENAIS AUGUSTE, Custom House.  
 DALEY JOHN J., Government Immigration Agent.  
 DANGERFIELD WM., Merchant.  
 DANSEREAU ARTHUR, Advocate.  
 DAOUST A., Bookkeeper.  
 DAVIS MOSES, Forwarding Agent.  
 DAVISON JAMES, Manager Royal Canadian Insurance Co.  
 DAWSON CHARLES E., Wine Merchant.  
 DAY HON. CHARLES DEWEY, LL D., D.C.L., Chancellor McGill University.  
 DESJARDINS ALPHONSE, Advocate.  
 DESJARDINS CHARLES, & Co., Merchants.  
 DESJARDINS G. HENRI, M.D.  
 DESJARDINS M., Advocate.  
 DESORMEAU M., Militia Office.  
 DES RIVIERES RODOLPHE, Advocate.  
 DES ROSIERS ERNEST, Advocate.  
 DIGNON B. B.  
 DONNELLY J.  
 DOUGALL JOHN & SON, Proprietors *Daily Witness*.  
 DOUTRE GONZALVE, Advocate.  
 DOUTRE JOSEPH, Advocate.  
 DREIFUSS HENRY, Police Sergeant.  
 DRINKWATER CHARLES, General Manager's Assistant G.T.R.  
 DROLET GUSTAVE A., Advocate.  
 DROUIN CHARLES, Q. M. O. & O. Railway, Hochelaga.  
 DUBREUIL JOSEPH F., Deputy Clerk of the Crown and Peace.  
 DUCHESNEAU JOSEPH R., Merchant.  
 DUFRESNE C. A.  
 DUN, WIMAN & Co., The Mercantile Agency  
 DUPUIS M.  
 DURNFORD P., Collector of Inland Revenue.  
 DUVERGER J. B., Contractor.  
 DUVERNAY & AUGER, Registrar.  
 DYDE COLONEL JOHN.  
 EUARD WILLIAM, Merchant.  
 EVANS WILLIAM, Seedsman.  
 EWING S. H., Merchant.  
 FARMER W. O., Prothonotary's Office  
 FAULKNER GEORGE, Assistant Appraiser.  
 FAUTEUX P. G., Assistant Appraiser.  
 FENWICK & BOND, Stock Brokers.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE HISTORY OF THE

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC—Continued.

CITY OF MONTREAL—Continued.

FERNS EDWARD, Proof Reader.  
 FERRIER HON. JAMES, Senator.  
 FILIATRAULT FLAVIEN, Registrar.  
 FINLAYSON J. A., Forwarder.  
 FITZGIBBON MICHAEL P., Customs Officer.  
 FOLEY M. S., Proprietor Journal of Commerce.  
 FOTHERINGHAM H., Canada Paper Co.  
 FRECHET L. W. T., Accountant.  
 FRIGON PIERRE, Contractor.  
 FUTVOYE MAJOR GEORGE, Q.C.  
 GAGNON ARTHUR, Sec'y-Treasurer Royal Canadian Insurance Co.  
 GAGNON J. B., Printer.  
 GALE R. W., Manager Equitable Life Assurance Society.  
 GARTH CHARLES.  
 GARTH HENRY, Dominion Metal Works.  
 GAULT M. H., M.P., President Exchange Bank of Canada.  
 GAULT ROBERT L., Merchant.  
 GAUTHIER EDOUARD, Bookkeeper.  
 GAUTHIER HENRY, Alderman.  
 GENDRON PIERRE S., Prothonotary  
 GIBB JAMES D., Merchant.  
 GILBERT E. E., & Sons, Proprietors Canada Engine Works.  
 GILBERT JOSEPH, Printer.  
 GILLIES THOMAS, Agent Great Western Railway Co.  
 GIRALDI D. SERAFINO, Hotel Manager.  
 GIROUX JOSEPH E. A.  
 GLACKMEYER C., Jun., Accountant Police Department.  
 GLASS JAMES M., Advocate.  
 GOLDEN EUGENE.  
 GORDON JOHN, Customs Appraiser.  
 GORMAN JOHN, Bookkeeper.  
 GOULD JOSEPH, Piano Forte Warehouse.  
 GRAHAM HUGH, Proprietor *Daily Star*.  
 GRANGER N., Painter.  
 GRANT G. R., Secretary and Accountant Geological Survey.  
 GRANT JOHN, Printer.  
 GRAVEL J. O., Secretary Canadian Rubber Co.  
 GREENE E. K., Merchant.  
 GREGLISTONE HENRY R. E.  
 GUIBORD LOUIS JOSEPH, Advocate.  
 HAGAR CHARLES W., Merchant.  
 HAISLEY GEORGE.  
 HAMILTON ANTOINE, Contractor.  
 HAMILTON HON. JOHN, Senator.  
 HATTER JAMES.

CITY OF MONTREAL—Continued.

HARWOOD A. C. DE LOTBINIERE, D.A.G., Militia Brigade.  
 HEATH JOHN, Merchant.  
 HENDERSON JOHN  
 HENRY GEORGE.  
 HENSHAW F. W., Republica Oriental del Uruguay Consul.  
 HEWARD S. B., Tea Merchant.  
 HILLOCK J. W.  
 HINCKS SIR FRANCIS, K.C.M.G., C.B.  
 HINGSTON WILLIAM H., M.D.  
 HOBSON C. GEO., & Co., Stock Brokers.  
 HODGSON THOS. HARRIS, Merchant.  
 HOLCOMB S. F., Forwarding Agent.  
 HOLDEN H. A., Accountant.  
 HONEY JOHN S., Prothonotary.  
 HOWARD R. P., M.D.  
 HUBERT R. A. R., Prothonotary.  
 HUGHES GEORGE A., Notary.  
 HUGHES J. PERCIVAL, Bookkeeper.  
 HUNTER J. S., Notary.  
 HUTCHINSON M., Advocate.  
 HUTCHISON R. H., Merchant.  
 JETTE HON. JUDGE L. A.  
 JODOIN A., jun., Lumber Merchant.  
 KEARNS W. J., Printer.  
 KENNEDY WILLIAM, Architect and Builder  
 KING THOMAS D., Dealer in Works of Art. Pictures and Rare Books.  
 KYLE J. R.  
 LABRANCHE LIEUT. COLONEL M.  
 LACOSTE & GLOBENSKY, Advocates.  
 LACHAPELLE E. P., M.D.  
 LACROIX A. D., Principal St. Mary's Academy.  
 LAMARCHE A., M.D.  
 LAMBE W. B., Advocate.  
 LAMERE J. B., General Manager Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Co.  
 LAMERE J. E., Customs Landing Waiter.  
 LAMOTHE GUILLAUME, Postmaster.  
 LANDRY F.  
 LANG REV. GAVIN, Church of Scotland.  
 LANTHIER H. A., M.D.  
 LAPOINTE D., Bookkeeper.  
 LAPPARE GUSTAVE, Printer.  
 LARAMEE J. A., M.D.  
 LARIVEE CHARLES E., Printer.  
 LARIVIERE A. C., Q. M. O. & O. Railway.  
 LA RUE NARCISSE, Architect.  
 LA SUPERIEURE DE L'ACADEMIE ST. DENIS, Congregation de Notre Dame.  
 LAURIN A., Custom House.  
 LEBEQUE L. C., Advocate.



PROVINCE OF QUEBEC—*Continued.*

**CITY OF MONTREAL—Continued.**

LEBLANC GEORGE, Cashier.  
 LEPROHON J. L., M.D., Vice-Consul of Spain.  
 LEROUX P.  
 LESAGE LOUIS, Superintendent Montreal  
 Water Works.  
 LEWIS JOHN, Surveyor of Customs.  
 LONERGAN JAMES, Notary.  
 LORANGER L. O., M.P.P.  
 LOVELL JOHN, Publisher.  
 LOVERIN N., M.D.  
 LOWEN MISS R.  
 MACAULAY R., Secretary, Sun Mutual Life  
 Insurance Co.  
 MACKAY HON. ROBERT, Judge Superior  
 Court.  
 MACKENZIE FRED., Merchant.  
 MACLAREN JOHN J., Advocate.  
 MACMASTER D., Advocate.  
 MARMON W. H., Gymnastic Instructor.  
 MARSHALL JOHN.  
 MARTINEAU LOUIS, Estate Clerk.  
 MATHIEU A., Advocate.  
 McCABE P., Express Clerk.  
 MCCOENICK DUNCAN, Advocate.  
 McFARLANE J. F., Freight Agent Q. M. O.  
 & O. Railway.  
 McFARLANE DAVID, Merchant.  
 McFEAT JAMES.  
 McGAREY H., Printer.  
 MCGAUVRAIN J. W., Lumber Merchant.  
 MCGILL COLLEGE LIBRARY.  
 McIVER G. T., Merchant.  
 McLENNAN E., Merchant.  
 McMAHON JOHN, The Molsons Bank.  
 McMASTER WM., Merchant.  
 McNALLY ANDREW, Restaurant.  
 McSHANE DAVID, Merchant.  
 McSHANE JAMES, Jun., M.P.P.  
 McSHANE MISS B. M.  
 MEANY STEPHEN J.  
 MERCER NATHAN, Merchant.  
 MELVILLE GORDON.  
 MILEN W. H., Lumber Merchant  
 MILLETTE L. S., Printer.  
 MILLER J. E.  
 MILLER ROBERT, Wholesale Stationer and  
 School Book Publisher.  
 MONETTE M. F.  
 MONK Hon. Judge.  
 MONK E. C., Advocate.  
 MOONEY J. H., Merchant.  
 MOORE ISAAC, Lumber Merchant.  
 MORGAN HENRY, Merchant.  
 MOUSSEAU J. A., M.P.

**CITY OF MONTREAL—Continued.**

MOULDON BENJAMIN.  
 MOULDON W. H., Bookkeeper.  
 MULLEN JAMES, Merchant.  
 MULLIN J. E., Merchant.  
 MULLINS HENRY, Customs.  
 MUNDERLOH W. C., German Consul.  
 MURPHY EDWARD, Merchant.  
 MURPHY JOHN, Merchant.  
 NELSON H. A., M.P.P., Merchant.  
 NEWTON THOMAS, Customs.  
 NOTMAN & SANDHAM, Photographers.  
 O'HARA W. J., Private Secretary to Collec-  
 tor of Customs.  
 O'LOUGHLIN JOHN M., Bookseller.  
 OSBORN CHARLES S., Merchant.  
 OUMET J. A., M.D.  
 OUMET J. A., M.P.  
 PELLETIER L. J., Merchant.  
 PENTON F. W. L., Chief of City Police.  
 PERRIGO JAMES, M.D.  
 PERRAULT C. O., Advocate, Vice-Consul of  
 France.  
 PERRAULT H. M., Architect.  
 PHILLIPS W. A., N.P.  
 PICHETTE BENJAMIN, Printer.  
 PILON A., & Co., Merchants.  
 POIRIER A. E., Reporter.  
 PREVOST ROMEO.  
 PROVOST REV. JOSEPH.  
 PURCELL JOHN P., Custom House.  
 REDPATH PETER.  
 RENAUD CHARLES, Merchant.  
 RIENDEAU JOSEPH, Manager Canada Hotel.  
 RIN-OU L WILLIAM H., Agent Imperial Fire  
 Insurance Co.  
 RIVARD S., Advocate.  
 ROBERTSON ANDREW, Q.C.  
 ROBERTSON HENRY.  
 RODDICK T. G., M.D.  
 ROLLAND J. D., Mayor of Hochelaga.  
 ROSE JAMES, Merchant.  
 ROSS GEORGE, M.D.  
 ROTTOT J. P., M.D.  
 ROY EUCLIDE, Advocate.  
 ROY ROUER, Q.C., City Attorney.  
 ROY VICTOR, Architect.  
 RYAN M. P., M.P.  
 SANDERS J. D., Merchant.  
 SAUNDERS L., Merchant.  
 SCHILLER C. S., Clerk of the Crown.  
 SCHMIDT SAMUEL B., M.D.  
 SCHOLES FRANCIS, Manager Canadian  
 Rubber Co.  
 SCOTT JAMES D., Engraver.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE HISTORY OF THE

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC—*Continued.*

**CITY OF MONTREAL—Continued.**

SCHULTZ EDWARD, Austro-Hungarian  
Consul.  
SCRIVER JAMES F., Secretary New City  
Gas Co.  
SEMINAIRE DE ST. SULPICE.  
SERMON GEORGE, Veterinary Surgeon.  
SHANLY WALTER, Civil Engineer.  
SHEARER JOHN S., Assignee.  
SHERIDAN P., Saloon-keeper.  
SICOTTE L. W., Registrar.  
SLACK GEORGE T.  
SMITH DAVID, Printer.  
SMITH J.  
SMITH HON. DONALD A., M.P.  
SMITH ROBERT A.  
SMYTH J. R.  
STANLEY FREDERICK, Printer.  
STARNE J. LESLIE, Merchant.  
STARNE HON. HENRY, Speaker of the  
Legislative Council.  
STEPHENS C. H., Advocate, Author of the  
Quebec Law Digest.  
STEPHENS GEORGE W., Advocate.  
STEVENSON A. A., Publisher.  
STEVENSON S. C., B.A., Secretary and  
Director of the Council of Arts and  
Manufactures.  
ST. MARY'S (JESUITS) COLLEGE.  
ST. PIERRE H. C., Advocate.  
STILES FREDERICK.  
ST. PROVIDENCE REV. SISTER, Superioress  
Vila Maria Educational Establishment  
Mount Royal, Cote St. Antoine.  
SYLVESTER JOSEPH.  
TAILLON L. O., M.P.P.  
TAYLOR ROBERT, Brewer.  
TAYLOR T. M., Broker.  
TESSIER LOUIS, Advocate.  
TIFFIN JOSEPH, Jr., Merchant.  
TIDMARSH SAMUEL, L. W. Customs.  
THIBAudeau HON. J. R., Senator.  
THOMAS R., Examining Warehouse Keeper.  
THOMSON J. R., Custom House.  
THOMSON JAMES, Merchant.  
TOOMEY MISS MARY.  
TRENHOLME N. W., Advocate.  
TROTIER A. A., Cashier Banque du Peuple.  
TUFF DAVID, Asst. Chief Locker Customs.  
TURNER W., Accountant.  
VANASSE F., Advocate.  
VILLENEUVE J. E., Customs Appraiser.  
WALL B., Bookkeeper.  
WARREN T. B., Broker.  
WATIER O. A., M.D.

**CITY OF MONTREAL—Continued.**

WATKINS JOHN, Foreman Composing Room  
Lovell Printing and Publishing Co.  
WATKINS ROBERT L., Printer.  
WATKINS THOMAS, Chief Warehousekeeper.  
WEIR WM., Banker.  
WEIR W. P., Tide Surveyor.  
WHITE THOMAS, M.P.  
WILLIAMS MILES, Trafalgar Lodge.  
WILSON J., Printer.  
WILSON JAMES, Jun.  
WOLFF RICHARD, Merchant.  
WORKMAN THOMAS, Merchant.  
WORTHINGTON JAMES, Proprietor Windsor  
Hotel.  
WULFF J. F., Royal Danish Consul, and  
Royal Swedish and Norwegian Vice-  
Consul.  
WURTELE J. S. C., M.P.P., Advocate.  
YOUNG W. H. D., Dentist.

**CITY OF HULL.**

LAFERRIERE J. O., City Treasurer.  
ST. JULIEN J. S.

**CITY OF SHERBROOKE.**

BELANGER L. C., Advocate.  
BROOKS E. T., M.P.  
BROCK REV. ISAAC.  
CABANA H. C., Advocate.  
CAMIRAND J. FRED., Proprietor Railroad  
Hotel.  
CARLISLE M. L., Merchant.  
DOHERTY HON. M., Judge Superior Court.  
EASTMURE S EDWARD, Official Assignee.  
FARWELL WILLIAM, Manager Eastern  
Townships Bank.  
FOURNIER J. S.  
HENEKER R. W., D.C.L., Chancellor Uni-  
versity of Bishop's College.  
HODGE D. W. R., Advocate.  
KINES REV. JAMES.  
LAFRANCE P., Manager La Banque Na-  
tionale.  
LAWRENCE H. D., Sherbrooke Academy.  
LECKIE R. G., Orford Mine.  
LONAS ALEX. G., Woollen Manufacturer.  
MORKILL JAMES F., Merchant.  
MORRIS L. E., Prothonotary.  
MURRAY WILLIAM, Merchant.  
PATON A., Managing Director Paton Manu-  
facturing Co.  
REID REV. C. P.  
SHORT J., Prothonotary.  
THOMAS D., Registrar.



PROVINCE OF QUEBEC—Continued.

CITY OF SHERBROOKE—Cont'd.

TUCK T. J., Dispensing Chemist.  
WHITCHER C. W., Deputy Sheriff.

CITY OF THREE RIVERS.

BOXER CHARLES A., Manager Union Bank.  
DAWSON WM. MCD.  
DESAULNIERS A. L. Advocate.  
MCDUGALL WILLIAM, M.P.  
OLIVIER ARTHUR, Advocate.  
PAQUIN LOUIS D., Advocate.  
POLETTE HON. JUDGE.  
TURCOTTE HON. ARTHUR, M.P.P., Speaker  
Legislative Assembly.

DANVILLE.

BROWN BROS., Carriagemakers.  
FARWELL E. F., & Co., Lumber Merchants.  
MCKILICAN REV. JOHN.  
PETRY REV. H. J., B.A.

LENNOXVILLE.

CHAPMAN EDWARD, Bursar University of  
Bishop's College,  
LAW ALFRED.  
MOLSON CAPTAIN J. D., Wellwood.  
SHUTER J. M.  
UNIVERSITY OF BISHOP'S COLLEGE.

MELBOURNE.

ALYMER HON. HENRY.  
MAIN JOHN, Insurance Agent.  
READY Lieut. Colonel C.  
THOMPSON REV. J. M.

RICHMOND.

CLEVELAND ARTHUR J., Manager Eastern  
Townships Bank.  
CLEVELAND C. P., N.P., Registrar for  
Richmond County.  
FOSTER G. K.  
GOUIN SARAH M.  
GRAHAM JOHN H., LL.D.  
HART THOMAS, Mayor.  
NOYES ROBERT P., Locomotive Foreman  
G.T.R.  
SNOW J. S., Hotelkeeper.

TOWN OF BERTHIER, (*en haut*.)

CUTHBERT E. OCTAVIAN, M.P., Seigneur  
of Berthier and St. Cuthbert.  
CUTHBERT MISS.  
MCCONNELL W. G., Flour and Grain Mer-  
chant.  
RALSTON PETER & SONS, Leather Manu-  
facturers.  
ROGERS JAMES, Inspector of Railways.

TOWN OF ST. JOHNS.

ARPIN CHARLES, Banker.  
BERNIER T. A., Advocate.  
BROSSEAU W., Importer of Fancy Dry Goods  
BRAULT & SIMARD, Merchants.  
COOTE A., Seigniorial Office.  
COTE C. H., Merchant Tailor.  
COTE S., LL.B., Advocate.  
LECELLES ARCADE, Mayor.  
DUNN & MAGUIRE, Wholesale Confectioners.  
FOURNIER J. A., Notary.  
FUTVOYE G. C., Ticket Agent Vermont Cen-  
tral Railway.  
FUTVOYE I. B., Superintendent S. S. C. and  
W. & M. Railways.  
HONEY J. W., Merchants Bank of Canada.  
LANIER J. M., Inspector of Weights and  
Measures.  
LAVICOUNT A. K., Secretary St. John's  
Stone China Ware Co.  
MACDONALD DUNCAN.  
MACDONALD L. G., Q.C.  
MACPHERSON JAMES, Merchant.  
MARCHAND H., Prothonotary.  
MARCHAND HON. FELIX GABRIEL, N.P.,  
Provincial Secretary.  
MARLER W. L., Manager Merchants Bank of  
Canada.  
MOLLEUR LOUIS, jun., M.P.P.  
STEWART JOHN B.  
TENNY A. J. M., Vermont Central Railway.  
WALTON JOHN L., St. John's High School.  
WIGHT & Co., Chemists and Druggists.  
WILKINSON GEO. H., Agent United States  
and Canada Express Co., National Ex-  
press Co., and Montreal Telegraph Co.

TOWN OF IBERVILLE.

CARREAU D., Notary.  
MCGINNIS R. P., Mayor and Seigniorial  
Agent.  
MCGINNIS WILLIAM.  
PEARSON CHARLES E., Manufacturer of  
Rockingham Stone Ware.  
RYDER F. M., (with J. W. Ryder) Lumber  
Merchant.  
ST. GEORGES REV. C., Curé St. Athanase.

CITY OF ST. HYACINTHE.

BACHAND HON. PIERRE, Treasurer of the  
Province.  
BISHOP'S PALACE.  
BOVIN C. A., Collector of Inland Revenue.  
COTE LOUIS, Proprietor Boot and Shoe  
Factory.  
DE LA BRUERE HON. BOUCHER, M.L.C.,  
Proprietor Courrier de St. Hyacinthe.

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC—Continued.

**ST. HYACINTHE.**—Continued.

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 TELLIER LOUIS, M.P., Advocate.

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 GREENHATCH ROBERT.  
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 LOY GEORGE M.  
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 MCMULLAN WILLIAM.  
 TODD WILLIAM.  
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 WILSON HUGH.

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 LEFEBVRE JOSEPH, Registrar.  
 LINDSAY REV. DAVID, Rector of St. Luke's  
 STEVENS HON. G. G., Senator.

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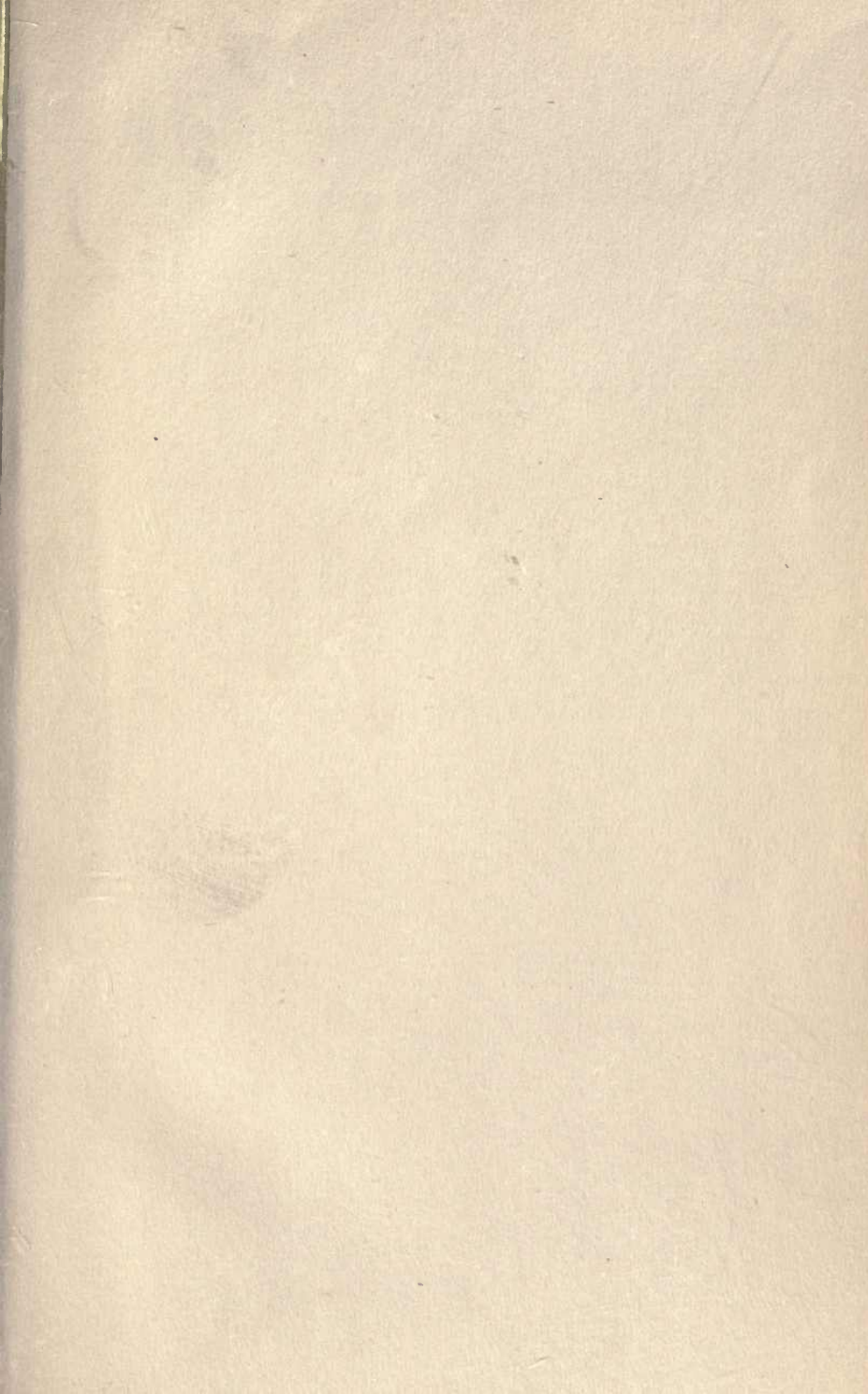
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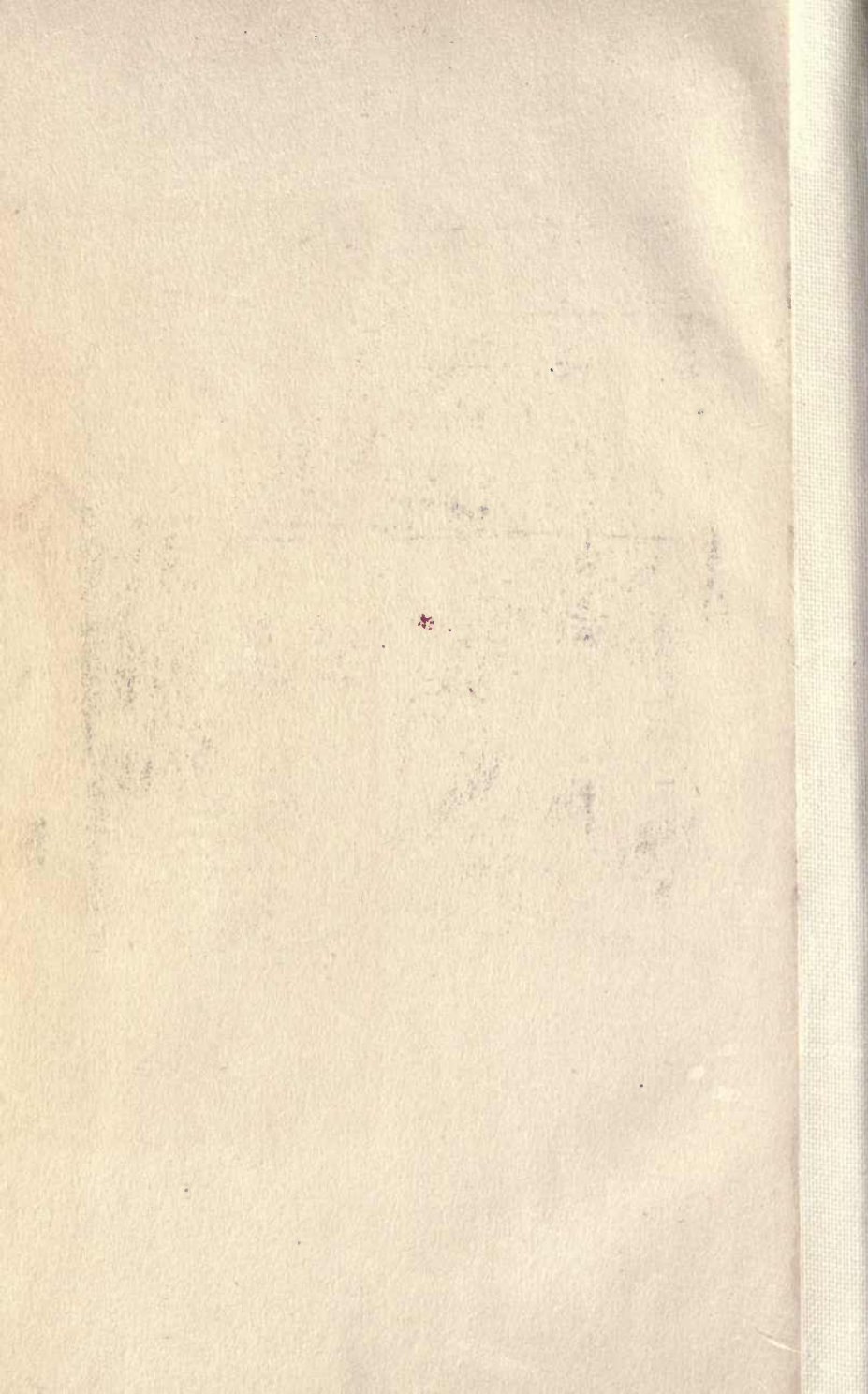














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